Testimonies given at mass meeting held on Thursday, May 24, 1956

HUBBARD: We must hold on and hold out. We're at the Red Sea & Pharoah is behind us. . . . Following the_____ God's going to open the Red Sea for us.

YOUNG MAN: I was in this protest long before it began when I was all alone.

ELDERLY LADY: I'm dangerous to fool with. You boys lead on and I'll be right behind. Move right on. Move right on. The Lord is on his way to open up the_____and let the filth out.

ELDERLY LADY: (With dark horn-rimmed glasses. Mother & daddy slaves). My daddy said his feet froze on his feet. . . Yaw'l might get tired but if I hafta walk 50 years I ain't quittin. It takes grace, grits and greenbacks to run this.

MIDDLE-AGED LADY: I'm going to be sitting right beside Miss Ann. Mrs. Davis told her "When I get to heaven I hope you're my cook. God ain't gonna stand for no segregation. I just wish they'd let me get on television some time."

MIDDLE-AGED LADY: Josh went around the walls of Jerico 7 times before the walls came tumbling down. Don't expect this thing to be over the first time around.

**: Jesus has walked with me every step I've taken in this protest.

**: It burns my blood to see people of other nations who come in here & receive the ballot & other privileges while those of us who have histories greatest study on top toe

could not give the answer as eloquently as you have given it here in simple words from your hearts.

KING: The question for us to answer is: "What is ultimate reality?"

024

Hubbard - "we must hold on & hold out."

"We're at the Red Sea & Pharaoh is behind us. ... Following the natural with God's aid to open the R.S. for us."

~~Young man~~ - I was in this long time before I began when I was all alone."

Elderly lady w/o teeth -
"I'm dangerous to fool w/. you boys lead on & I'll be right behind you. move right on. move right on."

"Mr. Ford is on his way to let us in the boat & let the filth out."

* Elderly lady w/ dark horn rimmed glasses.
"my daddy said his feet freez on his feet." ... yawl might get tired but if I hafta walk so yrs. I ain't quitin."

"It takes grace quite & greenback to run this"

* middleaged lady -
"Dad ain't gonna stand for no superstition"
"I'm going to be sitting right beside Miss Ann."

Mrs. Davis told her,
"When I get to heaven I hope you're my cook. I just wish they'd let me get on television some time,

* This middleaged lady - Josh. went around the walls of Jer. 7 times before the walls came tumbling down. Don't expect this thing to be over the first time around.

* "Jews have walked every inch of this path."

* "It burns my blood to see people of other nations who come in here & receive the ballot & other privileges while those of us who have

(Historian's) greatest Q are stuck on tip toe could not give the answer as eloquently as you have given it here in simple words for your hearts.
King: The quest for Q is to answer the quest., "What is ultimate reality."

MASS MEETING

Montgomery Improvement Association

Dr. M. L. King, Jr., President

Mt. Zion A. M. E. Zion

Rev. H. A. L. Clement , Pastor

Rev. G. Franklin Lewis, Presiding

**********

1. Opening Hymn----"Lift Every Voice And Sing"----------Audience

Lift every voice and sing Till earth and heaven ring, Ring with the harmonies of Liberty; Let our rejoicing rise, High as the list'ning skies, Let it resound loud as the rolling sea; Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us, Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us; Facing the rising sun Of our new day begun Let us march on till victory is won.

God of our weary years, God of our silent tears, Thou who has brought us thus far on the way; Thou who hast by thy might, Led us into the light, Keep us forever in the path we pray, Lest our feet stray from the places, our God, where we met thee, Lest, our hearts drunk with the wine of the world, we forget thee; Shadowed beneath Thy hand, May we forever stand, True to our God, true to our Native Land.

2. Invocation----------Rev. H. A. L. Clement (5 Min.)

3. Opening Remarks----------Dr. M. W. Jones (10 Min.)

4. Offering----------Rev. R. J. Glasco, Chairman Finance Committee (20 Min.)

5. Transportation Observation----------Rev. B. J. Simms, Chairman Transportation Committee (5 Min.)

6. Program Observations----------Rev. H. H. Hubbard

7. Hymn--------"Blessed Assurance, Jesus Is Mine"---------Audience

8. Pep Talk----------Atty. Fred D. Gray

9. Announcements----------(5 Min.)

10. Closing Hymn-------"Bless Be The Tie"----------Audience

11. Benediction----------Elder E. H. Mason (2 Min.)

(Meeting Monday Night, First Baptist Church)

## No. 26. Population, by Race—States: 1940 to 1960

| STATE | 1940 White | 1940 Negro | 1940 Other races | 1950 White | 1950 Negro | 1950 Other races | 1960 White | 1960 Negro Number | 1960 Negro Per. cent of all classes | 1960 Other races |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| U.S. | 118,357,831 | 12,865,914 | 941,384 | 135,149,629 | 15,044,937 | 1,131,232 | 158,831,732 | 18,871,831 | 10.5 | 1,619,612 |
| N.E. | 8,329,146 | 101,509 | 6,635 | 9,161,156 | 142,941 | 10,356 | 10,242,389 | 243,363 | 2.3 | 23,615 |
| Maine | 844,543 | 1,304 | 1,379 | 910,846 | 1,221 | 1,707 | 963,291 | 3,318 | 0.3 | 2,656 |
| N.H. | 490,989 | 414 | 121 | 532,275 | 731 | 236 | 604,334 | 1,903 | 0.3 | 684 |
| Vt. | 358,806 | 384 | 41 | 377,188 | 443 | 116 | 389,092 | 519 | 0.1 | 270 |
| Mass. | 4,257,596 | 55,391 | 3,734 | 4,611,503 | 73,171 | 5,840 | 5,023,144 | 111,842 | 2.2 | 13,592 |
| R.I. | 701,805 | 11,024 | 517 | 777,015 | 13,903 | 978 | 838,712 | 18,332 | 2.1 | 2,444 |
| Conn. | 1,675,407 | 32,992 | 843 | 1,952,329 | 53,472 | 1,479 | 2,423,816 | 107,449 | 4.2 | 3,969 |
| M.A. | 26,237,622 | 1,268,366 | 33,499 | 28,237,528 | 1,875,241 | 50,764 | 31,280,078 | 2,785,136 | 8.2 | 103,238 |
| N.Y. | 12,879,546 | 571,221 | 28,375 | 13,872,095 | 918,191 | 39,906 | 15,287,071 | 1,417,511 | 8.4 | 77,722 |
| N.J. | 3,931,087 | 226,973 | 2,105 | 4,511,585 | 318,565 | 5,179 | 5,539,003 | 514,875 | 8.5 | 12,904 |
| Pa. | 9,426,989 | 470,172 | 3,019 | 9,853,848 | 638,485 | 5,679 | 10,454,004 | 852,750 | 7.5 | 12,612 |
| E.N.C. | 25,528,451 | 1,069,326 | 28,565 | 28,543,307 | 1,803,698 | 52,363 | 33,253,272 | 2,884,969 | 8.0 | 86,783 |
| Ohio | 6,566,531 | 339,461 | 1,620 | 7,428,222 | 513,072 | 5,333 | 8,909,698 | 786,097 | 8.1 | 10,602 |
| Ind. | 3,305,323 | 121,916 | 557 | 3,758,512 | 174,168 | 1,544 | 4,388,554 | 269,275 | 5.8 | 4,669 |
| Ill. | 7,504,202 | 387,446 | 5,593 | 8,046,058 | 645,980 | 20,138 | 9,010,252 | 1,037,470 | 10.3 | 33,436 |
| Mich. | 5,039,643 | 208,345 | 8,118 | 5,917,825 | 442,296 | 11,645 | 7,085,865 | 717,581 | 9.2 | 19,748 |
| Wis. | 3,112,752 | 12,158 | 12,677 | 3,392,690 | 28,182 | 13,703 | 3,858,903 | 74,546 | 1.9 | 18,328 |
| W.N.C. | 13,111,519 | 350,992 | 54,479 | 13,576,077 | 424,178 | 61,139 | 14,749,345 | 561,068 | 3.6 | 83,702 |
| Minn. | 2,768,982 | 9,928 | 13,390 | 2,953,697 | 14,022 | 14,764 | 3,371,603 | 22,263 | 0.7 | 19,998 |
| Iowa | 2,520,691 | 16,694 | 883 | 2,599,546 | 19,692 | 1,835 | 2,728,709 | 25,354 | 0.9 | 3,474 |
| Mo. | 3,539,187 | 244,386 | 1,091 | 3,655,593 | 297,088 | 1,972 | 3,922,967 | 390,853 | 9.0 | 5,993 |
| N. Dak. | 631,464 | 201 | 10,270 | 608,448 | 257 | 10,931 | 619,538 | 777 | 0.1 | 12,131 |
| S. Dak. | 619,075 | 474 | 23,412 | 628,504 | 727 | 23,509 | 653,098 | 1,114 | 0.2 | 26,302 |
| Nebr. | 1,297,624 | 14,171 | 4,039 | 1,301,328 | 19,234 | 4,948 | 1,374,764 | 29,262 | 2.1 | 7,304 |
| Kans. | 1,734,496 | 65,138 | 1,394 | 1,828,961 | 73,158 | 3,180 | 2,078,666 | 91,445 | 4.2 | 8,500 |
| S.A. | 13,095,227 | 4,698,863 | 29,061 | 16,041,709 | 5,094,744 | 45,882 | 20,047,496 | 5,844,565 | 22.5 | 79,671 |
| Del. | 230,528 | 35,876 | 101 | 273,878 | 43,598 | 609 | 384,327 | 60,688 | 13.6 | 1,277 |
| Md. | 1,518,481 | 301,931 | 832 | 1,954,975 | 385,972 | 2,054 | 2,573,919 | 518,410 | 16.7 | 8,360 |
| D.C. | 474,326 | 187,266 | 1,499 | 517,865 | 280,803 | 3,510 | 345,263 | 411,737 | 53.9 | 6,956 |
| Va. | 2,015,583 | 661,449 | 741 | 2,581,555 | 734,211 | 2,914 | 3,142,443 | 816,258 | 20.6 | 8,248 |
| W. Va. | 1,784,102 | 117,754 | 118 | 1,890,282 | 114,867 | 402 | 1,770,133 | 89,378 | 4.8 | 910 |
| N.C. | 2,567,635 | 981,298 | 22,690 | 2,983,121 | 1,047,353 | 31,455 | 3,399,285 | 1,116,021 | 24.5 | 40,849 |
| S.C. | 1,084,308 | 814,164 | 1,332 | 1,293,405 | 822,077 | 1,545 | 1,551,022 | 829,291 | 34.8 | 2,281 |
| Ga. | 2,038,278 | 1,084,927 | 518 | 2,380,577 | 1,062,762 | 1,239 | 2,817,223 | 1,122,596 | 28.5 | 3,297 |
| Fla. | 1,381,986 | 514,198 | 1,230 | 2,166,051 | 603,101 | 2,152 | 4,063,881 | 880,186 | 17.8 | 7,493 |
| E.S.C. | 7,993,755 | 2,780,635 | 3,835 | 8,770,570 | 2,698,635 | 7,976 | 9,338,991 | 2,698,839 | 22.4 | 12,296 |
| Ky. | 2,631,425 | 214,031 | 171 | 2,742,090 | 201,921 | 795 | 2,820,083 | 215,949 | 7.1 | 2,124 |
| Tenn. | 2,406,906 | 508,736 | 199 | 2,760,257 | 530,603 | 858 | 2,977,753 | 586,876 | 16.5 | 2,460 |
| Ala. | 1,849,097 | 983,290 | 574 | 2,079,591 | 979,617 | 2,535 | 2,283,609 | 980,271 | 30.0 | 2,860 |
| Miss. | 1,106,327 | 1,074,578 | 2,891 | 1,188,632 | 986,494 | 3,788 | 1,257,546 | 915,743 | 42.0 | 4,852 |
| W.S.C. | 10,569,596 | 2,425,121 | 69,808 | 12,037,250 | 2,432,028 | 68,294 | 14,090,149 | 2,768,203 | 16.3 | 92,903 |
| Ark. | 1,466,084 | 482,578 | 725 | 1,481,507 | 426,639 | 1,365 | 1,395,703 | 388,787 | 21.8 | 1,782 |
| La. | 1,511,739 | 849,303 | 2,838 | 1,796,683 | 882,428 | 4,405 | 2,211,715 | 1,039,207 | 31.9 | 6,100 |
| Okla. | 2,104,228 | 168,849 | 63,357 | 2,032,526 | 145,503 | 55,322 | 2,107,900 | 153,084 | 6.6 | 67,300 |
| Tex. | 5,487,545 | 924,391 | 2,888 | 6,726,534 | 977,458 | 7,202 | 8,374,831 | 1,187,125 | 12.4 | 17,721 |
| Mt. | 3,978,913 | 36,411 | 134,679 | 4,845,634 | 66,429 | 162,935 | 6,514,294 | 123,242 | 1.8 | 217,524 |
| Mont. | 540,468 | 1,120 | 17,868 | 572,038 | 1,232 | 17,754 | 650,738 | 1,467 | 0.2 | 22,562 |
| Idaho | 519,292 | 595 | 4,986 | 581,395 | 1,050 | 6,192 | 657,383 | 1,502 | 0.2 | 8,306 |
| Wyo. | 246,597 | 956 | 3,189 | 284,009 | 2,557 | 3,963 | 322,922 | 2,183 | 0.7 | 4,961 |
| Colo. | 1,106,502 | 12,176 | 4,618 | 1,296,653 | 20,177 | 8,259 | 1,700,700 | 39,992 | 2.3 | 13,255 |
| N. Mex. | 492,312 | 4,672 | 34,834 | 630,211 | 8,408 | 42,568 | 875,763 | 17,063 | 1.8 | 58,197 |
| Ariz. | 426,792 | 14,993 | 57,476 | 654,511 | 25,974 | 69,102 | 1,169,517 | 43,403 | 3.3 | 89,241 |
| Utah | 542,920 | 1,235 | 6,155 | 676,909 | 2,729 | 9,224 | 873,828 | 4,148 | 0.5 | 12,651 |
| Nev. | 104,030 | 664 | 5,553 | 149,908 | 4,302 | 5,877 | 263,443 | 13,484 | 4.7 | 8,351 |
| Pac. | 9,513,602 | 134,691 | 580,823 | 13,936,398 | 507,043 | 671,522 | 19,315,718 | 962,446 | 4.5 | 919,880 |
| Wash. | 1,698,147 | 7,424 | 30,620 | 2,316,496 | 30,691 | 31,770 | 2,751,675 | 48,738 | 1.7 | 52,801 |
| Oreg. | 1,075,731 | 2,565 | 11,388 | 1,497,128 | 11,529 | 12,684 | 1,732,037 | 18,133 | 1.0 | 18,517 |
| Calif. | 6,596,763 | 124,306 | 186,318 | 9,915,173 | 462,172 | 208,878 | 14,455,230 | 883,861 | 5.6 | 378,113 |
| Alaska | 39,170 | 141 | 33,213 | 92,808 | (1) | 35,835 | 174,546 | 6,771 | 3.0 | 44,850 |
| Hawaii | 103,791 | 255 | 319,284 | 114,793 | 2,651 | 382,350 | 202,230 | 4,943 | 0.8 | 425,599 |

[1] Not identified separately.

Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; Sixteenth Census Reports, *Population*, Vol. II, *U.S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. II, Part 1, and *U.S. Census of Population: 1960*, Vol. I.

# SPECIAL REPORT

Stanfield

**SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL**

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

IN THE

SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

# RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

# IN THE

# SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

April, 1965

# RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
# IN THE
# SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

The exclusion of Negroes from the administration of justice in the state courts of the South has long been the subject of serious criticism and concern. But little attention has been given to the extent of exclusion of Negroes from the federal courts of the South.

One obvious reason is that, in the conflict between state and federal law on basic Constitutional questions of the past two decades, the state courts have with frequency appeared as the antagonist of the Negro Southerner, and the federal courts frequently as his protector.

This protection has come, however, largely through the overriding decisions of federal appellate courts. As federal jurisdiction is extended, the role of the federal courts becomes ever more vital to the national effort to achieve full justice. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 enlarges the responsibility of the federal courts, including district courts, many of which in the past have been highly protective of segregation. The voting bill now before Congress seeks to by-pass these courts. New federal legislation to protect citizens against the Klan and other dispensers of death and ruin will, however, almost certainly increase the reliance on the district courts of the South for the protection of individual life and liberty.

Pressures to move civil rights issues out of the streets and into the courts continue. The question has to be asked (and it has always had its pertinency in criminal cases) -- what kinds of courts will handle them?

The federal court system in the South, guided by the Supreme Court and the Courts of Appeals, has slowly demonstrated the ability of a frankly white-dominated institution to deal justly with the broad, crucial questions of race. But now, not just the logic and principles of these very decisions, but all the practical understanding of human dealings that is implied in the term, "jury of his peers," requires a closer look at the racial composition of the courts themselves, as administrators of justice to the individual as well as guardians of principle.

This report deals with employment practices and jury composition of the southern federal courts. It is based on such documentation as there is available plus interviews with lawyers practicing in the federal courts of each state.

States covered by the survey are Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas in the Fifth Circuit; North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia in the Fourth; Tennessee in the Sixth, and Arkansas in the Eighth Circuit. Each state contains from two to four U.S. District Courts. Data on the Courts of Appeals refer only to their offices and operations within these eleven states.

Clerical records of the federal government do not designate race of court employees, and there are no compilations

of statistics on racial composition of juries. No systematic examination of each court in each state was attempted. Respondents for the most part relied on memory and general knowledge. Results of such a survey are not definitive or finally authoritative; there is room for minor errors and oversights. But such a survey does reveal general patterns, and it is with these that we are concerned. If more detailed and precise research is stimulated, that is good; but the immediate purpose is a new awareness of the need to improve the situation.

## I. EMPLOYMENT

The broad patterns regarding the role of Negroes in the federal courts under study in this survey can be summed up in the following statistical table:

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICERS AND PERSONNEL
IN SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

| | TOTAL | WHITE | NEGRO |
|---|---|---|---|
| Circuit Court Judges | 12* | 12 | 0 |
| District Court Judges | 65 | 65 | 0 |
| Referees in Bankruptcy | 55 | 55 | 0 |
| U.S. Commissioners | 253 | 253 | 0 |
| U.S. Clerks | 28 | 28 | 0 |
| Deputy U. S. Clerks | 321 | 321 | 0 |
| U. S. Attorneys | 29 | 29 | 0 |
| Assistant U. S. Attorneys | 158 | 153 | 5 |
| Jury Commissioners | 109 | 109 | 0 |
| U. S. Marshals | 29 | 29 | 0 |
| Deputy U. S. Marshals | 165 | 156 | 9 |
| Secretarial and Clerical | 364 | ** | ** |

*This is the number of judges of southern residence now serving on the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Circuits. The numbers respectively are three, seven, one, and one.

**Exact number of Negroes not ascertainable. The number, from observation, is quite small.

The above table may possibly overlook some Negroes in some positions. But it cannot be far from the exact numerical situation.

The circuit court and district court judges are appointed by the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate. So are the United States attorneys and marshals. The clerks of the respective courts are appointed by the judges. The judges also appoint U. S. commissioners, jury commissioners, and the referees in bankruptcy. The clerks select their own deputies and clerical assistants, subject to approval of the judges. Assistant U. S. attorneys are appointed by the Attorney General of the United States. The Attorney General authorizes marshals to appoint deputy marshals.

Exclusion of Negroes from the top positions in the system obviously has the practical effect of virtually eliminating them from lesser positions. The influence on appointments and hiring by southern office-holders through political party patronage channels can't be overlooked.

Of the nine Negro deputy marshals there are two in Alabama, one in Mississippi, two in North Carolina, one in South Carolina, two in Tennessee, one in Virginia. Of the five assistant United States attorneys, one is in North Carolina, one in Tennessee, two in Texas, one in Virginia. This is at best tokenism.

In no state are Negroes serving in the positions of importance and highest responsibility except in token numbers

as deputy marshals and assistant U. S. attorneys, and in four states -- Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana -- in none of these positions at all.

In lesser positions, a Negro clerical worker was noted in Alabama, a bailiff in both Florida and Georgia, court criers in Virginia and South Carolina, and two secretaries in Texas. Again, some may have been overlooked, but not enough to change the general picture.

In nearly every state, employment of Negroes in custodial jobs was noted. Use of Negro employees designated as "criers" or "messengers" as valets, chauffeurs, and the like was reported. In Georgia, such an employee's duties were described as helping the judge with his robes, bringing his books, and driving for him.

A respondent in Alabama said: "If it were not for the lone Negro deputy marshal, the District Court in Birmingham would look like the County Courthouse." A respondent in Virginia, when asked if he were describing Negro employment in addition to a deputy marshal and two criers as "negligible," replied: "non-existent." Instances were cited in Tennessee, Texas, and Georgia of Negroes turning down appointments or jobs. Strenuous opposition was encountered to appointment of the three Negroes in responsible jobs in North Carolina. This came from various sources, including political ones.

## II. JURY SERVICE

Negroes are called and do serve on petit and grand

juries in the southern federal courts. Estimating and evaluating the degree to which they do is of course not an exact science. One respondent's "tokenism" might be another's "substantial numbers" or another's "fair amount."

But for the very most part, lawyers interviewed in each of the eleven states were not satisfied that Negroes are serving on juries to the extent that they should be.

In Alabama, a typical jury panel was described as five or six Negroes among 110; Negroes occasionally serve on grand juries. An Arkansas respondent said he and others estimated that out of double panels of 40 to 50 persons, three or four might be Negroes, and out of a single panel of 24, one or two might be Negroes. In most cases in Arkansas, lawyers consider Negroes as "ciphers" who will go along with the majority, but they are said to dismiss Negroes when opposing counsel has been active in civil rights. There is a general understanding in Arkansas, a respondent said, of the need to avoid the appearance of systematic exclusion. In Florida, one sees "as many Negroes as women" on jury panels; their service was termed "more than token," but less than reflective of Negro population. Negroes were said to be called "fairly" for jury duty in Louisiana, but more than average numbers are eliminated by challenge or excuse from serving on the jury. The same was said of South Carolina. Mississippi's situation was described as "token." So was Tennessee's, Georgia's, and North Carolina's, with recognition in the latter of some improving efforts. In Texas, the estimate ranged from "token" to

"substantial numbers," with more of a conflict of opinion among respondents over whether enough Negroes serve than in other states. A Virginia respondent said that from five to seven Negroes might be on a panel of 30, from two to five on a grand jury. A respondent said the number serving on federal juries throughout the state is "not sufficient."

The respondents described two problems involved in getting satisfactory numbers of Negroes on federal juries. One is whether or not enough Negroes are called for jury service in the first place. The other is whether among those called, even if it is a "fair" number, enough Negroes get through the various processes of attrition to do what really counts-- actually serve on a jury.

One often cited reason for a smaller number of Negroes called for jury duty is the lack of knowledge of the Negro community on the part of the mostly white court personnel. (All southern jury commissioners are white.) Prospective jurors are generally selected by a procedure described by the Judicial Conference of the United States in The Jury System in the Federal Courts, September 1960. It involves getting persons of substance to recommend those who might be selected. Often, only white persons make these recommendations. Even the Negroes who make them might not be persons of knowledgeable acquaintanceship in the Negro community. They are often the Negroes who happen to come into contact with white persons.

A Tennessee respondent said officials go to persons

such as the presidents of chambers of commerce for names for jury lists. Use of state jury lists was reported in parts of Georgia and Virginia. Use of voter registration lists -- which are notoriously low in the number of Negroes -- was reported in Mississippi.

Some respondents singled out individual district courts where genuinely conscientious efforts seem to be made, with varying degrees of success, to get representative numbers of Negroes on the jury lists. These included the Middle District of Florida, the Atlanta Division of the Northern District of Georgia, the Middle District of North Carolina.

The lawyers interviewed were inclined to attribute the high amount of attrition among prospective Negro jurors mostly to racial circumstances, partly to other causes.

Peremptory challenges by opposing attorneys account for some of the attrition, particularly where the case involves Negroes. Negroes, in the view of defense attorneys, value Negro life and welfare, it seems, more highly than whites. Another reason often cited is economic, and it applies to large numbers of whites as well. Hourly wage earners (unless they have a union contract or other agreement guaranteeing compensatory pay) and persons of low income generally are unable to give up the working time (and pay) that jury service entails. So they get excused if they can. Negroes in disproportionately large numbers, compared with whites, are hourly wage earners and low-income workers in the South. A respondent in Mississippi commented that most

Negro hourly workers there could probably earn more serving on a federal jury.

*****

The broad findings of the study show that a Negro involved in federal court action in the South could go from the beginning of the case to the end without seeing any black faces unless they are in the court audience, or he happens to notice the man sweeping the floor.

The problem of the personnel of the courts seems easily and obviously remediable. More Negro appointments and hiring are needed. There are reports of political and other opposition when conscientious efforts are made to accomplish this. There are also reports of instances where Negroes turned down appointments or jobs. Negro attorneys are in short supply in the South, but the survey does not indicate by any means that their number or that of other qualified persons has been fully called upon.

The courts seem out of line with the fair employment hiring practices of federal agencies, not to mention the spirit and philosophy of the civil rights statute

But the employment practices of the court system is not the only, or even the largest, issue. The responsibility for the appointment of federal judges and the U.S. attorneys is the President's. At its 1964 Annual Meeting (November 20-21) the Southern Regional Council adopted and conveyed to the President

a resolution which said in part:

> It is our strong conviction that only men of the highest professional competence and the fullest devotion to the declared principles of the Constitution should be charged with the judicial responsibility of enforcing federal laws in the South. It is our further conviction that no appointment contrary to these qualifications, however strongly urged by state or Congressional spokesmen, can satisfy the new politics of the South. In a situation where plain talk is desirable, we would report as plainly as we can that the progressive leadership of the South, both Negro and white, would find the appointment or promotion of any judge of well-authenticated segregationist views to be a severe blow to regional, national, and democratic interests.

The problem of jury service is more complex. If the impressions of respondents in this survey are correct, then a great many more Negroes need to be called and to serve on southern federal juries. The widespread reports of non-use of low income and hourly income workers on southern juries raise questions beyond racial considerations. One may not only ask if it is possible under present circumstances to get a federal jury of peers for people who are not white, but also for persons who, regardless of race, are not middle-class.

Proposals have been made to select jury lists much as public opinion poll samples are chosen -- at random in such numbers from lists of all qualified persons so as to get a true cross-section of the community in terms of the various socio-economic factors, including race and income level. Some such fresh approach seems needed.

There is an urgency to this. The goal of non-discriminatory selection of juries is to assure that only the facts and evidence of the case will affect outcome of a trial. It would be just as much a tragedy if public clamor and legal maneuvering over exclusion of Negroes from juries were to become a factor in the outcome of a trial as when this results from discriminatory bias in the composition of a jury.

Reform of the basic institutions of American society is compelled by the logic of the civil rights movement. What began as an effort to correct the most glaring inequities of racial discrimination requires that the general structure of inequity be overhauled, looking toward the ideal of liberty and justice for all.

Dean 732

# SPECIAL REPORT

Blanfield


**SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL**

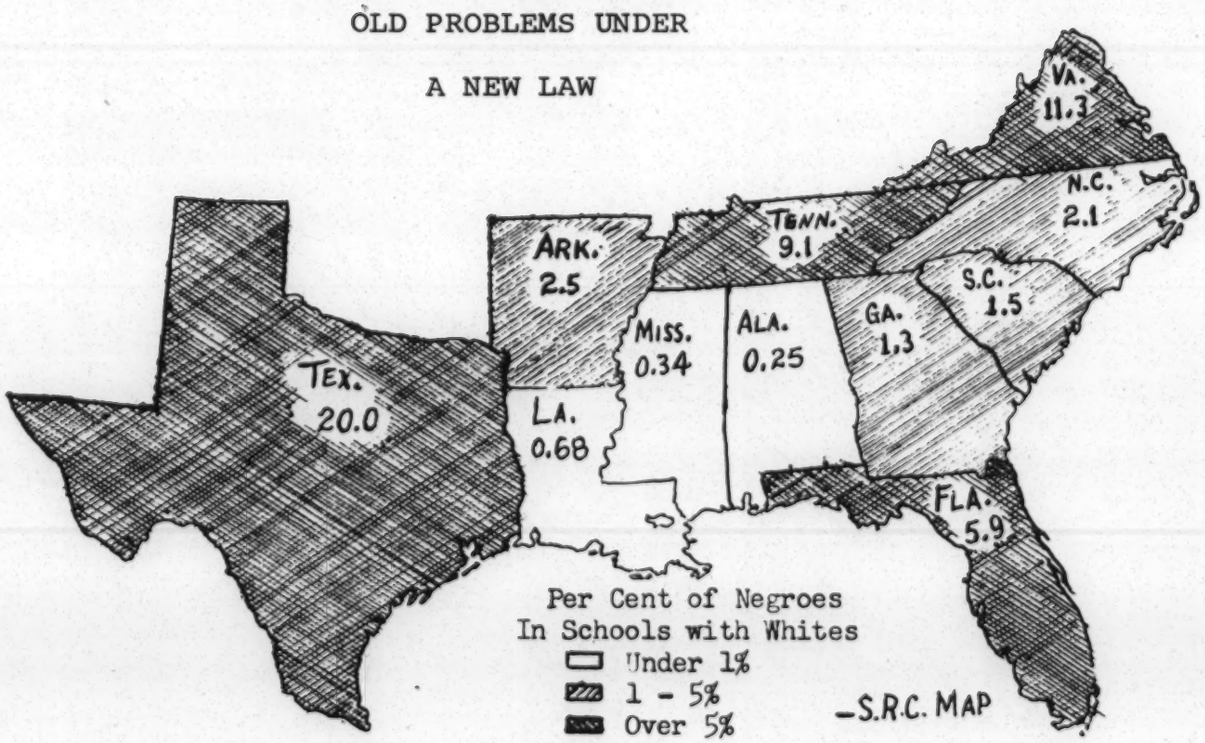
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia


SEPTEMBER 1965

## SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: OLD PROBLEMS UNDER A NEW LAW

SEPTEMBER 1965

# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION:
# OLD PROBLEMS UNDER
# A NEW LAW




SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

ONE OF THE PROBLEMS

-- A Letter From a Parent in The Deep South

Route 1B
[redacted]

Sept 9 - 1965

we wont to than you for the information we received in Macon Ga. it has helped us to enroll 14 students in the all white school [redacted] hight school. we are having a lots of truble my life have all ready been threaled my brother [redacted] house has been shoot in so we both will have to take the children out of school and move some where else so give me the best information on this looking to hear from you soon.

From

[redacted]

# EVASION OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
(1964-65)

A decade of promise seemed ready for fulfillment in September, 1965. The tortuous process of school desegregation, continually before the nation's courts since 1954, at last offered promise of new dimensions and hope. The dream, embodied in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, prohibiting "the extention of federal financial assistance to any dual or segregated systems of schools based on race, color, or national origin," was of a new era in which administration forces would take the initiative and achieve racial integration in schools. Hopefully, a sizeable proportion of the close to 98% of the South's Negro children still trapped in segregated schools would gain admission to integrated classes.

Prior to the start of the 1965 school term, the Negro school desegregation effort had met dismal failure; case after case of court-ordered desegregation hardly had made a dent in the unyielding armor of the South's segregation front. The burden of initiating suits and provoking "voluntary" change had been almost exclusively on the individual Negro pupil and his parents. With little money but firm intent, individual Negroes and several private organizations, primarily the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), found their limited resources constantly pitted against the public treasury -- local, state, and some-

times federal.

The prospect of going into almost every school district and the mounting costs for court actions were factors frustrating the school integration campaign, despite the fact that the May, 1954, U. S. Supreme Court decree was a class action purported to apply to all persons similarly situated. The mere opinions of states' attorneys are enough to bring across-the-board compliance in areas other than civil rights -- something hundreds of court suits have failed to do.

Civil rights supporters viewed school segregation among problems so serious in 1963 that some 200,000 participated in a massive March on Washington, and Congress the following year determined that legislative remedy for school desegregation was needed. This became part of the precedent-shattering Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VI of the act provides that "no person . . . shall on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance." This means that the federal public education subsidy, amounting to almost 20% of the total education budget could be withheld from schools which refused to stop segregation and discrimination against Negroes. The U. S. Office of Education thus became legally obligated for the first time to address itself to the problems of school desegregation.

## Big Job for Office of Education

The intent of the law was to correct hundreds of years of separate discriminatory schooling; it offered remedial action which court decisions had failed to bring. The Office of Education was charged with heavy responsibility. The mere detail of executing the responsibility within the specified time required great effort.

The task required accurate school population and attendance information against which the responsible agency might measure its success in gaining compliance with the law. The disturbing fact is that the federal government, with all its vast resources, had not ascertained the number of Negro children enrolled in formerly white schools by mid-October, 1965. Ironically, during September and October, at the very time the information was most needed, no private or government agency knew the rate of school desegregation.

The privately-sponsored Southern Education Reporting Service, which in prior years carried school desegregation figures in Southern School News, ceased publishing in July, 1965. The Office of Education collected a smattering of data in procedures resting on the voluntary contribution of information. Their efforts were thwarted largely by earlier requirements and/or permission for records on race not to be kept. At no time since 1954 has less factual information on school desegregation existed. Some state and local school officials who, when asked about desegregation, said they don't keep racial figures implied that racial data were available to

local and state authorities, but not for public release.

Findings of Southern Regional Council

In trying to determine what did happen last September, the Southern Regional Council's research department enlisted the cooperation of the Office of Education, the Southern Education Reporting Service, the various state Councils on Human Relations, and others. We have supplemented this with newspaper reports, and field reports. Even with this cooperation and our determined effort, the information in spots is sketchy. But it appears to be the best data currently available.

Our compilations show that estimates released October 1 by the Office of Education overstate the rate of school desegregation. Figures of Office of Education statisticians, arrived at by use of a hurried sampling survey of 590 of the 3,300 districts in southern and border states, say that 216,600 Negroes -- 7.5% of the South's Negro pupils -- are attending classes with whites. Included in the Office of Education's total was an estimate of 15,300 in Alabama, giving that recalcitrant state ten times more than the number estimated in the Office's own "work sheet" and the number indicated by Southern Regional Council's research.

The Office of Education's estimate of desegregation in North Carolina claims 24,500 Negroes are in desegregated classes there. Southern Regional Council's research finds

8,000, only a third of what the federal agency reports. The SRC estimate may be low. There is every indication that the Office of Education figure is high. The SRC figure is based on the estimates of Southern Education Reporting Service, news clippings, and field reports of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations. When asked for state figures, a high North Carolina education official said, "Any estimates that anybody would make would be in error. We have erased the question of race from the horizon. Anything that the U. S. Office of Education says would be in error, and anything anybody in our office tells you would be in error."

The Southern Regional Council survey finds 151,409 Negroes attending desegregated public school classes in the 11 states of the Deep South -- 5.2% of the South's Negro school census. That is more than 60,000 less than the 216,600 reported by the Office of Education. The Council's finding of 717 Alabama Negro pupils in desegregated schools does not include nearly 200 Negroes who applied for transfer, under "freedom of choice" options but reportedly withdrew because of pressures and various other reasons. The Office of Education tables did not reflect a number of cases of withdrawals prior to the start of school, but this does not explain all the differences in the surveys. The four following tables show comparative state desegregation totals for 1964 and 1965.

TABLE 1

COMPARATIVE STATE DESEGREGATION TOTALS
OF THREE AGENCIES, 1965

| | SRC Totals | SNCC Totals | Office of Education Totals |
|---|---|---|---|
| ALABAMA | 717 | 1,500 | 15,300 |
| ARKANSAS | 2,343 | 2,589 | 6,100 |
| FLORIDA | 17,000* | ----- | 23,800 |
| GEORGIA | 4,240 | 6,000 | 7,600 |
| LOUISIANA | 1,850** | 1,850 | 1,600 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 921 | 1,500 | 1,000 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 8,000 | ----- | 24,500 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 3,531 | 3,500 | 3,500 |
| TENNESSEE | 16,422* | ----- | 25,300 |
| TEXAS | 75,340* | ----- | 81,700 |
| VIRGINIA | 21,045 | ----- | 26,300 |
| Total South | 151,409 | | 216,600 |

SOURCE: Compiled by the research staff of Southern Regional Council, Inc., from news clippings, field reports, and reports of other agencies.

*Estimates based on Southern Education Reporting Service reports. The Texas total was computed from SERS's estimation of 20%.

**Based on Louisiana survey by Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

TABLE 2

ENROLLMENT BY RACE IN ALL SCHOOLS, 1964-65

| | ENROLLMENT | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | White | | Negro | |
| | 1964 | 1965 | 1964 | 1965 |
| ALABAMA | 536,200 | 541,100 | 284,500 | 286,600 |
| ARKANSAS | 203,200 | 224,600 | 100,000 | 95,100 |
| FLORIDA | 905,400 | 929,300 | 278,900 | 284,700 |
| GEORGIA | 669,200 | 737,000 | 319,500 | 320,300 |
| LOUISIANA | 508,200 | 507,600 | 278,000 | 272,700 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 293,600 | 292,500 | 285,300 | 274,900 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 773,000 | 789,300 | 384,200 | 379,600 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 390,500 | 400,500 | 242,100 | 233,400 |
| TENNESSEE | 612,400 | 679,700 | 179,500 | 180,100 |
| TEXAS | 1,625,700 | 1,727,800 | 359,600 | 376,700 |
| VIRGINIA | 697,100 | 705,500 | 184,500 | 187,000 |
| Total South | 7,214,500 | 7,534,900 | 2,896,100 | 2,891,000 |

Total Enrollment, Both Races:

| 1964 | 1965 |
|---|---|
| 10,110,600 | 10,425,900 |

SOURCE: Compiled by the research staff of Southern Regional Council, Inc., from the 1964 Statistical Summary of Southern Education Reporting Service, and reports of the U. S. Office of Education, and other SRC library resources.

TABLE 3

COMPARATIVE 1965 TOTALS AND PERCENTAGES OF STATE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN REPORTS OF TWO AGENCIES

| | Negroes in Desegregated Schools: SRC | Per Cent of Negro Enrollment | Negroes in Desegregated Schools: Office of Education | Per Cent of Negro Enrollment |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ALABAMA | 717 | 0.25 | 15,300 | 0.50 |
| ARKANSAS | 2,343 | 2.5 | 6,100 | 6.4 |
| FLORIDA | 17,000 | 5.9 | 23,800 | 8.3 |
| GEORGIA | 4,240 | 1.3 | 7,600 | 2.4 |
| LOUISIANA | 1,850 | 0.68 | 1,600 | 0.6 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 928 | 0.34 | 1,000 | 0.36 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 8,000 | 2.1 | 24,500 | 6.5 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 3,531 | 1.5 | 3,531 | 1.5 |
| TENNESSEE | 16,422 | 9.1 | 25,300 | 14.1 |
| TEXAS | 75,340 | 20.0 | 81,700 | 21.7 |
| VIRGINIA | 21,045 | 11.3 | 26,300 | 14.1 |
| Total South | 151,416 | 5.23 | 216,600 | 7.5 |

SOURCE: Percentage computations based on SRC totals and Office of Education totals compare findings of the two sources. The Alabama total of 15,300 reported by the Office of Education is an obvious error, because their working papers (copies of which were in our possession to assist in preparing this study) show 1,442 Alabama Negroes in school with whites.

TABLE 4

ELEVEN DEEP SOUTH STATES
IN ORDER OF DESEGREGATION RATES, 1965

| | By Number of Negroes Enrolled in Desegregated Schools | | By Percentage of Total Negro Enrollment |
|---|---|---|---|
| TEXAS | 75,340 | TEXAS | 20.0 |
| VIRGINIA | 21,045 | VIRGINIA | 11.3 |
| FLORIDA | 17,000 | TENNESSEE | 9.1 |
| TENNESSEE | 16,422 | FLORIDA | 5.9 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 8,000 | ARKANSAS | 2.5 |
| GEORGIA | 4,240 | NORTH CAROLINA | 2.1 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 3,531 | SOUTH CAROLINA | 1.5 |
| ARKANSAS | 2,343 | GEORGIA | 1.3 |
| LOUISIANA | 1,850 | LOUISIANA | 0.68 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 928 | MISSISSIPPI | 0.34 |
| ALABAMA | 717 | ALABAMA | 0.25 |
| Totals | 151,416 | | 5.23 |

SOURCE: Figures compiled by Southern Regional Council, Inc., from news clippings, field reports, and reports of cooperating agencies.

In the absence of accurate information on the progress of school desegregation during the first two months of the 1965-66 school year, news media resorted to educated guesses and reported the generally optimistic and exaggerated opinions of school authorities. Some estimates ran as high as 20% of the Negro school-aged population, far in excess of the true desegregation rate.

The picture appeared so rosy that the nation was lulled into a false sense of success. The truth is that nearly 95% of the South's Negro pupils still are trapped in segregated and unequal schools. The false impression is due largely to attempts by state and local school authorities, and perhaps some federal officials, to imply that school systems were desegregated beyond mere tokenism.

Even with the lack of information to measure integration progress precisely, it is clear that the move so far toward the full promise of integrated education has been a feeble step. This is despite the integrity and the sense of proper intent evident in the Office of Education.

No one has ever quite developed to the point of art the necessary techniques for parrying and thrusting with a recalcitrant state or local government bent upon thwarting the will of law. But in retrospect, it seems apparent that the Office of Education might have avoided some of the more obvious errors that others have made in the past in southern desegregation duels:

(1) As with other agencies in Washington, there was first the process of promising the ultimate and then going through the steady process of deterioration of that promise. This was unfortunate because when the Capital makes promises from high places, the lowest people in the land hear, believe and act. The reaction of disillusionment is serious and could become increasingly more serious.

(2) In many instances, frenzy in government offices seems to have been misinterpreted as satisfactory progress. Accomplishment too often was equated with the amount of energy spent. Facing such a tremendous job, which we are sure at times seemed impossible to the Office of Education staff, policy makers should have realized that new, realistic approaches were needed to get the job done.

(3) The letter and spirit of the Civil Rights Law encourage voluntary compliance if at all possible. But in the reality of the southern desegregation situation, experience has proven that skillful administration is necessary to make sure that the "volunteer" does what he claims he will do. The tendency of the Office of Education to assume otherwise -- to expect normal forthrightness and good faith in the "voluntary" compliance -- is perhaps its largest strategic error so far. The office seems not to have been fully aware of the peculiar dimensions of compliance that is "voluntary" only at the threat of the loss of a sizeable percentage of the annual budget. The most rigid

checks are needed -- and have been from the beginning -- to be sure at every step of the administrative process that plans for "voluntary" action comply with all requirements of the law, and that the plans are carried out so as to meet all requirements of the law. Any other course in the South in this matter risks criticism as naive and encourages the kind of winking at the law that has been for too long a serious fault of southern society.

There would have been no need for Congress to enact legislation if there had been any validity to the highly desirable premise that most school systems would (or could) act in good faith. The experience of the federal courts revealed that the restrained decision requiring school desegregation with "all deliberate speed" failed, not because the decision lacked wisdom, but because there often was lack of good faith on the part of those against whom the edict was directed. By their words, precepts and examples, southern politicians and school officials, with few exceptions, made clear time and time again after the May 17, 1954, Supreme Court desegregation edict their intention to evade and delay.

In this kind of situation, the attitude that tokenism was an achievement and subject for civic self-congratulation grew up -- often in the best intentioned of white Southerners, including school officials.

If federal officials were naive to believe school integration in the South could be achieved without rigorous

administrative checks and controls, the local school systems in the South were remarkably consistent. Evasion has continued under the Civil Rights Act, and the highly sophisticated art of misleading the federal government has continued. In order to have their grants from federal funds certified, a majority of school districts made false claims that the money would be spent on a non-discriminatory basis. Just as the claims in many instances are false, it is hard to assume other than that many of those signing the statements deliberately set out to fool those reviewing the desegregation plans.

The school systems of the South are not operating on a non-discriminatory basis. Few people expected them to be. What was expected among Negroes and in other quarters was that an honest beginning would be made to that end, with the burden of gaining compliance shifted from the shoulders of the individual Negro pupil and his parents.

For some months, it did seem as if the burden of proving compliance would rest squarely with local and state school officials. Generating this hope was the knowledge that in the area of equal employment opportunity, tangible progress was experienced only after those employers awarded government contracts were required to prove by their record that they, in fact, were complying with the federal policy for non-discriminatory hiring.

A few school superintendents acted early and in good faith

toward reasonable compliance, only to have themselves placed in precarious positions by the success of neighboring districts which were permitted to undercut the vacillating guidelines of the Office of Education. When it became clear, for example, that "freedom of choice" plans would be acceptable, most school systems took this route.

Under plans based on "freedom of choice," the student and his parents theoretically could apply and expect admission to any school of their choice in the district, so long as some general requirements were met. In the event a school became overcrowded, exclusions then would be based on proximity to the school, with those living closest admitted first. Guidelines covering this explain that discrimination is practiced unless a school is desegregated, and that a system is not fully desegregated if (a) race or color is a factor in student assignment, or (b) teachers remain racially segregated, or (c) any activities or services, including transportation, remain segregated or discriminatory.

Contrary to the goals of the guidelines, choice of schools was not free for most Negroes. To many school officials, it seems to have meant a free choice to exclude Negro pupils for specious reasons, including "bad manners," "bad character," "poor record," etc.

## Negroes Intimidated, Pressured

It is difficult to overstate how much hope and enthusiasm

was generated among Negroes early in the year when they learned the school desegregation problem was shifting from the judicial to the administrative department of the federal government. Subsequent experience proved the amazing fact of how far down the line this enthusiasm reached into communities -- in small towns, and in rural and urban areas. Negro parents seemed for the first time to see the chance for their children to get equal education. But the start of school brought disillusionment, and it brought pressures and indignities no individuals should have to bear:

(1) Some school superintendents met with parents whose children applied for transfers from Negro to white schools and told them the Negro children probably would come home many days with black eyes from beatings the Negro parents should hold themselves responsible for.

(2) Some Negro children were threatened with demotion or loss of units.

(3) Negro teachers in some districts were threatened with dismissal if Negro children transferred.

(4) In some instances, the names and addresses of Negroes applying for transfers to white schools were published, thus inviting intimidation of Negro families.

(5) Some systems mailed out information on "freedom of choice" arrangements for white parents, encouraging them to claim all vacancies prior to the notifying of Negroes about

the free-choice compliance plan.

(6) Special affidavits, conferences, and/or employment information were required of Negro parents whose children sought transfers to white schools in some districts.

(7) Cross-burnings, shooting into Negro homes, and other acts of intimidation were used to force withdrawal of Negro students from some systems. (Surely, the Civil Rights Act in some way must be applied to protect citizens from such as this.)

## Tokenism Brings More Demonstrations

The sum of these experiences to concerned Negroes and private organizations working with them added up to more frustration and distrust of constituted legal authority on the federal as well as the local and state levels. The loss of confidence in the commitment and will of the federal government to force full compliance with the Civil Rights Act, and the acceptance of un-free "freedom of choice" compliance plans have led to a situation in which militant civil rights groups are beginning again to take to street demonstrations, as in Crawfordville, Georgia, seeking redress of grievances.

Obviously, decisions were made to accept token effort at compliance in some recalcitrant sections. Dual law and dual policies -- one for sections with few Negroes and another

for sections with large numbers of Negroes -- should not be. In other words, the Office of Education would seem to have erred in accepting two-grades-a-year plans in some Mississippi districts. Excepting these districts from the desegregation guidelines issued by the federal agency only prolongs and makes more laborious the process. The only way to desegregate is to desegregate. And the proof of compliance with any desegregation order is in the ability of schools to show that Negroes are in classes with whites in reasonable proportion.

The best measure of this desegregation would be on a class-to-class basis in every school in the various systems. That also is the best way to avoid transfers of white children from one school to another in search of an institution that had evaded the law, as was the case in Taliaferro County, Georgia, where all of the white children were transferred to schools outside the county (see attached editorial, page 23).

For some reason, there appears to be the thinking in the federal government that it is not within federal power to take the initiative to achieve compliance and correction of racial separation in schools, despite the fact that both the 1954 Supreme Court decision and the 1964 Civil Rights Act provide for school desegregation.

Enforcing law requires initiative. Federal officials use administrative fiat to enforce law in many areas. Administration is effecting policy and should not be circum-

scribed by bureaucratic caution so long as the administrative acts are within the scope of the spirit and letter of the law.

## Greater Effort Needed

It would be foolhardy to blame any individual or agency for the sorry progress of desegregation. It is common knowledge that any Office of Education official is confronted with the working conditions of bureaucracy and that actions of the Office of Education might be torpedoed by others in state, federal, and local positions.

It is hardly the fault of the Office of Education, for example, that little or no budget was provided for administration of Title VI funds, or that the few staffers who could be hired had to be brought on the payroll too late to do the job adequately. (Perhaps the White House and Congress share some of the blame for this.) We know that the few dedicated Office of Education staffers were overworked and vulnerable to the evasive tactics of many southern school superintendents and school boards. Consequently, we are sympathetic with the Office of Education's plight, though

critical of what was accomplished. We have the advantage of hindsight in examining the problems. With these experiences and insights, we suggest the following changes:

(1) The "freedom of choice" concept (as practiced) should not be accepted on face value as a method of achieving desegregation in the South. There cannot be freedom where parents and children are intimidated for exercising a choice.

(It is ironic that we are hearing much criticism of "freedom of choice" in the southern region at the very time northern minority groups are fighting for it to rid their section of de facto and de jure segregation. We do not choose in this report to assess the pros and cons of the principle of freedom of choice, or to try to untangle the semantic snarls that have developed in the phrase. It might be acceptable if properly administered. But as it is being applied in the South, it is an inadequate doctrine for even minimal compliance with the Civil Rights Act. Indeed, the choice has not been free for the Negro children to select schools they want to attend in the South.)

(2) Administrative fiat and decades of following laws and traditions now adjudged unconstitutional created the school segregation problem, and administrative fiat and pressures must be used to correct it. School superintendents, if placed in the position of demonstrating to the satisfaction of federal agencies that funds are being spent without regard

to race, would be found encouraging Negroes to attend formerly white schools in many instances. A handful of superintendents already are doing this and are justifying their actions by using the federal mandate as an excuse.

(3) Where local officials refuse to comply, funds should be cut off in accordance with procedures outlined in the Civil Rights Act. Thought should be given to the question of assuming responsibility for the education of children where such fund cut-offs occur. Government sponsored conferences in the few states where this is possible might study the possibility of temporary state option or trusteeship if local sponsorship is abandoned. And the Justice Department should be alerted for the possible initiation of legal action.

(4) In the absence of sufficient federal examiners to police the performance of school desegregation on district levels, technical assistance grants should be made to teams of professionals who could be recruited and co-sponsored by colleges and universities, civil rights groups, and/or the government, to review and challenge performance in integrating school systems. Complaints from local organizations should get quick follow-up by the Office of Education, including progress reports to complainants.

(5) Surveys should be made in all districts to determine the proportion of Negro school children, and the reissuance of Office of Education guidelines should indicate

that a sizeable proportion of Negro children in racially mixed classes on all grade levels is needed for local systems to show proper performance in desegregation.

(6) If the Office of Education is going to continue permitting phased desegregation plans (as four grades a year for a three-year period), it should not allow token desegregation in the four grades chosen to be integrated.

(7) Briefing and information sessions sponsored under technical assistance should be held for all teachers in all Deep South schools. At assemblies or by use of educational television, for example, some teachers might be taught how to pronounce the word, N-E-G-R-O, and how to lessen the isolation of individual Negro students in predominantly white classes until this undesirable situation itself can be corrected. And Negro teachers of white youngsters might be taught how to deal with them. This would be a minimal, emergency approach and should not preempt any other technical assistance programs.

(8) Some special scrutiny should be given school systems which are under court orders to desegregate. Some are finding court orders advantageous for slow desegregation progress. For example, Clarendon County, South Carolina, which has been dickering in the courts for 16 years, had only five Negroes attending school with whites in 1964. The Office of Education admits it does not know how many Negroes in Clarendon attend desegregated classes during the current

1965 school year.

As it was stated by the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Price v. Denison Independent School District on July 2, 1965: "By the 1964 Act and the action of HEW /the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare/, administration /of the law/ is largely where it ought to be -- in the hands of the executive and its agencies with the function of the judiciary confined to those rare cases presenting justifiable, not operational, questions."

The most important thing to be remembered as the executive branch continues with its responsibility for desegregating schools is included in the Office of Education's policy statement and guidelines:

"The responsibility to eliminate segregation rests with the school authorities and is not satisfied by rules and practices which shift the burden of removing discrimination to the class or classes of persons previously discriminated against."

ONE EDITORIAL REACTION TO CRAWFORDVILLE REPRISALS --

No Snarling Dogs, But a Nasty Situation

St. Petersburg Times Editorials

*"The policy of our paper is very simple — merely to tell the truth"*
*—Paul Poynter, publisher, 1912-1950*

EDITORIAL 6-A Phone 894-1111 Saturday, October 16, 1965

# The Issue At Crawfordville

Unlike Birmingham, St. Augustine, Selma and Hayneville, the civil rights issue at Crawfordville, Ga., has not touched the American conscience. It hasn't because the headline questions already have been settled and the American people know it. Die-hard segregation, even to the extent of abandoning public education, just won't be permitted in the United States.

**But in Crawfordville, the subtler forms of enforcing white supremacy have come to the surface and they have yet to be countered.**

It was no surprise when a federal court this week declared Taliaferro County's schools bankrupt and turned them over to Georgia Superintendent Claude Purcell with instructions to end segregation. The county's efforts to preserve segregation by closing its white schools and sending all white students to other counties was doomed from the start. If Crawfordville's leaders didn't know that, eastern Georgia must be more isolated from the nation than the state's generally moderate record on the race issue would indicate.

The unresolved question raised at Crawfordville is whether racists will be allowed to use economic reprisals in their last-ditch efforts to preserve the status quo.

**TALIAFERRO COUNTY'S** schools will be reopened, but will the Negro principal and five teachers fired from Negro schools since the demonstrations began be rehired?

Will the two Negro bus drivers, two school cooks and two custodians get their jobs back?

Will the 22 parents of children in the demonstrations be rehired after firings from their various jobs in Crawfordville?

Will the six families evicted from their homes be allowed to return?

Will the demonstrator victims of four sudden foreclosures be given another chance?

**SNARLING DOGS,** Klan sheriffs and children locked out of schools have helped America move rapidly along the road toward equal opportunities for all its citizens. The kinds of economic pressures employed in Crawfordville are much less dramatic, but paralyzingly effective.

The next step in the civil right struggle is to deny to those who still shout "Never!" the economic weapons long used against Negroes and tested anew at Crawfordville.

# SPECIAL REPORT

Stanfield

## SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

SOUTHERN JUSTICE: AN INDICTMENT

# SOUTHERN JUSTICE: AN INDICTMENT

Published by the Southern Regional Council
and the
American Civil Liberties Union

October 18, 1965

If the public could ever plead ignorance to the double standard of justice in the South -- one brand of justice for the white man, another for the Negro -- that time is past. On television and on the front pages of newspapers, the stories have come.

An FBI informant testifies that he is in the same car with three Ku Klux Klansmen as they shoot to death Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a Detroit housewife, on an Alabama highway. The jury does not convict the first defendant charged in the crime -- not even of manslaughter. While waiting for a new trial the Klansmen rush off to a Klan rally in North Carolina to sign autographs, openly confident that any new trial will end the same way.

A Hayneville, Alabama, community leader named Tom Coleman shoots down two civil rights workers at midday. Jonathan Daniels, a seminarian, dies at once and the Rev. Richard Morrisroe, a priest, is critically wounded. The trial, reportedly, turned into a circus, with Mr. Coleman not simply acquitted but almost proclaimed a hero.

The Liuzzo and Daniels cases were not isolated incidents, and Negroes can only reflect bitterly when white men -- Southerners and Northerners alike -- advise them, as they often do, to stop street demonstrations and take their grievances into the courts.

The Liuzzo case was not an isolated incident. From the sit-in demonstrations of 1960 through the spring of 1965, at least 26 Negroes and white civil rights workers died at the hands of racists in the South. Only one of the assailants was sentenced to prison, and he for 10 years. During the same period, "justice" was dispensed in double measure when white men were slain by Negroes. Two white segregationists died in the aftermath of racial demonstrations. Four Negroes went to prison, one of them for life.

The danger today is not that the public will fail to know about the double standard of justice, but that the public will think it limited only to civil rights cases, or will fail to act. If the problem were confined only to civil rights cases perhaps it could be solved with nothing more than a stern law making it a federal crime to kill a civil rights worker. The problem, however, goes far deeper.

## From Birth to Death

In many areas of the South, dual justice is a standing abuse to all Negroes -- the maid, the undertaker, the field hand, the school teacher, the minister. It exists from birth to death and the knowledge of it comes so early that a man may think he received it in his genes. It exists in the day to day brushes with "the law": the policeman on his beat, at traffic court, in

civil cases. It exists in the more awesome confrontations with judges and juries in rape and murder cases. To the extent that it exists, it provokes desperation among Negroes, shakes their faith in democracy, causes them to shun the policemen and the courts as enemies. More than any other factor it is responsible for what the white South views as increasing "radicalism" and "anarchy" in the civil rights movement.

## Why is it Possible?

Why is it possible under the American judicial system for a white man to murder a Negro without fear of serious retribution? How widespread is dual justice and what is its impact?

The malignancy probably is far more prevalent than most white people, North and South, realize. Why that is so is one of the chief internal political problems of this country. There may be many reasons for the continued existence of dual justice, but these must surely be among them:

Dual justice survives because Presidents continue to treat federal judgeships as political rewards and pacifiers. It survives because the Justice Department fails to exercise the power that it has to correct abuses. It survives because the judicial network, federal, state, and municipal, is still one of the most segregated institutions in America. It survives through a built-in discrimination in the selection of juries, state and federal, and

through the ill-concealed contempt of many courts and police officers for the rights of Negro citizens. It seems a fair estimate that it will continue to prosper, no matter how shrill the outrage in the distant pulpits and editorial towers, until the Negro gains adequate political power and until a sufficient number of white Southerners insist on equal rights for the minority.

Dual justice takes many forms, some merely disgusting and others so quietly terrifying that they balk the scrutiny of rational men.

## Capital Cases

Consider the case of Thomas Wansley at Lynchburg, Virginia. In the winter of 1963, when he was 19 years old, he was accused of raping two women, one white and the other Japanese, and of stealing $1.36 from one of the victims.

The white woman was unable to identify Wansley -- a Negro -- as her assailant. Police, however, after a private talk with Wansley succeeded in getting a confession. The Japanese woman positively identified Wansley. The youth admitted to having sexual relations with the Japanese woman -- not once but on several occasions. All-white juries deliberated, and handed down two death sentences for rape and a 20-year prison term for the $1.36 robbery. (The Virginia Supreme Court subsequently voided the sentences on grounds of trial error, and Wansley will be retried.)

Wansley, who had only one life to give, must have reflected bitterly on the knowledge that three months before in the same court room, a white man had received only a five-year sentence for raping an 11-year-old Negro girl.

Was this an isolated incident? Statistics amassed by the U. S. Bureau of Prisons answer, "no." Despite the fact that more than half of all convicted rapists are white, 87 per cent of all the persons executed for rape between 1930 and 1963 were Negroes convicted and sentenced by southern courts.

The wrath of southern judges and juries also falls on Negroes who are convicted of night-time burglaries and robberies. Between 1930 and 1961, 34 people were executed for this capital offense. Twenty-nine of them were Negroes and all but one were put to death in a southern or border state.

At first glance, Bureau of Prisons statistics would indicate that the Negro charged with murder receives better than equal treatment at the bar of justice. Negroes account for more than half of the murder arrests throughout the nation, but between 1930 and 1962 accounted for slightly less than half (49 per cent) of the executions. More detailed, if somewhat old, studies show, however, that the statistics conceal a double standard as menacing as any imposed for rape or burglary. Southern white juries are reluctant to hand down a stiff penalty to a

Negro who kills a Negro, but are quick to exact the maximum penalty when a Negro kills a white person. Because most Negro murders are within the race, the execution statistics are relatively low.

The nature of the problem is shown in a study published by H. Garfinkel in a 1949 issue of Social Forces. Garfinkel examined murder convictions over an 11-year period in 10 North Carolina counties. He discovered that 26.6 per cent of all Negroes accused of killing white men received the death penalty. Most of the others received long sentences. Negroes accused of killing other Negroes fared far better. Only four per cent were executed; only five per cent received terms of 30 years or longer. Whites accused of killing Negroes had relatively little to fear at the hands of the court. None received life or death sentences.

## Cash Register Justice

Negroes accused of minor crimes also have reason to fear their day in court. On the surface, the Negro would appear to receive equal justice in the traffic courts of many cities. A white man and a Negro stand before the traffic judge. Both are first offenders and both are found guilty of driving under the influence of intoxicating beverages. The judge pronounces a standard prescription for the malady: twelve months or

$150. It appeared equal, but was it? The Negro earns $1.25 an hour when he can find work. He cannot raise the equivalent of three weeks salary. He goes to jail for a year. The white man earns $250 a week as a certified public accountant, hands over three days pay eagerly, and walks from court praising a benevolent judge. When the prescription isn't standard, the defendant who has his charge reduced so as not to lose his driver's license is more likely to be white than Negro.

"Cash register justice" is widespread in the South. The poor of both races suffer from it, but the Negro, being the poorest, suffers most frequently. In a 12 months period ending in June of 1962, 2,341 persons served terms in Georgia's state prison system for their inability to pay small fines. Seventy per cent of these were Negro.

A Georgia judge sentenced a 35-year-old Negro to "a fine of $25 or four months imprisonment" for driving without a driver's license. The court had no provision for installment plan fines. The Negro was unable to raise $25 "on the spot." He went to prison for four months.

Another judge sentenced a Negro woman to "$35 or 12 months in prison" for public drunkeness. She entered prison on July 12, 1963, and with time off for good

behavior, emerged a "free" woman on May 24, 1964.

An 18-year old Negro youth was sentenced to "$85 or 12 months" for petty larceny. The same poverty that encouraged him to steal also forced him to serve the term.

"Cash register justice" is by no means limited to the backwoods counties in the South. The practice flourishes in a city like Atlanta. In 1961 and 1962, 40 per cent of all the misdemeanants in Georgia prisons were sent there by Atlanta-based courts. In an attempt to curb the practice, the Georgia parole board recently sought and won legislation making it more difficult for cities and counties to send the indigent to the state prisons. However, many courts in Georgia and in other southern states continue the practice of alternative sentences (a cash fine or a jail sentence) and when the state refuses to take the indigent prisoners, the courts jail them in city or county jails.

Experts in the field of criminal correction have cried out for years against the widespread use of alternative sentences, but much of the South hasn't listened. "The festering malignancy which eats at the administration of justice in misdemeanor courts is in evidence every day in those courts when fines are imposed," said a panel of experts in the book, The Law of Criminal Correction. "In many of them no effort is made

to ascertain whether the offender is able to pay." The panel adds: "A modest fine with an alternative prison term imposed upon a man who has not the ability to pay is in fact a sentence to prison, while a substantial fine imposed on one of ample financial resources is inconsequential punishment." Just as uneven is the setting of bail, the same amount assuring the well-off the right to freedom before trial, sending the impoverished to jail.

## Finding A Lawyer

As serious as they sometimes become, fines and bail are only small parts of the problem faced by the indigent Negro before the bar of justice. The problem of finding and hiring an attorney can be an acute one for Negroes. Often the Negro accused of a major crime is forced to accept a court-appointed white attorney with little enthusiasm for his case.

Take, for example, the case of Preston Cobb, Jr., a penniless 15-year-old Negro who lived with his mother on a farm near Monticello, Georgia. In June of 1961, Cobb was charged with slaying his white landlord, Coleman Dumas, Sr., as the man sat reading in his home. After interrogation, Cobb confessed to the slaying. "An all white jury found the youth guilty," wrote Claude Sitton of the New York Times. "His court-appointed attorney had made no request for mercy and none was recommended by the jurors. The jury had no choice but to send Cobb

to the electric chair." Once alerted to the case, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People retained an Atlanta attorney, Donald L. Hollowell, to appeal Cobb's case. In the appeal Mr. Hollowell charged that the white attorney neglected to bring up the question of Negro exclusion from juries in the county. "He would have felt it not to be in his best interest as a white lawyer practicing in and around Jasper County to have raised said issue," Hollowell said.

Even when they have the money, Negroes may find it difficult to find an attorney to represent them. In the Deep South, Negro attorneys are sometimes reluctant to accept controversial cases. They can cost an attorney his law practice and result even in ostracism by his community.

In the spring of 1965, Warren C. Fortson, an established attorney in Americus, Georgia, and brother of Georgia Secretary of State Ben Fortson, agreed to defend two Negro teenagers identified with civil rights against charges of fornication and touched off a storm of protest that, along with milder resentment of his role in calling for a biracial committee, ultimately forced him to leave the city. In the trial, one patrolman testified in detail to lurid acts which he said he witnessed. Under cross examination, another law enforcement officer conceded he was standing beside the patrolman and saw nothing

more than heavy petting. The two teenagers were convicted by the court and sentenced to reform school. Fortson, for his role in the case, was convicted by the public and forced to leave the city. He deemed his future effectiveness as an attorney destroyed. "How could I pick 12 men for the jury box so at least one wouldn't gut me just because I'm me?" Fortson asked. "We have made great progress in desegregation and race relations but the courthouse crowd has done everything they could to harass. The oppression of the courts and law enforcement are Negroes' major grievances now."

Warren Fortson's story, of course, is not unique. In 1963, Charles Morgan, who had already aroused hostility in Birmingham for his willingness to represent Negroes in controversial cases, lost his law practice for urging Birmingham to re-examine itself in the wake of a church bombing in which four Negro children were killed. He left Birmingham to become a staff counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union and is now waging a legal fight to integrate white juries, proportionate to population.

Two years after Morgan left Birmingham, another attorney, Paul Johnston,agreed to defend a government undercover agent against a Ku Klux Klan attorney. His decision, which he made at the urging of U. S. Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, cost him his membership

in one of Birmingham's most prosperous law firms, a firm which still includes his father and a brother. Daniel H. Pollitt, a professor of law at the University of North Carolina, had earlier observed: "The small band of southern attorneys who undertake 'racial' litigation often find the common courtesies of the bench and bar denied them."

White Supremacy on the Bench

With or without adequate counsel, the Negro must often face a hostile judge. Many southern judges are, of course, scrupulously fair. Others seem to view themselves less as impartial umpires and dispensers of justice than as defenders of white supremacy.

In one large southern city in 1962, a 25-year old Negro was summoned from his jail cell to a municipal courtroom. The judge had received complaints that the defendant, while serving on a prison work gang, had failed to say, "yes, sir" to a foreman with the Birmingham Park and Recreation Board and had "scuffled" with an assistant jail warden. The Negro man contended that the assistant warden had attacked him as part of a lesson in "politeness." He asked permission to go to a hospital for treatment for sore ribs. "No," said the judge as he ordered him to pay a $55 fine. "Until you learn to say 'yes, sir' to white people you can stay in jail."

The view of Negroes as second class citizens sometimes extends to the federal bench. In Jackson, Mississippi, federal Judge Harold Cox once referred to Negroes as "chimpanzees," criticizing their voter registration activities.

Judges are often inclined to be lenient with whites who are charged with offenses against Negroes and harsh with Negroes accused of crimes against whites. In New Bern, North Carolina, in June of 1965, three white men -- one of them an exalted Cyclops in the Ku Klux Klan -- admitted bombing a Negro funeral home and two cars which were parked outside a Negro church. They have yet to serve a day in prison. A superior court judge handed down suspended sentences. In Georgia, a 75-year-old white woman, jay walking after being warned repeatedly by police, walked into the side of a car driven by a Negro and was killed. Officials were reluctant to file charges against the Negro, but ultimately did so after pressure from the woman's family. Rather than face an all-white jury, the Negro elected to appear directly before the judge. He lost his gamble. The judge sentenced him to five years in prison. A police official called the sentence a "raw deal" and termed the woman's death "strictly" accidental, but the words didn't help the Negro.

## The Jury Problem

Despite the outrageous outcome of his case, the Negro may have been wise to prefer a judge rather than a jury. Southern juries tend to be all-white and, all too often, inclined to support other whites in legal clashes with Negroes.

"Take for example, the killing of Clinton Melton, in Glendora, Mississippi, in the Delta, by a white man named Elmer Kimbell, a close friend of the man who had been acquitted of the murder of Emmett Till," Robert Penn Warren wrote in his book, Segregation. "When the Lions Club met three days after the event, a resolution was drawn and signed by all members present: 'We consider the taking of the life of Clinton Melton an outrage against him, against all of the people of Glendora, against the people of Mississippi, as well as against the human family . . .' And the town began to raise a fund to realize the ambition of the dead man, to send his children to college. . ." "But," Warren added, "in that division between man and man, the jury that tried Elmer Kimbell acquitted him."

The record of southern juries in racial cases is so depressingly anti-Negro that some observers have come to question the fairness of the jury system itself. Such sweeping criticism of one of man's sanest achievements -- the right of trial by jury -- is indicative of the danger

of allowing the jury system to operate in crippled fashion. It is not merely a matter in the South of a rare, occasional miscarriage of justice growing out of the nature of the jury system at its best. "This is the price we have to pay for the jury system," Attorney General Katzenbach was quoted as saying after the Coleman acquittal in Hayneville, though not talking directly about that trial. The price is being paid for the crippled condition of the jury system. For there is no doubt that the jury system as it now operates in most parts of the South -- and, it should be said, in many parts of the United States -- is grossly unfair. It is unfair not only to Negroes but to poor whites, as well.

Much of the problem is in the selection of jurors. In almost no courts are jurors picked by thoroughly objective means to ensure a true cross-section of the community.

Charles Morgan, in a suit attacking the jury system of Jefferson County (Birmingham), Alabama, makes the point that most courts in the country use selection methods that work against obtaining a cross-section.

Mr. Morgan said in his brief, "Selection techniques now differ from state to state and within states from court to court. The federal system differs from the state system. Qualifications differ from state to state. Federal qualifications differ from state qualifications.

Indeed, former Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall recently noted: 'A justice department survey in 1961 showed that the 92 federal district courts had 92 different systems of selecting juries.'

"One jury commissioner's telephone book is another's city directory. A third may try voter registration lists. The Junior Chamber of Commerce; church membership lists (regardless of the First Amendment); lists of school teachers; American Legion posts or labor unions; lists of industrialists and lists of automobile owners; lists of householders or PTA members, or registered voters or real property tax payers -- all are used."

Mr. Morgan pointed out that many of the federal courts rely on the "key man" system. Persons well known to the court -- usually men of substance -- are tapped and they in turn suggest their friends.

Mr. Morgan said, "One clear light shines through the forest of lists -- the United States in almost every one of its courts tries its citizens before Literary Digest juries."

That was an allusion to the old Literary Digest method of polling national issues and elections. The magazine went out of business after a spectacular polling failure in 1936 when it predicted that Landon would defeat Roosevelt. Subsequent evaluation of the Digest techniques indicated the reason for the failure: The magazine

based its predictions on the opinions of middle and upper class Americans and paid no attention to the poor. Mr. Morgan concluded that present-day juries are selected by the same discredited method, ignoring the welfare and relief rolls and all other lists that would give the poor a voice on juries.

Governor Robert McNair of South Carolina was quoted recently as saying that the real threat of increased Negro votes is not so much at the polls as on juries. He said that adding large numbers of Negroes to the electorate would put more and more illiterates on juries, and he saw that as unfortunate.

If it is proper for a middle class public official charged with embezzlement to be tried by a jury of his peers -- other members of the middle class -- why is it improper for a penniless Negro to have his fate decided by a jury that includes his peers?

## Instrument of Oppression

In the system of justice portrayed by Franz Kafka, an innocent man could be accused of an unspecified crime by a faceless court. The court was corrupted almost absolutely, so that by manipulation and tribute the accused could avoid prison. But the freedom he enjoyed was perhaps worse than imprisonment. He could never win definite acquittal of his unstated charge; he could

only choose between ostensible acquittal and indefinite postponement. Under the first, the accused and his representatives might cajole and manipulate a sufficient number of judges to have the case informally set aside and forgotten. The drawback was that a new judge in another part of the hierachy might rediscover the charge sometime in the future and order the accused arrested again, thus starting the process over. If the accused selected indefinite postponement, his case could never be disposed of decisively but, through the same use of influence, it could be kept always in its early stages, never moving toward trial and sentencing as long as the accused unflaggingly minded his attentions to the judges and their functionaries.

It can be said without unconscionable exaggeration that the southern system of justice suspends the Negro in just such a state of torment and obligation. Because he is black he is continually subject to caprice. In a manner of speaking, there is no such thing as "definite acquittal" for the Negro. His color carries with it a presumption of hard luck in the white man's courts; a given Negro is automatically a poorer risk than a white man at the bar of justice. That is a statistical certainty that hovers over every Negro and makes him never quite free.

But, like Kafka's accused innocent, the Negro is not without a fretful, worrisome kind of hope. He is

reminded constantly that he can buy insurance against the harshness of the system. One thing that most Negroes learn early is that a "good nigger" fares better in times of trouble than a "no 'count nigger." By debasing himself systematically, a Negro can earn a reputation as a "good nigger" and assure himself of favored treatment should he be called to account in a court of law.

It is common knowledge that many a southern jury, in deciding the fate of a Negro charged with a crime against another Negro, tempers its verdict if the accused has a white man to vouch for him or if he stands well in the white community. If a Negro has been scrupulous in cultivating the good will of white men of standing, he is safer from the caprices of the system. The unfounded criminal charge is more likely to be dropped and the justified charge is less likely to result in a heavy penalty.

A Negro who neglects his reputation is always at the threshold of trouble with the law. If a crime is committed, all the "bad niggers" are rounded up routinely. A Negro man who takes the liberty of speaking assertively to a policeman is much more likely to go to jail on a trumped-up charge than a white man who speaks the same way. Even when an honest mistake is made in charging a man with a crime, the accused Negro who has no white patron has greater difficulty in extricating himself from the white man's jail.

## All-White Justice

Once the Negro is under arrest, he enters a world that is almost totally white, and every person he encounters could mean trouble.

Attorney Morgan, defending a Negro charged with murder in 1963, filed a motion to quash the indictment in which he outlined his client's prospects. He wrote of the man's being arrested by white policemen, carried off in a segregated paddy wagon driven by a white man and locked up in a segregated jail staffed solely by whites. He was to be brought to trial in a courthouse inhabited by whites, in a segregated courtroom run by white officials, before a jury that almost certainly would be solidly white.

"If he receives the death penalty," Mr. Morgan wrote, "he will then be given a last meal by his white guards, visited by a white chaplain, shaved by a white barber, and taken by white guards to a yellow electric chair in Kilby Prison . . . the chair being the only facility in Alabama justice which is and has always been desegregated. . ."

"A button or switch will be pressed or pulled by a white man, before white witnesses, and the condemned will die. Being in indigent circumstances, he will thereafter be buried in a potter's grave in a racially segregated cemetery, provided by the state of Alabama."

It might be protested that Mr. Morgan has been unduly harsh, but note the findings of the United States Civil Rights Commission in a recent survey: 87 per cent of county jails and 93 per cent of state penitentiaries in the southern and border states are segregated; 63 per cent of the courthouses have segregated rest rooms; 17 per cent have segregated court rooms.

Jack Nelson, writing on Jim Crow justice in the Los Angeles Times, concluded, "In some areas of the South the system is so loaded against the Negro that his only choice may be to throw himself on the mercy of the courts."

## Classic Corruption

What the South is faced with is a monstrous corruption, no different in any essential way from other classic cases of political corruption. The system has been tampered with to give one group a social, political, and economic advantage at the expense of another group.

The nation, for some reason, has not yet learned to deal with the corruption of justice by racism. In other, more pedestrian shortcomings, America has been able to call on its tradition of pragmatism and produce reform, and the reform always has been within the liberal democratic framework. Now, with the nation seemingly unable to abolish this particular corruption pragmatically, a new mode of reform is arising. It is a radical reform

whose adherents are uncommitted to liberal democracy and the American tradition of pragmatism. These new reformers, who proudly wear the name of radical, move at the fringes of the civil rights movement, working frankly at the total destruction of the system that deals unjustly. Occasionally, one can hear a bitter young civil rights worker call openly for a riot, on the theory that only through violence can the white majority be persuaded to take its foot off the neck of the oppressed minority.

## Democracy Damaged

Of all the forces that urge the Negro away from the American democracy, none is more vicious or more effective than the dual system of justice. His ingrained knowledge of the dual system causes a Negro instinctively to dodge a policeman. The same wretched awareness leads him to think of the courts as a white man's game, and, since to the Negro in poverty the court is one of the most visible arms of the government, it tempts him to consider the entire governing system as a device for maintaining the white man in charge and the Negro in "his place." From the Deep South, he carries his fear, resentment, and distrust to the ghetto slums of the rest of the nation, like the Watts area of Los Angeles where rioting was touched off when policemen made an arrest. Too often, he finds, out of the South, the familiar taints of dual justice.

The duality is so successfully pernicious that multitudes of Negroes have gone to their graves without doubting the rightness of the scheme.

Other Voices

But now the scheme is being doubted, and voices are being raised against it.

In June, the police at Jackson, Mississippi, arrested more than 800 Negroes for demonstrating in opposition to what they considered the "illegally constituted legislature" in Mississippi. They were herded into display halls at the Mississippi state fairgrounds. Convinced that the full force of the law was being directed against them, they assembled in a Negro church afterward to air their grievances. Willie Ricks, a SNCC field worker, took the podium and told the Negroes that they could expect no justice from "Mr. Charlie's courts." And, he said, the situation would be little better in federal courts. Hadn't President Johnson just appointed J. P. Coleman (a former governor of Mississippi who is considered a moderate by some, but a segregationist by Negroes familiar with many of his utterances and acts while governor) to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals?

As a result, Mr. Ricks said, the Negro would have to protect himself. "When the spirit say shoot," he said, "we're going to shoot. When the spirit say throw rocks and bottles, we're going to throw rock and bottles."

In Bogalusa, Louisiana, in July, the police stood by smiling while a barber turned a water hose on a civil rights worker. "I almost hit him," the civil rights worker said later. "A year ago I was nonviolent -- I really believed it as a philosophy -- and everyone I knew in the movement was nonviolent, but now it's nothing more than a tactic. Almost no one talks of nonviolence as a philosophy any more."

A Negro lieutenant was brutally beaten in Canton, Mississippi, and the police made no arrests. Soon after, civil rights workers brought a shotgun into the Freedom House at Canton for protection.

The white officials of several southern states have expressed alarm at the growth of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, a Negro protective league that advocates carrying arms and shooting back when white racists attack. The dismayed officials miss an important point. Of all the reasons for the popularity of the Deacons among Negroes -- and they are complex -- the one that stands as an incontrovertible rebuke to the people who govern the South is the Negro's experience with the white man's justice. In too many places, the Negro cannot depend on the police for protection and, when an occasional terrorist is arrested and brought to trial, the Negro can be confident that the white court will turn the offender loose or punish him so lightly that the penalty is interpreted as quiet approval of terrorism.

Day-To-Day

The Negro's loss of confidence in the white man's system of justice does not have to be traced to the more drastic failings. A murderous bombing is terrifying in its impact, but perhaps just as damaging to the Negro's faith in his government is the unspectacular, continuous erosion produced by his day-to-day contact with the system. The demoralizing nature of this contact is summed up in a Negro's encounter with two southern policemen as recounted by Claude Sitton in the New York Times. The encounter, shy of brutality, might be called routine intimidation, the kind that every southern Negro dreads.

"The Negro watched anxiously as the two whites in uniform jumped out and approached him," Mr. Sitton wrote.

"'Where're you going, nigger?' demanded the driver.

"'Home,' replied the man.

"'Let me see your identification.'

"'He fished out a longshoreman's card and handed it to the policeman.

"'Take off your hat, nigger,' ordered the policeman, still looking at the card. Before the command could be carried out, he snatched the hat from the man's head and threw it to the pavement.

"'What's that in your pocket?'

"'Nothing.'

"The policeman thrust a lighted match into the lapel

pocket of the man's coat. Striking a second match, he held it to the card, which curled and blackened in the yellow flame.

"'You go on now, nigger,' said the policeman. And he and his partner strode back to the police car and drove away."

## The First Steps

There are no easy solutions to the Negro's problems anywhere and that is particularly true in the area of equal justice. But it is clear that several steps must be taken before any real progress can be expected.

To begin at the top, the President of the United States needs to find men for federal judgeships who do not owe their political careers to the same system that perpetuates dual justice. Some of the most notorious appointments to the bench have been made by liberal Democratic Presidents, simply because a President is loath to violate the tradition of letting these appointments be made, in fact if not in name, by the ruling Democratic apparatus in the one-party states of the South.

Not all judicial appointments have been unfortunate, and in fact, many have been thoroughly laudatory. But even the "good" judges have added to the Negro's woes. The 28 court clerks and the 109 jury commissioners attached to the federal courts of the 11 states of the Old

Confederacy are solidly white -- all appointed by the 65 white district judges. Through these appointments, the judges build higher the walls of segregated justice.

Despairing of any immediate end to dual justice in the South, Negroes are turning increasingly to the U. S. Department of Justice, demanding that it "do something." Often the Negroes are disappointed. Although systematic exclusion of Negroes from juries is at the root of dual justice, not once during this century has the Justice Department prosecuted anyone for the practice. This, despite a specific law -- passed in 1875 -- which makes jury discrimination a crime punishable by a fine of up to $5,000.

Despite spectacular arrests in Mississippi and Georgia, the Justice Department has also been cautious at best in prosecuting racist terrorists under existing federal law, contending that in most cases it lacks jurisdiction. The Department's argument has been challenged by some of the nation's most eminent law professors. In the summer of 1964, for example, Robert Kennedy, who was then attorney general, told a civil rights delegation that terrorism in Mississippi was a "local matter for law enforcement" and said that his power to move against it was "very limited." Twenty-nine law professors, representing six leading law schools, quickly prepared a group statement arguing that Title 10,

Section 333 of the U. S. Code gives the President power to suppress "any domestic violence" through the use of "the militia or the armed forces, or both, or by any other means."

Probably the most frequent criticism of the Justice Department voiced by civil rights workers centers on FBI agents who, as during arrests for peaceful demonstrating, observe violations of constitutional rights, take copious notes on it, but rarely intervene. Arrests were made by federal authorities on complaint for interference with constitutional rights during the Mississippi Summer of 1964. Then, three men were charged with violation of Title 18, Section 241 of the U. S. Code, for interfering with voter registration workers in Itta Bena. The Justice Department filed a court suit seeking full protection of constitutional rights to peaceably assemble for demonstrations, this during a voter registration campaign in Greenwood, Miss., in 1963. But such actions are so rare as to be almost unheard of.

Out of criticism over this has come the cry for a special federal police force to handle racial matters with the same efficiency the federal government handles cheating on income taxes. Those who are wary of more federal police are forced back to the drastic need for basic reform of existing methods of law enforcement.

Often the federal government seems to say it is as

helpless as the Negroes themselves at gaining compliance with federal statutes and the U. S. Constitution through the normal procedures and institutions of southern justice. What does this say to Negroes across all America, and to the world?

## Public Responsibility

Nothing less than a public outcry against dual justice is needed, coupled with a specific program to eliminate some of the most flagrant abuses. One step of the program must be a jury system that will not include just "token juries" but a completely representative cross-section of an entire judicial district -- whites as well as Negroes. Attorney Morgan recommends the Kraft-Rosenbluth system of jury selection. By the use of racial, population density, sex, economic and other census data, John F. Kraft, a specialist in public opinion surveys, and Leon Rosenbluth, a consulting statistician, have devised a system for the random selection of juror's names. It would abolish all subjective standards of juror selection and would not require "the use of judgment by a jury commissioner or key man." It also would eliminate "Literary Digest" jury lists taken from phone books, voter registration lists, etc.

Discriminatory appointment and hiring of court officials and employes needs to be eliminated in not just the state but also the federal courts of the South. As

on a jury, the mere physical presence of Negroes could accomplish much in eliminating gross expressions of racial bias.

Eliminating court and jury discrimination is only a step, however. The cases of Preston Cobb, Jr., and countless other Negroes illustrate the need for a workable public defender system, one in which the attorney would be hired on a career basis and thus be free of public pressure. Or perhaps other systems can be devised which will provide Negroes advocacy rather than echoes from the South's past. To eliminate cash register justice, the use of the installment plan method of paying fines should come into widespread use. And, indeed, a judge should determine the ability of a defendant to pay before he hands down a fine. To reduce the possibility of overly harsh sentences, some penologists have suggested that legislatures pass laws making it mandatory for the judge to receive a complete presentencing report from court investigators before handing down a sentence of more than two years. The report should include an assessment of the defendant's prospects of rehabilitation, his general character and reputation, his previous court record, his record as a parent, etc. This could have the effect of making the judge see the defendant as a person, rather than as another criminal standing before the bar of justice. It would also result

in a delay in sentencing and give the judge a chance to reflect on the sentence before he hands it down. The same weighing of individual circumstances is needed in the setting of bail.

It is obvious on the face of it that dual justice could not exist, at least with its present excesses, if the American bar had taken aggressive action to end it. At best, attorneys in most areas of the South have been shy in accepting controversial cases involving Negroes, thus allowing the full wrath of segregationists to fall on a handful of Negro and "liberal" white attorneys. There is a desperate need for national and southern bar associations to begin enforcing their ethical codes in a manner which will guarantee that Negroes will be able to choose from a broad range of attorneys. Individual lawyers would be less reluctant, perhaps, to accept controversial cases if bar associations made it clear to the public that lawyers have the obligation to provide vigorous defense not only for white clients but for Negroes and unpopular white clients as well.

Finally, the people of the South must be fully aware that they have this sickness among them, and that it must be cured. White people sometimes complain that they are weary of being constantly reminded of the Negro revolution. Their weariness is nothing compared to the Negro's.

The ultimate responsibility is with the people to assure liberty and justice for all -- in the South and across the nation wherever dual justice prevails.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Ga.

SUMMER 1965 REPORT ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION DEVELOPMENTS

SCHOOL DISTRICT (Give full name) Mount Airy City Schools

Address of Superintendent's Office Mount Airy, N. C.

NUMBER OF WHITE PUPILS IN DISTRICT 2703 NUMBER OF NEGRO PUPILS 567

DOES THE DISTRICT HAVE A SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLAN? Yes

Was it ordered by a Federal Court? No If so, when? _____

Was the plan submitted to the Office of Education in Washington? Yes When? May, 1965

Has the plan been approved by Washington? Yes If so, when? Oct. 1965

DESCRIPTION OF PLAN: (If possible, attach a copy of the plan.)

By what year will total desegregation be accomplished? 1968

How many grades will be desegregated in 1965? Which grades? All (Token)

Is this a zoning plan or a freedom of choice plan? Freedom of Choice

What arrangements are there for the registration of first graders and other new students? School of Parent's Choice

Are students in all grades permitted to transfer to get courses not offered in the segregated schools? Yes

Are there provisions for the desegregation of buses? No

Are there plans for teacher desegregation? Describe No

PUBLICITY GIVEN TO THE PLAN:

Were there notices in the newspaper? Yes If so, how often? Weekly

Did parents receive individual notices or letters about the plan and about the procedures for registration and transfer? Yes

Did school officials meet with PTA and other groups to interpret the plan? Yes

If possible, attach copies of notices published in the newspaper.

REGISTRATION, TRANSFER AND ASSIGNMENT PERIOD:

Give the dates: Anytime How much time was there between the notice in the newspaper and the transfer or registration period?

Were there different dates for different grades? No

Were transfer forms easily available? Describe how transfer forms are secured and note whether there have been any problems. Yes - Pick them up at any school

Was the transfer period held before the plan was approved by Washington? Yes If so, was an additional transfer period scheduled? Yes

HOW MANY NEGRO PUPILS APPLIED TO ENROLL IN FORMERLY ALL-WHITE SCHOOLS? 125

HOW MANY NEGRO PUPILS HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED TO FORMERLY ALL-WHITE SCHOOLS? 125

If possible, give number assigned to each desegregated grade

In addition to the pupils assigned to the grades desegregated in the plan, were others assigned who had requested transfer to get special courses not available in the segregated schools? Yes

WERE ANY WHITE PUPILS ASSIGNED TO FORMERLY ALL-NEGRO SCHOOLS? No

WHAT ABOUT STUDENTS WHO APPLIED BUT WERE REJECTED: None

What were the reasons given? (If possible attach a copy of a rejection letter.)

Were they given another opportunity to choose a desegregated school?

Were they given a hearing by school officials?

HAVE ANY NEGRO TEACHERS LOST JOBS BECAUSE OF DESEGREGATION? Yes

HAS THERE BEEN ANY INTIMIDATION OR REPRISALS AGAINST NEGROES WHO SEEK A DESEGREGATED EDUCATION? Describe. Note particularly whether any teachers or other school board staff have tried to persuade Negroes not to attend formerly all-white schools. No

DO YOU KNOW OF EFFORTS ON THE PART OF LOCAL OFFICIALS TO PREPARE THE COMMUNITY FOR DESEGREGATION? Yes

DATE OF THE OPENING OF SCHOOL FOR THE 1965-1966 TERM Sept 1, 1965

DO YOU ANTICIPATE ANY TROUBLE WHEN SCHOOLS OPEN? No

IS THERE A GROUP IN THE COMMUNITY WHICH HAS BEEN WORKING TO PROMOTE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION? Please give us the name of this group and the address of the key contact person. No

ARE THERE WHITE CITIZENS WHO ARE WORKING TO PROMOTE PEACEFUL SCHOOL DESEGREGATION? Yes

HAVE CONCERNED CITIZENS WRITTEN TO THE U.S. COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION IN WASHINGTON TO GIVE HIM THEIR VIEWS OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLAN?

No

HAS THE COMMUNITY BEEN VISITED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF ANY FEDERAL AGENCIES CONCERNED ABOUT SCHOOL DESEGREGATION DEVELOPMENTS: Community Relations Service, Office of Education, Department of Justice, etc.?

No

COMMENTS. We will welcome information about how citizens feel about the implementation of the desegregation plan.

DATE 12-7-65 Bill Pilcher, Mt. Airy, N. C.

Please give us your name and address so that we may keep in touch with you. Your name will not be used without your permission.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JACKSON 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

575.6468

MEMORANDUM

January 14, 1966

TO: Participating agencies, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Edwin J. Stanfield, Director of Field Activities

This is to remind you once again of the meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference on January 26-27. We shall begin in the SRC conference room at 2:00 p.m. on the twenty-sixth, and the conference should end by mid-afternoon on the twenty-seventh.

Enclosed is a copy of the proposed agenda.

I hope that you will have a representative here.

## PROPOSED GRANTS-IN-AID SCHEDULE, 1966

Condition of grants:

1. All grants to be paid quarterly on January 1, April 1, July 1, and October 1 of 1966 unless otherwise indicated.

2. Grants will not be paid until such time as adequate quarterly program and financial reports have been received by SRC.

3. Grants are contingent on professional staff being maintained by the recipient councils.

4. It is expected that local fund raising will be held at least at the rate of 1965. Should this not be the case, revision during the year will be necessary, unless there are special circumstances. In cases where fund raising falls below 1965 rates, staff will withhold funds pending determination by the Executive Committee.

5. All grants are to be reviewed and likely revised if the performance of the recipient council in all areas, including program and membership, is below realistic expectations. In such case, staff may withhold funds pending a review and decision by the Executive Committee.

| | |
|---|---|
| Alabama | $5,500 |
| Arkansas | 4,600 |
| Florida | 4,600 |
| Georgia | 4,600 |
| Louisiana | 3,200 |
| Mississippi | 4,800 |
| North Carolina | 4,800 |
| South Carolina | 4,600 |
| Tennessee | 4,600 |
| Virginia | 4,600 |
| Houston | 1,800 |
| Contingency | 2,000 |
| Geo. S. Mitchell Award | 1,000 |
| TOTAL: | $50,700 |

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
Atlantic 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

**MEMORANDUM**

TO: State Council Directors or Chairmen

FROM: ED Stanfield

The next meeting of the state council directors will be held on Wednesday, Febraary 2, 1966, in the SRC conference room, beginning at 10:00 a.m. We should finish around four o'clock.

SRC will pay travel costs and Atlanta expenses for the director and chairman of each council. Other staff members are welcome, but expenses will have to come from the state council budget.

Please make every effort to get your chairman here. The expanded grant-in-aid program will be the principal item on the agenda, and it is important that the chairmen understand the purposes, limitations, etc., for this program.

If you wish to confer with any of the SRC staff or need to visit the Atlanta offices of allied agencies, please feel free to come a day early or stay a day afterward.

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Don't forget to send us a copy of your annual audit, please.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

February 3, 1966

**MEMORANDUM**

TO: Southern Interagency Conference Agencies

FROM: Secretariat

RE: "Doctor Bill" Insurance under Medicare

At our meeting on January 26-27 Mr. Frank Sloan, Regional Director for the Office of Economic Opportunity, asked that all agencies publicize, through newsletters or in any other way possible, the fact that Medicare's $3 per month voluntary doctor insurance plan must be applied for by March 31. This is very cheap coverage, but it is not automatic.

O.E.O. has a "Medicare Alert" program aimed at spreading this word. They will provide payment of $1.25 per hour, plus transportation for persons to visit lists of eligible people provided by the Social Security Administration. If you are interested in this program, call O.E.O. at once but first call your Social Security office to find out (1) what has been done, (2) exactly what the rules are concerning election of this coverage, and (3) whether or not the local office will provide lists of eligible people.

In some instances, local welfare offices will assume the cost for those on their rolls who cannot afford even the $3 per month. You may wish to inquire about this.

Unfortunately, there is hardly time to secure O.E.O. funds and employ visitors; therefore, we are asked to help get the news out as best we can.

(According to Sylvia Porter, only a little over half of the 17 million eligible old folks have signed up so far.)

February 3, 1966

Mr. Gordon Manser
Associate Director
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
345 East 46 St.
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Manser:

This is to confirm that I will attend the Regional Consultantion of the National Social Welfare Assembly in New Orleans on February 15. Mr. Paul Anthony, Director of S.R.C., had written to you about this in his letter of January 6, and I have received the packet of background materials.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

February 7, 1966

The Reverend James Sessions
Chaplain to the College
Drew University
Madison, New Jersey

Dear Jim:

Needless to say, we were all very disappointed that you found it necessary to decline the offer of the position of Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

I trust that nothing about the terms of the offer which might have been negotiable affected your decision to any considerable degree.

I still feel that you could make a valuable contribution in the building of the New South. If you ever decide to stop defying the will of the Lord, let us hear from you.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... GEORGIA 30303
... 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

February 10, 1966

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: J. Edwin Stanfield

RE: Miscellany

Don't forget to send me any suggestions you have to help us with our search for positive steps taken by mayors, city councils, city managers, police commissioners, or other municipal authorities in the South toward improved inter-group relations. This is for an "experience report" for the U.S. Conference of Mayors. It could pertain to almost any of our program concerns: housing, employment, education, police practices, city planning, urban renewal, the poverty program, etc If you have a Mayor or other official or group to suggest, please let me know right away -- and a brief two or three lines on what he or they did and the apparent result would be helpful. Remember that we are <u>not</u> interested only in large cities

---

My home telephone number is 351-2185. Feel free to call me any time.

---

Under separate cover we are sending you a number of copies of a "newsletter" from the Encampment for Citizenship. Included is an announcement of the 1966 "encampments." They are particularly interested in recruiting Negro youngsters from the South Recruiting -- and perhaps subsidizing -- one or more applicants would make a good project for a local council. Any help will be appreciated

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... 30303
... 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

February 10, 1966

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: J. Edwin Stanfield

RE: Book Distribution

Those who were at the last meeting of the state council directors may recall mention of the possibility of making books (mostly paperbacks) available to the poor, both in cities and rural areas, through state and local human relations councils.

Among the possibilities would be setting up reading centers as a project for local councils, placing books in logical places which already exist, or starting a mail-order lending library either out of the state office or local councils

The Fund for the Advancement of Education, which is interested in this project, also has in mind encouragement of ownership of books -- perhaps through sale at a considerable loss. However, I do not know the details about this part of the proposition, and Paul, who started the negotiations with them is out of town.

The important thing at the moment is to let us know if you are at all interested in any such program Could your chapters get books to children who do not otherwise have access to them? Do you see program possibilities in this? Can it be tied in with the R A P in Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Florida?

So far we have had no reaction. Unless we hear from some of you within the next ten days or so, we shall have to drop the whole idea Personally, I think it has real possibilities. Are you interested in further exploration?

February 15, 1966

Mr. John P. Sisson, Director
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
8017 Palm Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear Mr. Sisson:

In reply to your letter of February 14 to Mr. Stanfield, who is away from the office today, I am sending the address of the SIC members and state council list.

Sincerely,

Patricia Franklin
Secretary to Ed Stanfield

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Fieldtrip to New Orleans, 2/15-18/66

The National Social Welfare Assembly

The sole purpose of this one-day regional consultation of the N.S.W.A. was to discuss needed changes in the scope, functions, memberships, structural and operating relationships and image of the N.S.W.A. This meeting, like 4 others around the country was set up by Greenleigh Associates, Inc., a firm of management consultants retained by the N.S.W.A. (See attached discussion guide.)

There seemed to be a concensus that the expansion of federal government programs and planning called for some national planning and coordinating agency. I had the uneasy feeling, however, that many - if not most - of those present were thinking in terms of the interests of the "welfare industry." Within the limits of the modesty appropriate to a newcomer, I pumped for an emphasis on urban planning and community organization as perhaps the key problems, Professor Hall Bronfin of the University of Georgia School of Social Work joined forces with me on this. But the group as a whole seemed more concerned about whether they should have a Washington office and to what extent the N.S.W.A. could and should take positions and make pronouncements for the member agencies.

Some new acquaintances could be helpful. Bronfin, Walter Chevers of Morehouse, Harvey Reams of the New Orleans Urban League, and Victor Bussie of the Louisiana AFL-CIO - who was a buddy-buddy to "Ole Earl."

The Louisiana Council on Human Relations

I talked to Helen Mervis, then visited Dr. Oliver and Fr. Segun in Lafayette, and stayed for a meeting of the New Orleans Community Relations Council Board. (At which there was no quorum - only four women and myself. Mardi Gras, you know.)

Helen's initial position was that, in order to persuade the N.O. group to affiliate with and support the L.C.H.R., not only would the office have to be located in N.O., but also they would want some rather explicit delineation of the services they could expect from the director. That first evening I talked against any notion of a dual responsibility, arguing that a man could answer to only one policy board and that his presence in N.O. would assure them of more-than- ordinary attention. She seemed convinced, but wanted me to stay for the Board meeting.

In Lafayette I learned that the idea of locating the office in N.O. was unthinkable. Oliver had Lafayette in mind. (Strongly in mind) In the end he allowed that "Baton Rouge might be a good compromise." He even stated that they would go along with anything to get a staff. But it was quite clear that the southwest Louisiana crowd saw no possibility that a N.O. location would work. They argued - with some accuracy, I think - that the N.O. group had actually done very little, had not affiliated with or paid dues to L.C.H.R., that the new man probably would be absorbed by N.O. despite all intentions to the contrary - and that the rest of the state would perceive this to be the case, whether it was or not.

Before the attempted Board meeting of the C.R.C., I interviewed an Episcopal minister whom Helen had suggested as a possible candidate. His name is Prim Smith. He is about 40, but looks younger. His family moved to N.O. from Florida while he was in high school, and he went to Tulane. He has a degree in law and practiced in N.O. for two years before going to seminary in California. Even while in seminary he worked summers for the Justice Department. He was very much interested and he impressed me as being exceptionally well-qualified for the job, temperamentally as well as by training and background. However, he indicated that he would need more than the usual starting salary because of his family (4 children) and indebtedness resulting from his seminary years. (He was simply being frank with me and realistic with himself - this was not dickering.) Also, wearing his clerical garb seems important to him; he said he would be more inclined to take such a job if he could continue to do so. Finally, he would not be in a position to move because of a peculiarity about the deal he made with his church to buy the house in which he is living. Surprisingly, however, his sympathies were with Dr. Oliver on the city-vs provinces controversy. He thought Oliver's fears were "justified by history" and seemed to grasp fully the necessity of careful

attention to upstate Louisiana. He indicated a willingness to travel extensively to do them a good job, and felt that he could win confidence upstate within a few months.

The women present at the Board meeting agreed that a determined effort should be made to affiliate C.R.C. with L.C.H.R. immediately and without regard to location of the office. (I simply asked them to consider the alternative the office definitely located in Baton Rouge, with the director working around C.R.C. instead of through C.R.C. in New Orleans.) They are going to ask Dr. Oliver to come to a meeting to discuss affiliation and then, hopefully, send a delegation to a meeting of the L.C.H.R. Board to ask affiliation. However, Helen Mervis still thinks her Board will will need a hand selling the job.

Meanwhile, I think I am going to ask Dr. Oliver and Fr. Segur to invite Prim Smith to Lafayette for an interview. I am "High" on Smith and believe that we might be able to sell a N.O. location on the basis of the availability of this man. Further his attitude and comprehension are such that he may very well win over Oliver and Segur. And I believe he would pay for himself although he comes at a higher price.

Apart from Prim Smith, or the unlikely possibility of another equally attractive candidate available only in New Orleans, I am convinced that it would be a mistake to locate the office in New Orleans. I would recommend location in Baton Rouge. And I doubt that a decision to do so would reduce support from New Orleans to any great degree. There really is not much there to be reduced?

SPELMAN COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

February 16, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Thanks very much for the invitation, but I will not be able to attend.

Vincent Harding cc
Vincent Harding

VH:cc

T.O.

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

February 21, 1966

Mr. Neyland Hester
Little Rock University
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Hester:

The Southern Regional Council is continually searching for able men to suggest to the state councils on Human Relations for available staff positions. Mr. Baxton Bryant, Director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, has said that you would be exceptionally well-qualified for one of these positions, although he had no idea whether or not you might be interested.

This is to ask if you would be at all interested in exploring the possibility of a position similar to Baxton's in another state? If so, I would be happy to write in more detail and to send information on the Southern Regional Council and the state councils and would welcome your biographical data.

I would appreciate hearing from you at your convenience.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
Jackson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

February 22, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

It occurs to me that, because S.R.C. has started paying transportation to most of the meetings for state staffs, there may have been some misunderstanding about the invitation to the luncheon at which Attorney General Katzenbach will speak on Monday, February 28. S.R.C. does not offer to pay travel expenses to Atlanta for this affair.

Please let us know, via air mail, if this affects your decision.

"THAT PEOPLE SHALL LIVE AS ONE FAMILY OF MAN!"

A mural by Dean Fausett in the Building for Brotherhood, depicting the peoples of the world aspiring to achieve the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God.

BUILDING FOR BROTHERHOOD
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
43 West 57th Street
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I plan to attend the Feb. 28 luncheon at the Marriott to hear Attorney General Katzenbach.

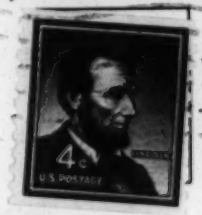
Thanks for the invitation.

Alan McEvoy

S4867F-2

Jay Hops Studios, 2 W. 46th St., N. Y. C.

ATLANTA, GA. PM FEB 24 1965




# POST CARD

*Address*

Ed Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY
EXPECTED AT 1 P.M. EST.

ADDRESS

by

ATTORNEY GENERAL NICHOLAS deB. KATZENBACH

to the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Marriott Motel, Atlanta, Georgia

Monday, February 28, 1966

I.

I thank you for the honor you pay me in inviting me here. But it is, rather, for me to honor you, the Southern Regional Council, for more than two decades of careful, courageous, and consistent devotion to the afflictions and the aspirations of the South.

The increasing commitment of the nation toward both the humanity and the rightfulness of human rights is in no small part the result of your activity and I am pleased to join with you.

We are seeing that commitment accelerate almost daily. Indeed, even within the past year, we have witnessed a quiet revolution.

A year ago, our attention was fastened on what was, in some areas, perhaps the only type of democratic expression possible for Negroes -- demonstrations in the streets. Today, we join to devote still broader concern to the scope and speed with which Negroes can now exercise the basic form of democratic expression -- the vote.

The vote, indeed, is so basic that some regard it as a small, even a cheap right -- to be defaulted lightly. But that small, cheap right can change a region -- and a nation. And it is that high purpose that joins us together now.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 issued three commands.

One is to local officials. It is neither revolutionary nor difficult. It is simply: register all voter applicants freely, fairly, and conveniently, and permit them to vote in the same way.

The second command is to the federal government. It says: where local officials do not do so, it is the

government's responsibility to supply federal representatives who will.

And finally, the message of the Act to the leaders and supporters of the movement for equal rights is: you will be able to register and vote in the next election, but it is you who must do so.

We gather today at the confluence of all three streams. Individually, each can have effect. But it is only by their convergence that we can surely bring on the pent-up tide of participation, power, and responsibility that give meaning and worth to democracy.

II.

In some parts of the South, the right of all citizens to vote was acknowledged, accepted, and freely acted on long before August, 1965. The aim of the new law was already fact.

In other areas, where discrimination in voting had been practiced, the requirements of the Act are being obeyed.

Under the Voting Rights Act, local officials had, by February 1, registered more than 56,000 Negro voters in Alabama, 53,000 in Louisiana, 51,000 in Mississippi, 24,000

in South Carolina, and 17,000 in Georgia. The total Negro registration as a result of voluntary compliance hence exceeds 200,000.

But there are still other areas where the response has been grudging, token compliance, areas where even public officials have put maintaining the old ways above maintaining the law. It is they who make necessary the second command of the Voting Rights Act.

The responsibility of the federal government under the Act is to insure full compliance with the right to vote. We have acted on that command.

In some counties, for example, registrars began to treat Negro applicants fairly in other respects but continued to apply literacy tests. This is not full compliance with the law; it suspends the imposition of a literacy standard on Negroes now by counties which rarely if ever imposed it on whites in the past.

Where this has been the case, we have dispatched federal voting examiners.

In other counties, local registrars have dealt fairly with Negro applicants and have abandoned use of literacy

tests. But despite the new Act, they have continued infrequent or inconvenient registration schedules.

This is not full compliance with the law, or even with the basic responsibilities of any registrar to provide reasonable access, not merely to meet minimum requirements. Where this has been the case we have dispatched federal examiners -- and will, if necessary, send more.

As I noted in letters recently to all registrars affected by the Act, the criterion is simple. Registrars should stay open often enough to make registration easy. In normal times, normal hours suffice. But these are not normal times. Negroes, long deprived of free opportunities to register, now seek to do so.

Registration officials should take affirmative steps to meet this demand, the product of decades of past discrimination. And there is much they can do -- add registration clerks, extend hours, increas the number of registration sites, and publicize the times and the free opportunity to register.

The vote, after all, is not a privilege, to be stingily dispensed. It is a right, to be made available freely. Where local officials do not thus take steps to

make registration and voting accessible, it is my duty to do so.

A major case in point is Birmingham -- Jefferson County, Alabama. Registration officials there were not discriminating against individual applicants. They dropped the literacy test. But they responded only grudgingly to the fact that 90,000 Negroes were not registered and under the Act should have been free to do so.

After discussions with the Department of Justice beginning early in December, they took some steps to increase registration capacity, but even these fell far short. More than half the unregistered Negroes in the county still would not have had even an opportunity to apply for registration before the deadline for the May 3 Alabama primary.

Nonetheless, the local officials would take no further steps to increase access -- steps they have taken in the past to meet heavy white registration demand.

The result, five weeks ago, was the appointment of federal examiners. As many as 20 examiners have been working in Jefferson County, first in three locations and now in eight.

The result of accelerated local registration coupled now with examiners has been striking. When President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act last August 6, there were 26,255 Negroes registered in Jefferson County--22.6 percent of the voting-age Negro population.

On January 17, the day I designated Jefferson County for examiners, there were 41,930 Negroes registered--36.1 percent. Today, the figure exceeds 58,000 and the percentage exceeds 50 percent.

Overall, examiners working in Birmingham and in 36 other counties have now registered more than 100,000 Negro citizens. Added to the more than 200,000 registered voluntarily by local officials, the total number of Negroes now registered in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina exceeds 900,000, nearly 40 percent of those eligible.

<u>I hope and expect that by the time of the next election in each of these states, more than half of the voting-age Negro population will register--and will vote.</u>

III.

Full and fair opportunity to register need not mean that the registrar's office must be thronged at every hour of every day. At the same time, no amount of accessibility can provide more than opportunity.

Thus it was that President Johnson articulated the third command of the Voting Rights Act when he signed it last August:

"Presidents and Congresses, laws and lawsuits, can open the doors to the polling places....But only the individual Negro, and all others who have been denied the right to vote, can really walk through those doors and can use that right and can transform the vote into an instrument of justice and fulfillment."

The degree and energy with which the leaders of the movement for equal rights have recognized and acted on the truth of those words is evident.

I think, for example, of Dallas County, Alabama, where between 1954 and 1962 only 12 Negroes were registered. But the Negroes of the county kept on trying to register--some of them 18, 19, 20 times.

A major factor in their spirit was the group of young people who came to Selma in early 1963 to help in registration drives--and who stayed. The momentum they gave has borne fruit. Within weeks after federal examiners were sent to Dallas County last August, Negro registration went from 1,400 to more than 7,000. Now it is over 10,000 and nearing 70 percent.

I think of Albert Turner, one of twelve children of a Perry County, Alabama sharecropper who gave up his trade to begin a voter registration drive. After months of effort, there were still less than 500 Negroes registered. But now there are more than 3,300 registered because the cases that grew out of Albert Turner's work were among the principal models for the Voting Rights Act.

I think of the last Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, which resulted in the registration of some 700,000 Negroes in 11 states. The success of that project seems even more remarkable considering that it came entirely before the Voting Rights Act struck down so many of the barriers.

And finally, even though we have taken Wiley Branton away from you, I think of the new Voter Education Project on which you have now embarked. Its need is great and, with

the assistance of the Voting Rights Act, its potential is outstanding.

In many counties, discrimination has ended and Negroes have registered in a flood, even without examiners. But in many other counties, discrimination has ended and Negro registration has remained a trickle.

--In Calhoun County, South Carolina, for example, Negro registration has increased since the Act from 14 to 44 percent. But in Anderson County, it has increased from 27.3 percent to only 28 percent.

--In Choctaw County, Alabama, Negro registration has increased by 1,600, to 63 percent. But in Chambers County, it has increased only 200, to only 18 percent.

In these and many other counties, it is not the presence or absence of federal examiners that makes the difference. Indeed, extremes nearly as great can be shown among counties to which examiners <u>have</u> been sent.

For example, examiners have made a spectacular difference in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, where the percentage of Negroes registered has gone from 2 percent to 79 percent. But what of <u>East</u> Feliciana Parish, which also

has examiners, but which has gaone from 3 percent to only 36 percent?

Even the federal and local registration figures within a single county can be instructive. In Coahoma County, Mississippi, for example, federal examiners have registered 3,100 Negroes. But meanwhile, local officials who had enrolled only a thousand prior to the 1965 Act, have now registered 2,300 more.

To illustrate my point in still another way, only a handful of Negroes were registered in East Carroll Parish, Louisiana, before examiners were sent. Now the total is 2,696. But we did not send examiners to adjacent Madison Parish. It also had only a token number of Negroes registered -- and now there are 2,666.

The lesson of these statistics -- and of like figures in scores of other counties -- is that it is neither local compliance nor federal examiners which makes the crucial difference.

As the sustained efforts of this Council and the organizations represented here today make clear, the most important generating factor is local organization. Counties which have seen extensive Negro registration, whether by

local officials or by federal examiners, are counties in which registration campaigns have been conducted. In counties without such campaigns, even the presence of examiners has been of limited gain.

Surely part of the reason for slight registration in a number of areas is evident. Negroes may be formally, legally free to register, but fear remains, fear well-based on past experience and present threats.

One answer is federal action -- of the kind we already have taken in court and will, in all likelihood take in the future, not only regarding registration, but also regarding the still more damaging intimidation that can occur at election time.

As I observed to an Emancipation Day ceremony in Mobile last month, I have a message for those who may think of trying to frighten or coerce Negro citizens -- or any citizens -- from trying to register or vote. If you do, you will have the federal government to reckon with.

The still more effective antidote to intimidation, however, flows directly from energetic registration efforts and that is numbers. Two men or twenty men can be threatened, fired, or harassed; but not a thousand. Not only is it

impossible to intimidate large numbers, but large-scale exercise of the vote changes the attitudes that might otherwise breed intimidation.

IV.

We have, so far, seen substantial gains. The number of Negroes registered in the five states principally affected by the Voting Rights Act has increased from 588,000 to more than 900,000. It is even possible for us to look back over this gain and tell ourselves how far we have come.

But what these figures more surely reflect is how far there is still to go. For more than half the adult Negroes of the South still are not participating in this most basic act of citizenship. None of us can be satisfied until they do.

And so I come today to congratulate you -- and the foundations which have provided such necessary and responsible support -- for undertaking this new Voter Education Project.

I know you face intricate and widespread problems. Registration, after all, is only the first of many steps. Unless it is to be a hollow exercise, it must be followed

by voting.

That may be a painfully obvious relationship to someone who has voted often and freely in the past. It may not be so obvious to a Negro sharecropper who has never before entered a polling place and who has never before had to study a ballot.

Stimulating registration must be supplemented by mobilization of registered but reluctant voters. Both must be supplemented by education of those to whom the mechanics of the political process are strange. And all require local organization of the kind so successfully built by the last VEP.

At the same time, the effect of organization, education, and mobilization is not limited to potential voters. What may be quite as significant is the educational impact on the teachers -- the hundreds and even thousands of workers, paid and unpaid, who are the foundation of VEP. Their work is a signal reflection of the duties of citizenship. It is also a lesson in responsible local leadership.

This is leadership that must go beyond voting, beyond solely Negro interests and extend to strengthening the capacities of every community in the South.

The goal, after all, of our efforts under the Voting Rights Act and your efforts in undertakings like the Voter Education Project is not mere numbers. The day of equality will not come merely when Negroes can and do vote freely throughout the South, nor when they elect Negro candidates just because they are Negro. There would be little majesty in an equality that is so superficial.

The concerns of the past have been almost exclusively racial -- and understandably so. Leslie Dunbar has written, "Race so undercuts and overhangs every Southern problem that none can be rationally treated without first wresting it from enslavement to a debilitating system of race relations."

But we are, even now, arriving at the time when the civil rights movement can and should turn from protest to affirmation, from a force against discrimination to a major affirmative force in the life not only of the Negroes of the South but of all the South.

We are, even now, approaching the time when Southerners can and should join, not as Negroes and whites, but as progressive men to forge progressive answers to common problems.

"Freedom is a good horse," Matthew Arnold wrote, "but a horse to ride somewhere."

Best wishes
Nellie McKeyth

February, 1966

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5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Paul Anthony, Executive Director  John H. Wheeler, President

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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

# FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

May 26, 1966

## Here Goes Nothing?

Is a "Field Activities Newsletter" a good idea? We've been toying with the notion for some time and decided to try one or two. We don't know for sure what all we want to put in it, who we want to send it to, how often it should be written, or whether it is worth the effort. But from time to time there are bits of news or good ideas or useful information that we would like to pass on,--mostly to the staffs of the state councils on human council presidents, and perhaps to the SRC Board members and maybe state council staffers can let us know if you would like to select a few others to get it--like members of your Board and/or local council presidents.

## New Names and Faces in Tennessee

Among the first new staffers to be employed under the expanded grant-in-aid program are Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Wiersema, who have joined the staff of the Tennessee Council. Actually, they were not "Mr. and Mrs. Wiersema" until after they started working for the TCHR. Baxton Bryant writes, "The Council has already had a wonderful effect on this fine young couple. Their marriage was performed by me in my home last Saturday." That's a wonderful effect, all right!

Mrs. Wiersema was Jerry Jolene Williams, a twenty-seven year old native Tennesseean. She has a B.S. from Middle Tennessee State, where she was in Who's Who in American Universities and Colleges, and lacks her thesis for a Master's in sociology from the University of Tennessee. For the past couple of years she has been working for the Metropolitan Action Commission (Nashville's community action agency) and the State Planning Commission. Her duties included research on poverty in Tennessee, community organization, and preparation of proposals for the poverty program.

5/66

Harry was born in Knoxville and is likewise twenty-seven. He holds a B.S. in Mechanical Engineering and also has done work toward a Master's degree in sociology at the university. Before joining the TCHR staff he was Assistant Coordinator of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Nashville. On the side he is a genius with office equipment and photographic equipment.

Both Harry and Jerry have been active in civil rights,--and there is no denying their commitment. Needless to say, the TCHR could not offer them, finance~~-and-security-wise~~, anything like their combined compensation from their former jobs. We don't think they would mind our quoting from a letter they wrote to the TCHR Board in connection with their application:

> ...For some time we have worked in the war on poverty, and we have been disillusioned with the progress made there and in other areas of human relations.
>
> ****
>
> We have come to see how much progress toward these ideals can be made by one man who is independent, with the help and support from concerned members of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

Personnel Changes in Arkansas

Beginning June 1, Nat Griswold, Executive Director of the Arkansas Council from its beginning, will lay down his accustomed duties to write a book about the Little Rock school crisis. After that he will retire to the family farm. He will be succeeded as Executive Director by Ozell Sutton, long-time Associate Director of the Council.

Taking Ozell's place as Associate Director will be the Reverend J. Harold Jackson, presently Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of North Little Rock. Harold was born in New Orleans and holds a B.S. degree from L.S. U. and a B.D. degree from Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia. He has served churches in Jennings, Louisiana, and Helena, Arkansas, besides his present pastorate. He has served for the past year as Moderator of the Synod of Arkansas, Presbyterian Church, U.S. His wife is the former Sarah Wakeman of Baton Rouge. They have three children.

Executive Director for the Louisiana Council

Beginning in June the Louisiana Council will have an Executive Director. The position has been accepted by Mrs. Patricia B. Miller, a resident of Baton Rouge (where the office is to be).

Mrs. Miller grew up in Ohio and did her undergraduate work at West Virginia State College. She took a M.A. degree in Health and Physical Education from the University of Iowa. She has worked for the Urban League in Chicago and as a physical education instructor at Samuel Huston College, West Virginia State, and Southern University. For the past nine years she has operated a real estate and contracting business, building (so we are told) some of the loveliest new homes in Baton Rouge and New Orleans.

But Mrs. Miller wanted to help people in a less impersonal way. So she entered the graduate school of Southern University and in June will receive a M.A. degree in Guidance.

Mrs. Miller strikes one as a poised and quietly determined woman. We predict that she will do an outstanding job as Director of the LCHR. And most certainly we wish her well.

Leadership Conferences in Mississippi

Ken Dean of the MCHR has been the prime convener of a couple of meetings which he hopes will get on some sort of regular basis as a Mississippi Leadership Conference. As we get the picture, this is intended to be a Mississippi version of the Southern Interagency Conference.

After discussing the idea with eight or ten of the more active leaders in the areas of race relations and poverty programs, Ken set a date and invited about twenty-five organizations to send representatives. The list included all major civil rights groups, as well as women's organizations and some of the church groups. About 34 people showed up at the first meeting.

The reaction of participants at the initial meeting was good. Besides the obvious sharing of ideas and problems, Ken sees the Leadership Conference as helping to clear up misunderstandings and giving some of the church groups and women's groups contact with the more active civil rights people. (Ken thinks this aspect of the idea might be even more fruitful in other states.)

"The most difficult part of this type of program," Ken writes, "is to get an open date."

We are not astonished.

Board, Local Council Leaders Meet in Florida

On May 6 and 7, August VandenBosche brought together his Board and the principal officers of each local council for a conference which included briefing on the financial structure and requirements of the council and program at both the state and local level. Paul Anthony and I went down for this meeting, which was held in Orlando. We felt that it was very helpful toward getting all concerned to "understand the situation." It was also a good way to get a lot of program information and ideas across.

The Arkansas Council is planning a similar meeting for June 10.

A Local Council Program We Like

The Augusta (Georgia) Council on Human Relations has established a listing service for open housing. The plan is to list houses available to be bought, sold, or rented on a non-discriminatory basis. They want only to bring buyer and seller together, of course, and will not be serving as brokers.

The group has secured a small office and a telephone. Volunteers man the phone. A small ad is carried in the classified section from time to time. Besides answering the phone, the volunteers call people who advertise in the paper to see if the unit is available on a non-discriminatory basis.

ADL Publication Ordered for State Councils

Countering Extremism, which gives how-to-do-it help on organizing a community to counter increasing influence by radical-right organizations, is soon to be published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. As promised at our last meeting of the state councils' staffs, we have ordered a number of copies sent to each state council. They will find these useful from time to time.

Don't Forget...

...the Community Leadership Development Workshop at the Sheraton-

Emory Inn in Atlanta, July 24-31. Send in your application, if you plan to go. Let me know that you are going to attend, so that we can plan our next state councils' staff meeting accordingly.

Late News Flashes!

Mr. William C. Allred, Jr., will become Executive Director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations in July. Mr. Allred, a resident of Greensboro, is a graduate of Wake Forest College and next month will receive the M.A. degree from Emory University, Atlanta, in the field of history. His thesis: "The Southern Regional Council, 1943-1961."

For the past four years Mr. Allred has been employed in the actuarial and contract departments of Pilot Life Insurance Company in Greensboro. He is married and has two daughters, ages 6 and 2.

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The Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council will be held on November 16, 17, and 18 this year. Please mark your calendar. Plans are incomplete, of course, but we hope this year to make presentation of state council affairs an integral part of the meeting, --instead of having it before the SRC meeting.

Ed Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

# FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

August 23, 1966

## More Staff Changes

It must be the season as well as our expansion on "all fronts". The staff changes, both in the state councils and SRC, are coming so fast that it is getting difficult to keep up!

The Arkansas Council has named Mr. Elijah Coleman to be their Associate Director. (Nat Griswold has been asked to return to his post as Executive Director until his replacement can be found.) Mr. Coleman has been principal of Townsend Park School in Pine Bluff since 1954. From 1959 through 1961 he was President of the Arkansas Teachers Association. He has also served as Chairman of the Pine Bluff Fellowship, an interorganization association of Negro professional workers for community progress. He is a native of Smackover, Arkansas, a graduate of Philander Smith College in Little Rock, and holds a Master of Education degree from the University of Arkansas. Mr. Coleman is married and has a 15-year-old son and a 10-year-old daughter.

Robert Alexander has resigned as Executive Director of the Houston Council on Human Relations. He has returned to Los Angeles. His successor has not yet been named.

## Changes at Southern Regional Council

Sam Adams, Director of Research at SRC, has resigned to take up studies at the University of Wisconsin this fall. He is the recipient of a Russell Sage Foundation fellowship.

Edwyn E. Lewis will leave SRC August 19 in order to return to Miami's sun and sand and a management job with the community action agency of Miami's anti-poverty program.

On the additions side we have Miss Susan Bresler, who will work as an associate to Moreland Smith in our special project on

housing and urban planning. Miss Bresler holds a B.S. in City Planning from the University of Illinois. She has worked as an intern in the planning departments of Champaign and Moline, Illinois, and with the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission. Before coming to SRC she had been employed for a year in the Community Planning Division, Planning and Industrial Development Board, State of Alabama.

As for secretaries, we note the loss of Jerry Gimarc from the Housing and Urban Planning Project and Joan Browning from the Labor Project. Of particular interest to state council folks is the employment of Mrs. Mary Lee McCallister as secretary to the Director of Field Activities. Her experience includes thirteen years as a secretary with General Electric in Atlanta and four years with the American Red Cross in Chamblee.

## Books For Equal Education

Books for Equal Education is a joint project of the United States National Student Association and the United State Youth Council. It is a non-profit, charitable organization engaged in distribution of college texts and fiction to unaccredited Negro colleges in the southeastern region. The book distribution office is located in Atlanta.

Many of the books received by BEE are not suitable for use at the college level, but are in good condition and perhaps could be utilized in other areas. These materials include: texts in mathematics, science, English and social studies at both the elementary and secondary levels; juvenile fiction; pre-school reading pamphlets and other similar materials. Suggested uses might be: adult literacy programs, Head Start projects, community libraries, and the like. Those interested in the books for such purposes should be forewarned that many of the texts are out-of-date. However, the books have been "culled," so that the ones offered are in good condition -- and many are definitely "quality" books.

There is NO CHARGE for the books, but the recipient is responsible for transportation of them from Atlanta to their final destination. Interested persons should write for a copy of the BEE guidelines. The address is: Shawn Boles, Southern Director Books for Equal Education, 416 Marietta Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303.

## Leadership Training Laboratory at Emory

Most of the state council directors took SRC up on an offer to pay tuition for them to attend a week-long leadership training laboratory at Emory University in Atlanta. The dates were July 24-31, and those attending were Pat Miller of Louisiana, Ken Dean of Mississippi, Jerry Roden of Alabama, Alice Spearman of South Carolina, Will Allred of North Carolina, Bob Combs of Virginia, and Ed Stanfield. Baxton Bryant of Tennessee came, but had to leave after only one day because of a death in his family.

The laboratory was sponsored jointly by Emory University and Georgia State College in cooperation with National Training Laboratories. Focusing on the process of group action and the dynamics of interpersonal relations, the laboratory was designed to make participants more aware of the bearing of personal, human problems on group functioning. The week was harrowing (not to say "hairy") at times, as everybody sought to figure out why everybody else behaved so oddly. Folks leveled as well as reveled with one another. One comes away from such an experience with the feeling that he gained something important -- but that only time will tell just what!

Incidentally, the faculty included two mental health men, one psychologist, one social psychologist, and a consultant in human relations. Seems like the weight given to mental health and psychology says something about somebody's conception of the meaning of leadership in southern communities these days!

State Council Directors Meet

The state council directors met in Atlanta on August 9 and 10. Primary purpose of the meeting was to iron out some communication problems we have had in getting local councils informed of the program help now available from SRC. A six-page descriptive catalogue was prepared and discussed and is now being distributed to the state councils in sufficient quantity to promote the programs extensively in each state. In the process the group had opportunity to clarify many points in conference with the special project directors. Next meeting of the directors is scheduled for September 21 and 22.

Random Notes

...On the morning of August 10 a delegation from the Georgia Council on Human Relations had an interview with Governor Carl Sanders. Among other things they urged him to employ a special assistant concerned with civil rights and to establish a civil rights division of the state attorney general's office. They pointed out discriminatory practices of the State Patrol and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation. They also reminded the governor and, through press coverage, the public that no Negroes sit on the following state boards: Education, Regents, Corrections, Pardons and Paroles, Game and Fish Commission, Veterans Service, Personnel, Industry and Trade, State Medical Examination, and State Scholarship Commission. There may not be immediate results, but this strikes me as a good piece of work nevertheless. We get so accustomed to the southern landscape that even people of good will do not notice so glaring an injustice as the omission of Negroes from practically every state board and agency. Surely one of the most important tasks of every human relations council is to keep nagging officials and the public about this kind of matter-of-fact outrage.

...Speaking of never-ending tasks, I had occasion not long ago to ask Mrs. H. A. Pfiffner, President of the League of Women

Voters of Georgia, how they managed to get objective studies and reports with volunteer workers. Her reply read, in part: "Most local and state Leagues have regular observers at official boards and commissions--at every open meeting--at budget hearings, etc. It is surprising how much one can learn from regular attendance and careful listening to aid in factual evaluation." It occurred to me that if every local council did nothing else but assign a couple of people to monitor every meeting of (1) their city council, (2) their board of education, (3) their county commission, and (4) their police or recorder's court, their existence would be justified. Why not make this "standard operational procedure"?

...Project SPEED-UP roars on in South Carolina under the leadership of Brad Posten, who is the project director. Brad has completed his year as an Eleanor Roosevelt Intern with the South Carolina Council. He writes, "The project has met with great response from the communities and over 2,000 children and adults are enrolled in the twenty-eight centers."

...We keep finding out about really great things that are being done quietly by human relations councils. Johnny Carlisle of the Youth Council on Human Relations, affiliated with the Palm Beach chapter of the Florida Council, wrote the other day, seeking just $150.00 to buy materials for their second "Summer Tutorial and Enrichment Program." Twenty-two young people, including advanced high school students, high school graduates, and junior college students, are tutoring 91 children, aged 4 to 13, who live in the vicinity of Pleasant Heights Baptist Church, which is their center. They have tutoring classes in reading, math, geography, history, science, arts and crafts, and music. And field trips include the zoo, the Junior Museum of Science, Norton Art Gallery, "and other points of interest." All these young folks needed was a little financial assistance and the continuing interest and advice of the council board. Mrs. R. W. Glasner, chapter president, and Mrs. W. Fred Ellington, work closely with them.

...The Virginia Council is putting major emphasis this year on intercultural (multi-ethnic) textbooks for use in public schools. The Council took cognizance of the fact that Virginia's children, Negro or white, could easily graduate from high school, using the texts approved by the Virginia Board of Education, without knowing that Negroes had made any significant contribution to the life and history of America. Further, they discovered that many textbooks are published in two versions: one with biracial illustrations and another lily white. VCHR has just published an attractive printing of its review of Virginia textbooks, including suggested courses of action, and a catalogue of intercultural texts available.

-- J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

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PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

**MEMORANDUM**

September 8, 1966

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Next Meeting of State Council Directors

As you know, our next meeting is to be September 21-22, starting at 2:00 on Wednesday and ending about noon on Thursday. We shall meet in the S. R. C. conference room.

The Southern Interagency Conference will be meeting from 2:00 on the 20th until noon on the 21st, and you are invited to attend that meeting also. It might be of considerable interest to you. Dr. Lewis Killian of the University of Florida will speak on the first afternoon on the role of white liberals in social change in the South. Other features of that meeting will be briefings on the political situation by Vernon Jordan and on school and hospital desegregation by representatives of the regional office of H. E. W. (The latter presentation will be on Wednesday morning, so you might catch that even if you can't come on Tuesday.)

For our own meeting, following the suggestion of some of you, I have invited two men from government agencies here to talk to us about program concerns and the role of their offices. They are Bob Thompson, Special Assistant for Intergroup Relations to the Regional Director of the Department of Housing and Urban Development; and Don Hollowell, Regional Director of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In addition, we may have the H. E. W. representatives stay over from the S. I. C. meeting - in case some of you can't get here early.

As for expenses, let us try the following formula: S. R. C. will pay one-half of your expenses for travel, room and meals, plus all travel cost in excess of $50.00. In this way the distance some have to travel will not be an excessive burden. We can make any adjustments in this formula after trying it once.

I am going to leave it to you to get your own accommodations, so that you can order exactly the room you want. Since most seemed satisfied with the Americana Motor Hotel, let me suggest that one. Perhaps I'll arrange a dinner for us there on the evening of the 21st.

JES:mlm

cc: SRC Project Directors

September 19, 1966

Superintendent of Documents
Atlanta Field Office
U. S. Department of Commerce
400 Home Savings Building
75 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send us the following:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Current Population Reports | (Series P)... | $4.00 |
| Current Housing Reports | (Series H)... | 4.00 |
| Census Tracks for New Orleans, La.; Nashville, Tenn.; Jackson, Miss.; Miami, Fla.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Richmond and Norfolk, Virginia; | @ $1.00 each .... | 7.00 |
| | Total | $15.00 |

Enclosed find our check in the amount of $15.00 in payment of this order.

Very truly yours,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:mlm

Attch.

THE MINISTERS AND MISSIONARIES BENEFIT BOARD
*of the*
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION
*475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027*

SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE
Post Office Box 10201
Greenville, South Carolina 29603

September 29, 1966

Dr. Gordon Blackwell
Furman University
Greenville, South Carolina 29613

Dear Dr. Blackwell,

Lately I have heard much about the vigorous and forthright stand taken by Mr. William J. Page, Jr. (F.U. '48) in decisions he had to make as Regional Director of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Atlanta, Georgia. From those who know of his work, I hear that his decisions on school desegregation and Medicare compliance have brought severe pressure from racists in his area, and these friends urge all who approve of his stand to let the fact be known.

Perhaps Furman could take some public and private steps to encourage Mr. Page in this critical period.

Cordially,

J. Martin England

J. Martin England
Associate Director

COPY

THE MINISTERS AND MISSIONARIES BENEFIT BOARD
*of the*
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION
*475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027*

SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE
Post Office Box 10201
Greenville, South Carolina 29603

October 10, 1966

The Reverend J. Ed Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed,

In view of the discussion at the meeting before the last of the Inter-Agency Conference, about the stand Mr. William H. Page, Jr., had taken on guidelines for schools and hospitals, you may be interested in the enclosed correspondence.

Cordially,

Martin

J. Martin England

cc:

October 19, 1966

Mr. J. B. Werner, Supervisor
Air Travel Plan Accounting
Eastern Air Line Incorporated
International Airport
Miami, Florida 33148

Dear Mr. Werner:

Subject: Acount #172370 Card #239767
E. Stanfield
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
(Your File CNI 172370)

In reply to your letter of October 18, concerning cancellation of the above mentioned Air Travel Card and cancellation thereof, this is to advise you that the card has been destroyed.

If it should have been returned, I was unaware of it and hope that my destruction of it causes no inconvenience.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:CL

EASTERN AIR LINES INCORPORATED / INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT / MIAMI, FLORIDA 33148 / 305-634-3571

EASTERN

October 18, 1966
In Reply Refer
Our File CNI 172370

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Subject: Account #172370 Card #239767
E. Stanfield
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

The above subject Air Travel Card was cancelled on September 26th, as requested by Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

In order that we may close our file on this matter, please return the card to us, or advise disposition made of same.

Your prompt reply will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

EASTERN AIRLINES, INC.

J. B. Werner
Supervisor
Air Travel Plan Accounting

JBW:sg

file

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

JAckson 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER
December 27, 1966

New SRC Publications

Our mail room is a study in creative disarray these days as the Southern Regional Council is issuing a rash of new publications.

Our Voter Education Project has recently put out a county-by-county list of registration figures covering the whole South, with figures for the white voting age population, Negro voting-age population, number of each group registered, and percentages registered. They have also published an eight-page mimeographed analysis of the November election results, focusing on participation of Negroes and its effect, titled "What Happened in the South, 1966." (The VEP has been responsible for programs through which 100,000 voters have been registered during the past year.)

"School Desegregation 1966: The Slow Undoing" is just off the press. A "Special Report," it tells the dismal story of the South's all-too-successful efforts to avoid significant integration of its school systems. It estimates that ten to twelve percent of Negro students in the South are in schools with whites, with figures like 2% for Mississippi, 2.9% for Louisiana, and 2.4% for Alabama offset by 34.6% in Texas and 21.9% in Tennessee.

"Public Assistance in the South," another Special Report, points out that 21.8% of all expenditures for public assistance payments occurred in the South, reflecting the South's 25.9% of the population. But nearly half of the poor people of the nation are in the South. Another fact brought out is far more is spent in the South on aid to the aged than on aid to dependent children -- despite the fact that there are many more impoverished children than impoverished elderly people. This reflects the political utility of aid to the voting elderly. This report is

loaded with information. For instance, although I suppose I knew it all along, it came as a bit of a shock to me to see from one of the tables provided that, among 50 states and the District of Columbia, Georgia, North Carolina, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, South Carolina, Arkansas, and Mississippi rank 42nd, 43rd, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, and 51st, respectively, in per capita income! That's what I like about the South -- we're consistent.

And then there is the excellent publication of our Special Project in Housing and Urban Planning, "A Home of Our Own: A Guide for Home Buyers." (In the light of those per capita income figures, that title almost sounds like a cruelty joke!) It has a chapter on the advantages and disadvantages of buying a home, one on what to look for in shopping for a home, another on "Closing the Deal," and a chapter on breaking racial barriers. There is a glossary of terms and a list of helpful pamphlets and articles.

"State Councils' Dinner" at the SRC Annual Meeting

For the benefit of readers who were not there, I want to tell briefly about the "State Councils' Dinner" which was a feature of the Southern Regional Council's Annual Meeting in November. All of the executive directors and the president or vice-president of each state council were present and seated at the head tables. The program was quite simple, consisting of presentation of the George Mitchell Award (for largest percentage increase in membership) to the Arkansas Council by Mr. Marion Wright and the field activities report. A few statistics from the latter:

"...Membership now stands at approximately 11,500, and increase of some 23% over last year. Percentage increases ranged from five percent in Virginia, which is the largest of the councils, to ninety-five percent in Arkansas, which heretofore had been one of the smallest. The Alabama Council, which won the Mitchell Award last year, increased its membership another ten percent this year. Tennessee registers a thirteen percent increase and South Carolina a jump of twenty-three percent. The North Carolina Council shows a 57% increase. And Georgia deserves special commendation for raising its membership enrollment by 53%, although starting from a relatively large base of more than a thousand members."

"At the height of their strength the state councils had this year 26 full-time professional employees, an increase of 18% over last year. Part-time and clerical staffs have increased proportionately."

"The councils have raised about $120,000 from their members and friends -- an increase of 20%. At the same time the total of their operating budgets has passed $400,00 -- a leap of more than 25%."

## The Paperback Books Project

It took a little while for the word to get out, apparently, but during the past couple of months we have had a tremendous increase in the number of inquiries about our Paperback Books Project and requests for books. In fact, the demand has been so great that it is necessary to delay further orders until the backlog is diminished and we can assess the situation. It is our hope that the proposals we are receiving, even if we are not able to answer them affirmatively at this time, will help us to secure funds for a renewed and enlarged program in 1967.

## Notes on the State Councils

I have let so much time elapse since my last newsletter, and the state councils have been doing so much meanwhile, that I cannot begin to do them all justice. I'll have to mention only a few items of particular interest.

The Arkansas Council has secured a Research Assistant, Mr. Paul Williams, who joined their staff on September 26. Mr. Williams was born and raised in Fort Smith. He recently was graduated from Hendrix College in Conway, where he majored in history and political science. He did the research for the Arkansas Council's "Background Report on Arkansas Prisons" and is working with a penal reform group which the Council helped to set up. He is also working with students and local councils.

I don't ordinarily like to receive unsigned letters, but a recent one was a pleasure. Signed only "A(rkansas)CHR," it said only, "It appears that Human Relations are improving in Arkansas. What about Georgia?" Enclosed was a newspaper clipping about the appointment of Negro lawyer Christopher C. Mercer, Jr., as deputy prosecuting attorney for Pulaski and Perry Counties. Prosecuting Attorney-elect Richard B. Adkisson, in making the announcement, said that Mercer would be the first Negro deputy prosecuting attorney in history for the two counties and that he probably would be the first Negro deputy prosecutor in the South in modern times. Among other distinctions, Mr. Mercer worked for two years on the staff of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

The Tennessee Council continues to have the luck of the Irish (viz. Baxton Bryant) in their staffing. Not long ago the Inter-County Improvement Association, an organization of approximately 200 Negroes with headquarters in Ripley, made an unusual proposal to the TCHR. They asked to become a chapter and offered to put up $3,000 (cash!) if the Council would find another $6,000 and hire a man to work full-time in rural west Tennessee. The Council

appealed successfully to the Field Foundation and has hired The Reverend Isaac Richmond, Jr., for the job. Mr. Richmond, 28, is a graduate of Lane College, Jackson, Tennessee, with an A.B. in history and sociology. He also has a Master of Religious Education degree from ITC in Atlanta. He has long been active in civil rights efforts.

The Virginia Council instigated and did most of the administrative work for the Conference on People, Religion and a Changing Virginia which was held at the John Marshall Hotel in Richmond on November 28-29. 1,075 people registered for the conference, which was sponsored by all of the major religious groups of the state. Speakers included Dr. George D. Kelsey, professor of Christian Ethics, Drew University; Dr. John F. Cronin, assistant director, Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference; Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild, Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, Atlanta; Warren H. Turner, vice-president, Protestant Episcopal Executive Council, New York; and Dr. Samuel Proctor, president of the Institute for Services to Education, Washington.

## Annual Meetings of the Florida, South Carolina, and Georgia Council

All three of the above councils have had excellent annual meetings recently. I won't try to go into detail about each of the programs, but will risk a generalization based on my subjective impressions from attending the South Carolina and Florida meetings and a reading of the minutes of the Georgia one (which, regrettably, I missed). At all three there were reports from local councils that indicate an increasing amount of involvement and important work on the part of their members. How do you measure interest and enthusiasm, except subjectively? But I came away from the meetings greatly encouraged, with the feeling that there are great many people -- white people and Negroes, poor people and economically comfortable people -- who are willing (yearning, even to work together on the problems of community where they live. If that is so, it bodes well for the state councils on human relations, for, as far as I am concerned, that's what they are all about.

## And a Bit of Humor

I guess I got a kick out of this story because of the way Yankee liberals have been hanging back on civil rights lately. (This is aslightly adapted version.)

The Negro in the United States

# VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

**SUMMER, 1966**

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The figures presented herein were accumulated during the summer and late summer of 1966. While they do not represent the final registration figures for the November elections, the difference is not expected to be large. The figures were compiled from a variety of sources---public and private, official and unofficial.

For four states---Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia---complete or near-complete county-by-county figures showing white and Negro registration were not available. For these four states, statewide estimates have been made, based on the best information obtainable.

For two states---Florida and Mississippi---figures did not indicate the race of a sizeable number of registrants. These have been divided between the white and Negro columns on the basis of VEP estimates.

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director

Marvin Wall
Director of Research

NEGRO-WHITE VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SUMMER, 1966

| STATE | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama* | 1,353,058 | 481,320 | 1,192,075 | 246,396 | 88.1 | 51.2 |
| Arkansas | 850,643 | 192,626 | 598,000 | 115,000 | 70.3 | 59.7 |
| Florida*** | 2,617,438 | 470,261 | 2,093,274 | 286,446 | 80.0 | 60.9 |
| Georgia** | 1,797,062 | 612,910 | 1,378,005 | 289,545 | 76.7 | 47.2 |
| Louisiana | 1,289,216 | 514,589 | 1,071,573 | 242,130 | 83.1 | 47.1 |
| Mississippi*** | 748,266 | 422,256 | 470,920 | 139,099 | 62.9 | 32.9 |
| North Carolina | 2,005,955 | 550,929 | 1,653,796 | 281,134 | 82.4 | 51.0 |
| South Carolina | 895,147 | 371,104 | 718,061 | 190,609 | 80.2 | 51.4 |
| Tennessee | 1,779,018 | 313,873 | 1,375,000 | 225,000 | 77.3 | 71.7 |
| Texas | 4,884,765 | 649,512 | 2,600,000 | 400,000 | 53.3 | 61.6 |
| Virginia | 1,876,167 | 436,720 | 1,159,000 | 205,000 | 61.8 | 46.9 |
| TOTALS | 20,096,735 | 5,016,100 | 14,309,704 | 2,620,359 | 70.2 | 52.2 |

*Even division of 10,000 voters not registered by race.

**Two-thirds and one-third Negro-white division of 14,000 voters not registered by race.

***A later Mississippi figure put white registration at approximately 481,000 and Negro registration at 163,000. The October figure for Florida pushed white registration to 2,160,587 and Negro registration to 303,245.

# A L A B A M A

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Autauga | 6,353 | 3,651 | 6,932 | 2,308 | 100+ | 63.2 |
| Baldwin | 22,236 | 4,527 | 19,692 | 1,242 | 88.6 | 27.4 |
| Barbour | 7,338 | 5,787 | 9,825 | 3,666 | 100+ | 63.3 |
| Bibb | 5,807 | 1,190 | 8,087 | 933 | 100+ | 78.4 |
| Blount | 14,368 | 378 | 13,709 | 140 | 95.4 | 37.0 |
| Bullock | 2,387 | 4,450 | 3,323 | 3,197 | 100+ | 71.8 |
| Butler | 8,363 | 4,820 | 7,850 | 1,803 | 93.9 | 37.4 |
| Calhoun | 44,739 | 9,036 | 33,472 | 4,404 | 74.8 | 48.7 |
| Chambers | 15,369 | 6,497 | 11,889 | 1,439 | 77.4 | 22.1 |
| Cherokee | 8,537 | 752 | 9,651 | 482 | 100+ | 61.6 |
| Chilton | 12,861 | 1,947 | 16,006 | 747 | 100+ | 38.4 |
| Choctaw | 5,192 | 3,982 | 5,833 | 3,024 | 100+ | 75.9 |
| Clarke | 7,899 | 5,833 | 10,336 | 2,564 | 100+ | 44.0 |
| Clay | 6,470 | 926 | 8,534 | 399 | 100+ | 43.1 |
| Cleburne | 5,870 | 385 | 7,493 | 139 | 100+ | 36.1 |
| Coffee | 14,221 | 2,985 | 11,334 | 1,002 | 79.7 | 33.6 |
| Colbert | 21,680 | 4,575 | 20,569 | 2,818 | 94.9 | 61.6 |
| Conecuh | 5,907 | 3,635 | 5,559 | 2,084 | 94.1 | 57.3 |
| Coosa | 4,201 | 1,794 | 5,678 | 956 | 100+ | 53.3 |
| Covington | 18,446 | 2,876 | 16,486 | 1,010 | 89.4 | 35.1 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Crenshaw | 6,310 | 2,207 | 6,469 | 1,213 | 100+ | 55.0 |
| Cullman | 25,848 | 285 | 24,622 | 122 | 95.3 | 42.8 |
| Dale | 14,861 | 2,743 | 11,658 | 1,414 | 78.4 | 51.5 |
| Dallas | 14,400 | 15,115 | 12,787 | 10,513 | 88.8 | 69.6 |
| DeKalb | 23,878 | 441 | 26,680 | 217 | 100+ | 49.2 |
| Elmore | 12,510 | 4,808 | 15,710 | 2,813 | 100+ | 58.5 |
| Escambia | 12,779 | 5,685 | 15,631 | 1,825 | 100+ | 32.1 |
| Etowah | 48,565 | 7,661 | 41,820 | 4,120 | 86.1 | 53.8 |
| Fayette | 8,277 | 1,291 | 9,141 | 664 | 100+ | 51.4 |
| Franklin | 12,412 | 645 | 13,616 | 725 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Geneva | 11,357 | 1,606 | 10,321 | 585 | 90.9 | 36.4 |
| Greene | 1,649 | 5,001 | 2,001 | 3,927 | 100+ | 78.5 |
| Hale | 3,594 | 5,999 | 4,515 | 4,096 | 100+ | 68.3 |
| Henry | 5,165 | 3,168 | 6,629 | 1,459 | 100+ | 46.1 |
| Houston | 22,095 | 6,899 | 15,604 | 1,813 | 70.6 | 26.3 |
| Jackson | 19,298 | 1,175 | 18,526 | 629 | 96.0 | 53.5 |
| Jefferson | 256,319 | 116,160 | 175,087 | 62,992 | 68.3 | 54.2 |
| Lamar | 7,503 | 1,027 | 9,927 | 367 | 100+ | 35.7 |
| Lauderdale | 31,089 | 3,726 | 18,434 | 1,339 | 59.3 | 35.9 |
| Lawrence | 10,509 | 2,471 | 14,731 | 1,315 | 100+ | 53.2 |
| Lee | 17,547 | 8,913 | 13,470 | 2,818 | 76.8 | 31.6 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Limestone | 16,173 | 3,579 | 14,272 | 1,278 | 88.2 | 35.7 |
| Lowndes | 1,900 | 5,122 | 2,823 | 2,758 | 100+ | 53.8 |
| Macon | 2,818 | 11,886 | 4,997 | 7,130 | 100+ | 60.0 |
| Madison | 54,516 | 10,666 | 41,333* | 3,183* | 75.8 | 29.8 |
| Marengo | 6,104 | 7,791 | 7,288 | 5,799 | 100+ | 74.4 |
| Marion | 12,656 | 403 | 16,418 | 267 | 100+ | 66.3 |
| Marshall | 26,997 | 637 | 17,174 | 152 | 63.6 | 23.9 |
| Mobile | 121,589 | 50,793 | 107,455* | 24,794* | 88.4 | 48.8 |
| Monroe | 6,631 | 4,894 | 7,542 | 2,497 | 100+ | 51.0 |
| Montgomery | 62,911 | 33,056 | 43,514 | 19,268 | 69.2 | 58.3 |
| Morgan | 30,955 | 4,159 | 25,741 | 1,194 | 83.2 | 28.7 |
| Perry | 3,441 | 5,202 | 5,495 | 3,847 | 100+ | 74.0 |
| Pickens | 7,336 | 4,373 | 7,407 | 1,717 | 100+ | 39.3 |
| Pike | 9,126 | 5,259 | 11,788 | 3,180 | 100+ | 60.5 |
| Randolph | 9,196 | 2,366 | 10,230 | 1,182 | 100+ | 50.0 |
| Russell | 13,761 | 10,531 | 12,682 | 3,932 | 92.2 | 37.3 |
| St. Clair | 12,244 | 2,035 | 11,044 | 906 | 90.2 | 44.5 |
| Shelby | 14,771 | 2,889 | 13,208* | 985* | 89.4 | 34.1 |
| Sumter | 3,061 | 6,814 | 3,775 | 3,392 | 100+ | 49.8 |
| Talladega | 25,635 | 9,333 | 21,389 | 3,406 | 83.4 | 36.5 |
| Tallapoosa | 15,310 | 4,999 | 17,807 | 1,818 | 100+ | 36.4 |
| Tuscaloosa | 47,076 | 15,332 | 29,049 | 5,707 | 61.7 | 37.2 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Walker | 28,148 | 2,890 | 26,885 | 1,277 | 95.5 | 44.2 |
| Washington | 5,293 | 2,297 | 7,690 | 1,469 | 100+ | 64.0 |
| Wilcox | 2,624 | 6,085 | 3,639 | 3,765 | 100+ | 61.9 |
| Winston | 8,559 | 47 | 11,179 | 40 | 100+ | 85.1 |
| TOTALS | 1,353,058 | 481,320 | 1,187,075 | 241,396 | 87.7 | 50.2 |

*Figures do not include a total of more than 10,000 voters for whom race is not designated in Madison, Mobile, and Shelby counties.

# F L O R I D A

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alachua | 30,555 | 9,898 | 24,767 | 6,214 | 81.1 | 62.8 |
| Baker | 3,203 | 807 | 3,445 | 554 | 100+ | 68.6 |
| Bay | 31,940 | 4,964 | 23,223 | 3,330 | 72.7 | 67.1 |
| Bradford | 5,580 | 1,345 | 4,900 | 893 | 87.8 | 66.4 |
| Brevard | 58,433 | 6,494 | 63,271 | 4,147 | 100+ | 63.9 |
| Broward | 189,517 | 27,009 | 179,977 | 19,713 | 95.0 | 73.0 |
| Calhoun | 3,434 | 582 | 4,091 | 379 | 100+ | 65.1 |
| Charlotte | 8,659 | 427 | 11,588 | 346 | 100+ | 81.0 |
| Citrus | 5,174 | 829 | 6,626 | 589 | 100+ | 71.0 |
| Clay | 9,508 | 1,276 | 9,443 | 1,013 | 99.3 | 79.4 |
| Collier | 8,163 | 1,364 | 8,173 | 623 | 100+ | 45.7 |
| Columbia | 8,092 | 3,122 | 8,676 | 2,517 | 100+ | 80.6 |
| Dade | 537,448 | 75,573 | 373,413 | 50,621 | 69.5 | 67.0 |
| De Soto | 6,339 | 1,343 | 4,564 | 1,010 | 72.0 | 75.2 |
| Dixie | 2,138 | 363 | 2,775 | 371 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Duval | 203,804 | 58,430 | 134,175 | 36,691 | 65.8 | 62.8 |
| Escambia | 76,688 | 18,041 | 58,651 | 13,058 | 76.5 | 72.4 |
| Flagler | 1,789 | 846 | 1,944 | 391 | 100+ | 46.2 |
| Franklin | 3,186 | 779 | 3,428 | 537 | 100+ | 68.9 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gadsden | 11,711 | 12,261 | 6,338 | 4,237 | 54.1 | 34.6 |
| Gilchrist | 1,513 | 154 | 1,737 | 110 | 100+ | 71.4 |
| Glades | 1,061 | 741 | 1,130 | 269 | 100+ | 36.3 |
| Gulf | 4,196 | 1,138 | 3,652 | 710 | 87.0 | 62.4 |
| Hamilton | 2,486 | 1,621 | 2,683 | 1,087 | 100+ | 67.0 |
| Hardee | 6,734 | 552 | 5,475 | 354 | 81.3 | 64.1 |
| Hendry | 3,430 | 1,180 | 3,322 | 756 | 96.8 | 64.1 |
| Hernando | 5,689 | 1,151 | 5,597 | 719 | 98.4 | 62.5 |
| Highlands | 10,997 | 2,251 | 10,587 | 1,547 | 96.3 | 68.7 |
| Hillsborough | 213,950 | 31,114 | 152,995 | 19,803 | 71.5 | 63.6 |
| Holmes | 6,131 | 249 | 6,472 | 199 | 100+ | 79.9 |
| Indian River | 13,182 | 2,637 | 11,713 | 1,376 | 88.9 | 52.2 |
| Jackson | 14,087 | 5,390 | 11,370 | 3,515 | 80.7 | 65.2 |
| Jefferson | 2,383 | 2,600 | 2,470 | 1,540 | 100+ | 59.2 |
| Lafayette | 1,536 | 152 | 1,767 | 102 | 100+ | 67.1 |
| Lake | 30,535 | 6,438 | 25,241 | 2,665 | 82.7 | 41.4 |
| Lee | 30,636 | 4,677 | 31,301 | 1,668 | 100+ | 35.7 |
| Leon | 28,241 | 12,322 | 25,360 | 7,240 | 89.8 | 58.8 |
| Levy | 4,483 | 1,568 | 3,730 | 536 | 83.2 | 34.2 |
| Liberty | 1,525 | 240 | 2,073 | 155 | 100+ | 64.6 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Madison | 4,380 | 3,067 | 4,250 | 2,023 | 97.0 | 66.0 |
| Manatee | 42,291 | 5,278 | 35,354 | 3,493 | 83.6 | 66.2 |
| Marion | 21,001 | 9,283 | 22,129 | 6,006 | 100+ | 64.7 |
| Martin | 9,291 | 1,753 | 9,106 | 1,225 | 98.0 | 69.9 |
| Monroe | 25,512 | 2,919 | 16,781 | 2,077 | 65.8 | 71.1 |
| Nassau | 7,054 | 2,076 | 5,680 | 1,476 | 80.5 | 71.1 |
| Okaloosa | 30,816 | 2,097 | 23,818 | 1,289 | 77.3 | 61.5 |
| Okeechobee | 2,870 | 533 | 3,140 | 419 | 100+ | 78.6 |
| Orange | 137,780 | 21,771 | 98,598 | 10,344 | 71.6 | 47.5 |
| Osceola | 11,697 | 1,122 | 10,049 | 609 | 85.9 | 54.3 |
| Palm Beach | 119,342 | 29,541 | 104,229 | 17,204 | 87.3 | 58.2 |
| Pasco | 22,329 | 2,391 | 23,461 | 1,160 | 100+ | 48.5 |
| Pinellas | 255,369 | 18,121 | 216,174 | 11,155 | 84.6 | 61.6 |
| Polk | 97,314 | 19,224 | 73,713 | 10,045 | 75.7 | 52.2 |
| Putnam | 13,095 | 5,089 | 9,056 | 2,049 | 69.2 | 40.3 |
| St. Johns | 13,771 | 4,331 | 10,225 | 2,241 | 74.2 | 51.7 |
| St. Lucie | 17,238 | 6,527 | 14,837 | 3,933 | 86.1 | 60.3 |
| Santa Rosa | 14,710 | 1,082 | 13,043 | 740 | 88.7 | 68.4 |
| Sarasota | 49,533 | 4,125 | 42,833 | 2,100 | 86.5 | 50.9 |
| Seminole | 24,372 | 7,050 | 17,125 | 2,989 | 70.3 | 42.4 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sumter | 5,396 | 1,523 | 5,308 | 911 | 98.4 | 59.8 |
| Suwannee | 6,409 | 2,149 | 5,388 | 1,083 | 84.1 | 50.4 |
| Taylor | 5,454 | 1,724 | 5,439 | 939 | 99.7 | 54.5 |
| Union | 2,880 | 1,082 | 2,049 | 171 | 71.1 | 15.8 |
| Volusia | 74,209 | 11,615 | 63,253 | 6,881 | 85.2 | 59.2 |
| Wakulla | 2,120 | 753 | 2,681 | 602 | 100+ | 79.9 |
| Walton | 7,958 | 1,086 | 7,816 | 857 | 98.2 | 78.9 |
| Washington | 5,364 | 1,021 | 5,596 | 840 | 100+ | 82.3 |
| TOTALS | 2,617,438 | 470,261 | 2,093,274 | 286,446 | 80.0 | 60.9 |

# G E O R G I A

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Appling | 5,862 | 1,401 | 7,286 | 1,187 | 100+ | 84.7 |
| Atkinson | 2,486 | 812 | 3,202 | 800 | 100+ | 99.2 |
| Bacon | 4,203 | 536 | 4,535 | 264 | 100+ | 49.3 |
| Baker | 1,139 | 1,285 | 1,517 | 722 | 100+ | 56.2 |
| Baldwin | 16,109 | 9,235 | 6,555 | 1,871 | 40.7 | 20.3 |
| Banks | 3,850 | 213 | 3,405 | 63 | 88.4 | 29.6 |
| Barrow | 7,865 | 1,332 | 6,230 | 403 | 79.2 | 30.3 |
| Bartow | 14,942 | 2,373 | 15,594 | 1,417 | 100+ | 59.2 |
| Ben Hill | 5,931 | 2,436 | 3,607 | 977 | 60.8 | 40.1 |
| Berrien | 6,179 | 964 | 5,133 | 575 | 83.1 | 59.6 |
| Bibb | 60,429 | 26,812 | 27,084* | 5,251* | 44.8 | 19.6 |
| Bleckley | 4,508 | 1,350 | 3,613 | 172 | 79.8 | 12.5 |
| Brantley | 2,854 | 384 | 3,005 | 300 | 100+ | 78.1 |
| Brooks | 5,059 | 3,711 | 3,320 | 591 | 65.6 | 15.9 |
| Bryan | 2,289 | 1,111 | 2,335 | 1,165 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Bulloch | 10,101 | 4,337 | 8,528 | 2,196 | 84.4 | 50.6 |
| Burke | 4,358 | 6,600 | 3,835 | 1,595 | 88.0 | 24.2 |
| Butts | 3,195 | 2,099 | 4,101 | 936 | 100+ | 44.6 |
| Calhoun | 1,654 | 2,393 | 1,895 | 509 | 100+ | 21.3 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Camden | 3,447 | 2,059 | 3,140 | 1,431 | 91.1 | 69.5 |
| Candler | 2,714 | 1,200 | 2,996 | 965 | 100+ | 86.4 |
| Carroll | 19,234 | 3,595 | 13,201 | 1,965 | 68.6 | 54.7 |
| Catoosa | 12,370 | 172 | 11,231 | 75 | 90.8 | 43.6 |
| Charlton | 2,077 | 810 | 2,539 | 444 | 100+ | 54.8 |
| Chatham | 78,118 | 37,563 | 54,676 | 21,174 | 70.0 | 56.4 |
| Chattahoochee | 8,061 | 1,830 | 462 | 119 | 5.7 | 6.5 |
| Chattooga | 11,460 | 1,025 | 8,983 | 927 | 78.4 | 90.4 |
| Cherokee | 13,964 | 617 | 13,749* | 608* | 98.5 | 100+ |
| Clarke | 23,895 | 6,740 | 13,897 | 4,723 | 58.2 | 70.1 |
| Clay | 1,130 | 1,441 | 968 | 256 | 85.7 | 17.8 |
| Clayton | 23,996 | 2,456 | 17,725 | 723 | 73.9 | 29.4 |
| Clinch | 2,373 | 1,256 | 2,350 | 371 | 99.0 | 29.5 |
| Cobb | 63,291 | 4,568 | 29,680* | 1,800* | 47.0 | 39.6 |
| Coffee | 9,682 | 2,977 | 11,224 | 1,304 | 100.+ | 43.8 |
| Colquitt | 13,982 | 4,081 | 12,778* | 1,673* | 80.0 | 41.0 |
| Columbia | 5,096 | 2,364 | 4,278 | 801 | 83.9 | 33.9 |
| Cook | 5,213 | 1,755 | 5,513 | 652 | 100+ | 37.2 |
| Coweta | 11,891 | 5,579 | 11,919 | 2,352 | 100+ | 42.2 |
| Crawford | 1,596 | 1,611 | 1,468 | 354 | 92.0 | 22.0 |
| Crisp | 6,451 | 3,858 | 6,301 | 1,805 | 97.7 | 46.8 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dade | 4,803 | 70 | 4,242 | 60 | 88.3 | 85.7 |
| Dawson | 2,148 | 1 | 2,373 | 0 | 100+ | .0 |
| Decatur | 9,070 | 5,515 | 8,144 | 1,218 | 89.8 | 22.1 |
| DeKalb | 148,167 | 12,407 | 120,129 | 7,862 | 81.1 | 63.4 |
| Dodge | 7,392 | 2,328 | 7,013 | 1,871 | 94.9 | 80.4 |
| Dooly | 3,581 | 2,866 | 4,392 | 890 | 100+ | 31.1 |
| Dougherty | 29,897 | 14,163 | 13,715* | 4,800* | 45.9 | 33.9 |
| Douglas | 8,595 | 1,268 | 8,653 | 955 | 100+ | 75.3 |
| Early | 4,013 | 3,277 | 4,048 | 502 | 100+ | 15.3 |
| Echols | 832 | 246 | 838 | 19 | 100+ | 7.7 |
| Effingham | 4,008 | 1,756 | 3,974 | 569 | 99.2 | 32.4 |
| Elbert | 7,752 | 3,127 | 9,335 | 1,315 | 100+ | 42.1 |
| Emanuel | 7,627 | 3,005 | 6,318 | 2,098 | 82.8 | 69.8 |
| Evans | 2,738 | 1,308 | 2,355 | 547 | 86.0 | 41.8 |
| Fannin | 8,111 | 31 | 8,494 | 18 | 100+ | 58.1 |
| Fayette | 3,585 | 1,190 | 300 | 6 | 83.7 | 5.1 |
| Floyd | 38,230 | 5,949 | 24,932 | 2,600 | 65.2 | 43.7 |
| Forsyth | 7,328 | 4 | 6,539 | 0 | 89.2 | .0 |
| Franklin | 7,611 | 776 | 7,599 | 112 | 99.8 | 14.4 |
| Fulton | 247,892 | 117,049 | 172,112 | 69,885 | 69.4 | 59.7 |
| Gilmer | 5,431 | 7 | 7,997 | 3 | 100+ | 42.8 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Glascock | 1,281 | 351 | 1,487 | 22 | 100+ | 6.3 |
| Glynn | 18,750 | 6,762 | 8,628 | 2,715 | 46.0 | 40.0 |
| Gordon | 11,441 | 669 | 8,643 | 358 | 75.5 | 53.5 |
| Grady | 7,205 | 3,364 | 4,461 | 809 | 61.9 | 24.0 |
| Greene | 3,565 | 2,998 | 3,395 | 2,570 | 95.2 | 85.7 |
| Gwinnett | 24,299 | 1,841 | 22,633 | 1,515 | 93.1 | 82.3 |
| Habersham | 10,676 | 518 | 7,276 | 507 | 68.2 | 97.9 |
| Hall | 27,726 | 2,789 | 16,750 | 1,149 | 60.4 | 41.2 |
| Hancock | 1,727 | 3,576 | 1,661 | 1,706 | 96.2 | 47.7 |
| Haralson | 8,571 | 642 | 7,375 | 412 | 86.0 | 64.2 |
| Harris | 3,310 | 3,102 | 3,749 | 757 | 100+ | 24.4 |
| Hart | 7,382 | 1,832 | 6,481 | 425 | 87.8 | 23.2 |
| Heard | 2,661 | 590 | 3,067 | 365 | 100+ | 61.9 |
| Henry | 6,429 | 3,539 | 8,161 | 3,015 | 100+ | 85.2 |
| Houston | 17,742 | 4,228 | 13,390 | 1,976 | 75.5 | 46.7 |
| Irwin | 3,759 | 1,602 | 4,527 | 688 | 100+ | 42.9 |
| Jackson | 10,225 | 1,309 | 7,850 | 693 | 76.8 | 52.9 |
| Jasper | 1,926 | 1,705 | 2,152 | 735 | 100+ | 43.1 |
| Jeff Davis | 4,116 | 909 | 6,293 | 108 | 100+ | 11.9 |
| Jefferson | 4,937 | 4,780 | 4,524 | 4,306 | 91.6 | 90.1 |
| Jenkins | 2,985 | 2,210 | 2,764 | 652 | 92.6 | 29.5 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Johnson | 3,455 | 1,261 | 3,329 | 555 | 96.4 | 44.0 |
| Jones | 2,655 | 2,185 | 2,695 | 956 | 100+ | 43.8 |
| Lamar | 4,078 | 2,118 | 3,758 | 1,030 | 92.2 | 48.6 |
| Lanier | 2,158 | 756 | 1,807 | 364 | 83.7 | 48.1 |
| Laurens | 13,176 | 6,248 | 13,490 | 4,195 | 100+ | 67.1 |
| Lee | 1,427 | 1,795 | 1,373 | 177 | 96.2 | 9.9 |
| Liberty | 5,310 | 3,176 | 2,950 | 2,594 | 55.6 | 81.7 |
| Lincoln | 1,974 | 1,336 | 2,500 | 519 | 100+ | 38.8 |
| Long | 1,527 | 635 | 2,255 | 1,081 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Lowndes | 20,746 | 8,459 | 13,093 | 2,680 | 63.1 | 31.7 |
| Lumpkin | 4,500 | 79 | 4,413 | 105 | 98.1 | 100+ |
| McDuffie | 4,625 | 2,740 | 8,030 | 931 | 100+ | 34.0 |
| McIntosh | 1,643 | 1,823 | 1,612 | 1,935 | 98.1 | 100+ |
| Macon | 3,171 | 4,077 | 3,514 | 1,644 | 100+ | 40.3 |
| Madison | 5,962 | 989 | 4,823 | 106 | 80.9 | 10.7 |
| Marion | 1,353 | 1,609 | 1,563 | 236 | 100+ | 14.7 |
| Meriwether | 6,547 | 4,990 | 5,402 | 1,871 | 82.5 | 37.5 |
| Miller | 3,095 | 946 | 1,594 | 153 | 51.5 | 16.2 |
| Mitchell | 6,055 | 4,971 | 5,592 | 1,242 | 92.4 | 25.0 |
| Monroe | 3,607 | 2,652 | 4,077 | 809 | 100+ | 30.5 |
| Montgomery | 2,520 | 1,288 | 2,449 | 745 | 97.2 | 57.8 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Morgan | 3,415 | 2,469 | 1,667 | 993 | 48.8 | 40.2 |
| Murray | 6,209 | 51 | 6,210 | 25 | 100+ | 49.0 |
| Muscogee | 74,662 | 22,549 | 30,485 | 7,366 | 40.8 | 32.7 |
| Newton | 9,045 | 3,767 | 6,110 | 984 | 67.6 | 26.1 |
| Oconee | 3,228 | 681 | 2,554 | 120 | 79.1 | 17.6 |
| Oglethorpe | 2,964 | 1,709 | 2,873 | 328 | 96.9 | 19.2 |
| Paulding | 7,353 | 603 | 8,170 | 529 | 100+ | 87.7 |
| Peach | 3,650 | 4,562 | 2,930 | 1,011 | 80.3 | 22.2 |
| Pickens | 5,264 | 251 | 6,034 | 195 | 100+ | 77.7 |
| Pierce | 4,432 | 1,135 | 4,518 | 610 | 100+ | 53.7 |
| Pike | 2,584 | 1,643 | 2,601 | 669 | 100+ | 40.7 |
| Polk | 15,065 | 2,443 | 12,381 | 1,709 | 82.2 | 70.0 |
| Pulaski | 3,018 | 1,843 | 3,128 | 336 | 100+ | 18.2 |
| Putnam | 2,297 | 2,204 | 2,446 | 725 | 100+ | 32.9 |
| Quitman | 581 | 707 | 670 | 160 | 100+ | 22.6 |
| Rabun | 4,392 | 43 | 4,237 | 33 | 96.5 | 76.7 |
| Randolph | 2,878 | 3,663 | 2,598 | 867 | 90.3 | 23.7 |
| Richmond | 61,315 | 24,785 | 37,498 | 12,313 | 61.2 | 49.7 |
| Rockdale | 4,708 | 1,512 | 4,829 | 877 | 100+ | 58.0 |
| Schley | 961 | 903 | 1,142 | 210 | 100+ | 23.3 |
| Screven | 4,557 | 3,729 | 3,698 | 1,144 | 81.1 | 30.7 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Seminole | 2,648 | 1,255 | 3,017 | 418 | 100+ | 33.3 |
| Spalding | 16,657 | 5,252 | 11,178 | 2,872 | 67.1 | 54.7 |
| Stephens | 9,975 | 1,355 | 9,518 | 743 | 95.4 | 54.8 |
| Stewart | 1,465 | 2,681 | 1,793 | 619 | 100+ | 23.1 |
| Sumter | 7,730 | 6,710 | 8,321 | 3,040 | 100+ | 45.3 |
| Talbot | 1,437 | 2,507 | 1,406 | 661 | 97.8 | 26.4 |
| Taliaferro | 917 | 1,073 | 1,052 | 1,165 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Tattnall | 7,377 | 3,135 | 6,515 | 2,995 | 88.3 | 95.5 |
| Taylor | 2,767 | 2,004 | 3,071 | 495 | 100+ | 24.7 |
| Telfair | 4,938 | 2,087 | 4,459 | 1,622 | 90.3 | 77.7 |
| Terrell | 3,038 | 4,057 | 3,305 | 449 | 100+ | 11.1 |
| Thomas | 13,179 | 7,644 | 8,697* | 1,652* | 66.0 | 21.6 |
| Tift | 10,211 | 3,513 | 7,828 | 1,637 | 76.7 | 46.6 |
| Toombs | 7,513 | 2,444 | 7,571 | 920 | 100+ | 37.6 |
| Towns | 2,942 | 1 | 2,600 | 0 | 88.3 | .0 |
| Treutlen | 2,473 | 968 | 2,050 | 564 | 82.9 | 58.3 |
| Troup | 20,579 | 8,577 | 12,817 | 2,856 | 62.3 | 33.3 |
| Turner | 3,422 | 1,535 | 2,853 | 477 | 83.4 | 31.1 |
| Twiggs | 1,969 | 2,255 | 1,749 | 317 | 88.8 | 14.1 |
| Union | 3,457 | 1 | 3,500 | 0 | 88.4 | .0 |
| Upson | 1,159 | 3,615 | 6,675 | 888 | 59.8 | 24.6 |
| Walker | 26,511 | 1,388 | 31,415 | 1,131 | 100+ | 81.5 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Walton | 9,392 | 3,076 | 6,565 | 963 | 69.9 | 31.3 |
| Ware | 15,671 | 4,763 | 12,994 | 2,720 | 82.9 | 57.1 |
| Warren | 1,911 | 2,224 | 1,938 | 1,380 | 100+ | 62.1 |
| Washington | 5,373 | 5,451 | 5,367 | 1,672 | 99.9 | 30.7 |
| Wayne | 8,204 | 1,878 | 7,878 | 1,171 | 96.0 | 62.4 |
| Webster | 775 | 975 | 826 | 231 | 100+ | 23.7 |
| Wheeler | 2,236 | 824 | 2,172 | 682 | 97.1 | 82.8 |
| White | 4,047 | 169 | 4,631 | 230 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Whitfield | 24,437 | 1,085 | 19,767 | 991 | 80.9 | 91.3 |
| Wilcox | 3,309 | 1,282 | 3,840 | 541 | 100+ | 42.2 |
| Wilkes | 3,621 | 3,101 | 4,052 | 1,039 | 100+ | 33.5 |
| Wilkinson | 3,135 | 2,279 | 3,302 | 715 | 100+ | 31.4 |
| Worth | 6,324 | 3,776 | 6,246 | 823 | 100+ | 21.8 |
| TOTALS | 1,797,063 | 612,910 | 1,373,388 | 280,212 | 76.4 | 45.7 |

*Totals do not include more than 14,000 registered voters for whom race is not indicated. Most of these are in Bibb, Cobb, Dougherty and Thomas counties. A smaller number is found in Cherokee, Colquitt and several other counties.

# L O U I S I A N A

| Parish | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent white reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Acadia | 22,399 | 4,557 | 21,651 | 4,118 | 97 | 90 |
| Allen | 8,357 | 2,310 | 8,303 | 1,981 | 99 | 86 |
| Ascension | 10,110 | 4,171 | 9,116 | 2,688 | 90 | 64 |
| Assumption | 5,877 | 3,237 | 5,356 | 1,997 | 91 | 62 |
| Avoyelles | 15,845 | 4,717 | 13,657 | 2,396 | 86 | 51 |
| Beauregard | 8,682 | 2,145 | 9,123 | 1,182 | 100+ | 55 |
| Bienville | 5,617 | 4,077 | 5,130 | 1,693 | 91 | 42 |
| Bossier | 23,696 | 6,847 | 15,460 | 1,117 | 65 | 16 |
| Caddo | 87,774 | 41,749 | 60,494 | 10,141 | 69 | 24 |
| Calcasieu | 62,987 | 14,924 | 49,151 | 9,396 | 78 | 63 |
| Caldwell | 3,843 | 1,161 | 3,944 | 377 | 100+ | 32 |
| Cameron | 3,642 | 239 | 3,485 | 195 | 96 | 82 |
| Catahoula | 4,110 | 1,919 | 4,287 | 798 | 100+ | 42 |
| Claiborne | 6,415 | 5,032 | 5,300 | 1,345 | 83 | 27 |
| Concordia | 5,963 | 4,582 | 5,928 | 1,350 | 99 | 30 |
| DeSoto | 6,543 | 6,753 | 5,866 | 2,317 | 90 | 34 |
| E. Baton Rouge | 87,985 | 36,908 | 78,497 | 15,715 | 89 | 43 |
| E. Carroll | 2,990 | 4,183 | 2,577 | 2,735 | 86 | 65 |
| E. Feliciana | 7,043 | 6,081 | 5,378 | 2,195 | 76 | 36 |
| Evangeline | 13,652 | 3,342 | 14,869 | 3,731 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Franklin | 8,954 | 4,433 | 4,584 | 409 | 51 | 9 |

| Parish | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grant | 6,080 | 1,553 | 6,042 | 685 | 99 | 44 |
| Iberia | 20,200 | 7,165 | 18,143 | 4,854 | 90 | 68 |
| Iberville | 8,733 | 7,060 | 7,831 | 5,252 | 90 | 74 |
| Jackson | 6,607 | 2,535 | 6,274 | 1,486 | 95 | 59 |
| Jefferson | 98,103 | 14,970 | 92,549 | 9,404 | 94 | 63 |
| Jefferson Davis | 12,892 | 2,881 | 10,716 | 1,753 | 83 | 61 |
| Lafayette | 35,513 | 9,473 | 32,872 | 5,814 | 93 | 61 |
| Lafourche | 25,737 | 3,078 | 25,140 | 2,215 | 98 | 72 |
| LaSalle | 6,799 | 849 | 7,237 | 661 | 100+ | 78 |
| Lincoln | 9,611 | 5,723 | 7,480 | 1,835 | 78 | 32 |
| Livingston | 12,306 | 1,818 | 13,687 | 1,445 | 100+ | 80 |
| Madison | 3,334 | 5,181 | 2,971* | 2,734* | 89 | 53 |
| Morehouse | 10,311 | 7,208 | 8,154 | 1,158 | 79 | 16 |
| Natchitoches | 11,328 | 7,444 | 10,357 | 4,264 | 91 | 57 |
| Orleans | 257,495 | 125,752 | 162,452 | 52,336 | 63 | 42 |
| Ouachita | 40,185 | 16,377 | 31,044 | 7,596 | 77 | 46 |
| Plaquemines | 8,633 | 2,897 | 9,746 | 1,300 | 100+ | 45 |
| Pointe Coupee | 6,085 | 5,273 | 4,834 | 2,976 | 79 | 56 |
| Rapides | 44,823 | 18,141 | 33,982 | 6,870 | 76 | 38 |
| Red River | 3,294 | 2,181 | 3,627 | 969 | 100+ | 44 |

*Race is not indicated for 280 persons registered in Madison Parish.

| Parish | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Richland | 7,601 | 4,608 | 6,140 | 764 | 81 | 17 |
| Sabine | 8,251 | 2,143 | 9,047 | 1,445 | 100+ | 67 |
| St. Bernard | 15,836 | 1,105 | 18,843 | 705 | 100+ | 64 |
| St. Charles | 8,117 | 2,621 | 7,840 | 2,411 | 97 | 92 |
| St. Helena | 2,363 | 2,082 | 2,327 | 1,520 | 99 | 73 |
| St. James | 4,892 | 3,964 | 4,736 | 2,834 | 97 | 72 |
| St. John | 4,982 | 4,279 | 4,593 | 3,047 | 92 | 71 |
| St. Landry | 25,550 | 14,982 | 23,129 | 11,650 | 91 | 78 |
| St. Martin | 9,781 | 4,664 | 9,824 | 3,449 | 100+ | 74 |
| St. Mary | 17,991 | 7,176 | 15,986 | 5,179 | 89 | 72 |
| St. Tammany | 16,032 | 5,038 | 18,727 | 2,920 | 100+ | 58 |
| Tangipahoa | 22,311 | 9,401 | 20,654 | 4,323 | 93 | 46 |
| Tensas | 2,287 | 3,533 | 2,237 | 719 | 98 | 20 |
| Terrebonne | 24,393 | 5,464 | 19,646 | 1,711 | 81 | 31 |
| Union | 7,021 | 3,006 | 6,585 | 1,079 | 94 | 36 |
| Vermilion | 19,710 | 2,429 | 19,977 | 2,424 | 100+ | 100- |
| Vernon | 9,279 | 1,268 | 10,311 | 751 | 100+ | 59 |
| Washington | 16,804 | 6,821 | 16,157 | 3,330 | 96 | 49 |
| Webster | 15,713 | 7,045 | 11,008 | 3,163 | 70 | 45 |
| W. Baton Rouge | 3,974 | 3,502 | 3,791 | 1,749 | 95 | 50 |

| Parish | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| W. Carroll | 6,171 | 1,389 | 4,516 | 186 | 73 | 13 |
| W. Feliciana | 2,814 | 4,553 | 1,113 | 1,817 | 39 | 40 |
| Winn | 6,790 | 2,590 | 7,092 | 1,362 | 100+ | 53 |
| TOTALS | 1,289,216 | 514,589 | 1,071,573 | 242,130 | 83.1 | 47.1 |

# M I S S I S S I P P I

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Adams | 10,888 | 9,340 | 6,306 | 6,005 | 57.9 | 64.3 |
| Alcorn | 13,347 | 1,756 | 8,603 | 398 | 64.4 | 22.7 |
| Amite | 4,449 | 3,560 | 3,831 | 949 | 86.1 | 26.7 |
| Attala | 7,522 | 4,262 | NV | NV | | |
| Benton | 2,514 | 1,419 | 2,419 | 956 | 96.2 | 67.4 |
| Bolivar | 10,031 | 15,939 | 6,209 | 5,732 | 61.9 | 36.0 |
| Calhoun | 7,188 | 1,767 | NV | NV | | |
| Carroll | 2,969 | 2,704 | 3,077 | 1,248 | 100+ | 46.1 |
| Chickasaw | 6,388 | 3,054 | 6,620 | 535 | 100+ | 17.5 |
| Choctaw | 3,728 | 1,105 | NV | NV | | |
| Claiborne | 1,688 | 3,969 | 1,679 | 2,906 | 99.4 | 73.2 |
| Clarke | 6,072 | 2,988 | 5,211 | 1,026 | 85.8 | 34.3 |
| Clay | 5,547 | 4,444 | 3,535 | 1,695 | 63.7 | 38.1 |
| Coahoma | 8,708 | 14,604 | 7,215 | 7,761 | 82.8 | 53.1 |
| Copiah | 8,153 | 6,407 | 8,382 | 1,455 | 100+ | 22.7 |
| Covington | 5,329 | 2,032 | 4,339 | 937 | 81.4 | 46.1 |
| De Soto | 5,338 | 6,246 | 5,592 | 2,129 | 100+ | 34.1 |
| Forrest | 22,431 | 7,495 | 14,827 | 2,064 | 66.1 | 27.5 |
| Franklin | 3,403 | 1,842 | 3,919 | 358 | 100+ | 19.4 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| George | 5,276 | 580 | 4,625 | 123 | 87.7 | 21.2 |
| Greene | 3,518 | 859 | 3,147 | 264 | 89.4 | 30.7 |
| Grenada | 5,792 | 4,323 | 5,962 | 1,752 | 100+ | 40.5 |
| Hancock | 6,813 | 1,129 | 5,574 | 510 | 81.8 | 45.2 |
| Harrison | 55,094 | 9,670 | 17,450 | 3,833 | 31.7 | 39.6 |
| Hinds | 67,836 | 36,138 | 63,952 | 15,663 | 94.3 | 43.3 |
| Holmes | 4,773 | 8,757 | 5,080 | 4,655 | 100+ | 53.1 |
| Humphreys | 3,344 | 5,561 | 2,861 | 1,283 | 85.5 | 23.1 |
| Issaquena | 640 | 1,081 | 768 | 446 | 100+ | 41.3 |
| Itawamba | 8,523 | 463 | 6,258 | 66 | 73.4 | 14.2 |
| Jackson | 24,447 | 5,113 | NV | NV | | |
| Jasper | 5,327 | 3,675 | 4,643 | 976 | 87.2 | 26.6 |
| Jefferson | 1,666 | 3,540 | 1,913 | 2,049 | 100+ | 57.8 |
| Jefferson Davis | 3,629 | 3,222 | 3,443 | 1,833 | 94.8 | 56.8 |
| Jones | 25,943 | 7,427 | NV | 2,077(est.) | | 28.0 |
| Kemper | 3,113 | 3,221 | 3,342 | 369 | 100+ | 11.4 |
| Lafayette | 8,074 | 3,239 | 4,784 | 778 | 59.2 | 24.0 |
| Lamar | 6,489 | 1,071 | 6,062 | 174 | 93.4 | 16.2 |
| Lauderdale | 27,806 | 11,924 | 19,895 | 5,343 | 71.5 | 44.8 |
| Lawrence | 3,878 | 1,720 | NV | 1,074(est.) | | 62.4 |
| Leake | 6,754 | 3,397 | 6,358 | 849 | 94.1 | 24.9 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lee | 18,709 | 5,130 | 11,403 | 736 | 60.9 | 14.3 |
| Leflore | 10,274 | 13,567 | NV | 7,161(est.) | | 52.8 |
| Lincoln | 11,072 | 3,913 | NV | NV | | |
| Lowndes | 16,460 | 8,362 | 9,813 | 1,267 | 59.6 | 15.1 |
| Madison | 5,622 | 10,366 | 6,334 | 5,991 | 100+ | 57.8 |
| Marion | 8,997 | 3,630 | 10,810 | 1,227 | 100+ | 33.8 |
| Marshall | 4,342 | 7,168 | 4,741 | 2,562 | 100+ | 35.7 |
| Monroe | 13,426 | 5,610 | NV | NV | | |
| Montgomery | 4,700 | 2,627 | 4,250 | 591 | 90.4 | 22.5 |
| Neshoba | 9,143 | 2,565 | 6,783 | 953 | 74.2 | 37.1 |
| Newton | 8,014 | 3,018 | 6,198 | 1,127 | 77.3 | 37.3 |
| Noxubee | 2,997 | 5,172 | NV | NV | | |
| Oktibbeha | 8,423 | 4,952 | 8,443 | 889 | 100+ | 17.9 |
| Panola | 7,639 | 7,250 | 6,555 | 2,411 | 85.8 | 33.2 |
| Pearl River | 9,765 | 2,473 | NV | NV | | |
| Perry | 3,515 | 1,140 | NV | NV | | |
| Pike | 12,163 | 6,936 | 8,760 | 2,162 | 72.0 | 31.2 |
| Pontotoc | 8,772 | 1,519 | 6,398 | 261 | 72.9 | 17.2 |
| Prentiss | 9,535 | 1,070 | 6,810 | 112 | 71.4 | 10.5 |
| Quitman | 4,176 | 5,673 | 3,391 | 1,382 | 81.2 | 24.3 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rankin | 13,246 | 6,944 | 12,321 | 1,504 | 93.0 | 21.7 |
| Scott | 7,742 | 3,752 | 5,677 | 705 | 73.3 | 18.7 |
| Sharkey | 1,882 | 3,152 | 1,768 | 433 | 93.9 | 13.7 |
| Simpson | 8,055 | 3,186 | NV | NV | | |
| Smith | 6,597 | 1,293 | NV | NV | | |
| Stone | 2,965 | 868 | 2,473 | 114 | 83.4 | 13.1 |
| Sunflower | 8,785 | 13,524 | 8,287 | 2,325 | 94.3 | 17.1 |
| Tallahatchie | 5,099 | 6,483 | 4,913 | 1,174 | 96.3 | 18.1 |
| Tate | 4,506 | 4,326 | 3,980 | 1,429 | 88.3 | 33.0 |
| Tippah | 7,513 | 1,281 | 5,957 | 374 | 79.2 | 29.2 |
| Tishomingo | 8,068 | 359 | 5,248 | 54 | 65.0 | 15.0 |
| Tunica | 2,011 | 5,822 | 1,558 | 505 | 77.4 | 8.7 |
| Union | 9,512 | 1,626 | 7,033 | 298 | 73.9 | 18.3 |
| Walthall | 4,536 | 2,490 | 4,261 | 1,293 | 93.9 | 51.9 |
| Warren | 13,530 | 10,726 | 12,169 | 5,229 | 89.9 | 48.7 |
| Washington | 19,837 | 20,619 | 12,683 | 5,094 | 63.9 | 24.7 |
| Wayne | 5,881 | 2,556 | 4,838 | 370 | 82.2 | 14.4 |
| Webster | 4,993 | 1,174 | NV | NV | | |
| Wilkinson | 2,340 | 4,120 | 2,777 | 1,127 | 100+ | 27.3 |
| Winston | 6,808 | 3,611 | NV | NV | | |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yalobusha | 4,572 | 2,441 | 3,511 | 235 | 76.8 | 9.6 |
| Yazoo | 7,598 | 8,719 | 7,580 | 1,050 | 99.7 | 11.9 |
| TOTALS | 748,266 | 422,256 | 470,920 | 139,099 | 62.9 | 32.9 |

Note: Race is not indicated for many recent registrants in a number of Mississippi counties. Where these figures occurred, they have been divided between the races in the totals above. Most are counted as Negro registration, since it is thought that most of these recent registrants are Negroes. NV indicates statistics not available when these figures were assembled.

# NORTH CAROLINA

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alamance | 42,755 | 7,429 | 47,604 | 4,801 | 100+ | 64.6 |
| Alexander | 8,370 | 506 | 10,478 | 460 | 100+ | 90.9 |
| Alleghany | 4,588 | 119 | 6,899 | 83 | 100+ | 69.7 |
| Anson | 7,847 | 5,218 | 6,800 | 1,700 | 86.7 | 32.6 |
| Ashe | 11,276 | 115 | 13,038 | 110 | 100+ | 95.6 |
| Avery | 6,507 | 124 | 6,081 | 41 | 93.4 | 33.1 |
| Beaufort | 13,737 | 6,196 | 10,144 | 1,114 | 73.8 | 18.0 |
| Bertie | 6,156 | 6,261 | 5,925 | 3,879 | 96.2 | 61.9 |
| Bladen | 9,173 | 5,147 | 10,109 | 2,721 | 100+ | 52.9 |
| Brunswick | 7,602 | 3,170 | 10,298 | 2,588 | 100+ | 81.6 |
| Buncombe | 72,249 | 8,510 | 67,653 | 6,565 | 93.6 | 77.1 |
| Burke | 29,506 | 1,921 | 34,657 | 2,247 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Cabarrus | 35,165 | 5,380 | 31,463 | 2,899 | 89.5 | 53.9 |
| Caldwell | 25,520 | 1,723 | 22,486 | 1,938 | 88.1 | 100+ |
| Camden | 1,988 | 1,054 | 1,923 | 417 | 96.7 | 39.6 |
| Carteret | 16,030 | 1,932 | 12,087 | 1,065 | 75.4 | 55.1 |
| Caswell | 6,026 | 4,129 | 5,200 | 1,600 | 86.3 | 38.7 |
| Catawba | 38,542 | 3,296 | 22,068 | 1,557 | 57.3 | 47.2 |
| Chatham | 11,227 | 4,026 | 13,722 | 900 | 100+ | 22.3 |
| Cherokee | 9,102 | 226 | 9,055 | 152 | 99.5 | 67.3 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chowan | 3,825 | 2,507 | 3,424 | 822 | 89.5 | 32.8 |
| Clay | 3,112 | 37 | 2,454 | 25 | 78.9 | 67.6 |
| Cleveland | 30,356 | 6,474 | 19,883 | 2,490 | 65.5 | 38.5 |
| Columbus | 17,830 | 7,382 | 16,458 | 5,459 | 92.3 | 73.9 |
| Craven | 22,994 | 8,242 | 12,001 | 3,473 | 52.2 | 42.1 |
| Cumberland | 58,279 | 18,789 | 25,794 | 7,461 | 44.3 | 39.7 |
| Currituck | 2,845 | 1,076 | 2,574 | 378 | 90.5 | 35.1 |
| Dare | 3,467 | 237 | NV | NV | | |
| Davidson | 41,462 | 4,491 | 31,839 | 2,404 | 76.8 | 53.5 |
| Davie | 8,898 | 1,080 | 9,967 | 966 | 100+ | 89.4 |
| Duplin | 14,477 | 6,955 | 15,812 | 3,185 | 100+ | 45.8 |
| Durham | 47,098 | 19,475 | 37,022 | 16,389 | 78.6 | 84.1 |
| Edgecombe | 15,515 | 12,330 | 12,247 | 3,624 | 78.9 | 29.4 |
| Forsyth | 87,219 | 24,952 | 68,221 | 17,028 | 78.2 | 68.2 |
| Franklin | 9,842 | 5,554 | 10,642 | 1,853 | 100+ | 33.4 |
| Gaston | 64,154 | 8,365 | 43,288 | 4,185 | 67.5 | 50.0 |
| Gates | 2,714 | 2,344 | 3,061 | 1,289 | 100+ | 55.0 |
| Graham | 3,324 | 125 | NV | NV | | |
| Granville | 11,584 | 6,996 | 10,022 | 2,475 | 86.5 | 35.4 |
| Greene | 4,793 | 3,268 | 4,257 | 777 | 88.8 | 23.8 |
| Guilford | 116,748 | 27,292 | 84,838 | 16,711 | 72.7 | 61.2 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Halifax | 16,496 | 13,766 | 17,529 | 4,821 | 100+ | 35.0 |
| Harnett | 20,061 | 6,150 | 15,326 | 3,799 | 76.4 | 61.8 |
| Haywood | 23,055 | 500 | 22,182 | 393 | 96.2 | 78.6 |
| Henderson | 21,062 | 1,170 | 17,419 | 651 | 82.7 | 55.6 |
| Hertford | 5,606 | 6,102 | 4,605 | 3,025 | 82.1 | 49.6 |
| Hoke | 3,998 | 3,747 | 2,984 | 1,375 | 74.6 | 36.7 |
| Hyde | 2,201 | 1,100 | 1,970 | 399 | 89.5 | 36.3 |
| Iredell | 31,094 | 5,517 | 23,338 | 2,958 | 75.1 | 53.6 |
| Jackson | 9,227 | 841 | 7,234 | 148 | 78.4 | 17.6 |
| Johnston | 28,259 | 6,395 | 22,188 | 2,550 | 78.5 | 39.9 |
| Jones | 3,248 | 2,251 | 4,508 | 1,571 | 100+ | 69.8 |
| Lee | 12,041 | 2,803 | 11,537 | 1,882 | 95.8 | 67.1 |
| Lenoir | 19,260 | 10,293 | 15,448 | 3,670 | 80.2 | 35.6 |
| Lincoln | 14,893 | 1,546 | 16,591 | 1,491 | 100+ | 96.4 |
| McDowell | 14,693 | 755 | 14,232 | 626 | 96.9 | 82.9 |
| Macon | 8,573 | 180 | 8,168 | 67 | 95.3 | 37.2 |
| Madison | 9,574 | 75 | 8,098 | 42 | 84.6 | 56.0 |
| Martin | 8,052 | 5,683 | 7,706 | 2,027 | 95.7 | 35.7 |
| Mecklenburg | 123,787 | 34,150 | 98,779 | 18,087 | 79.8 | 53.0 |
| Mitchell | 7,977 | 29 | 7,083 | 8 | 88.8 | 27.6 |
| Montgomery | 8,119 | 2,075 | 7,855 | 1,387 | 96.7 | 66.8 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Moore | 15,733 | 4,803 | 12,821 | 2,136 | 81.5 | 44.5 |
| Nash | 21,761 | 10,573 | 14,837 | 2,655 | 68.2 | 25.1 |
| New Hanover | 31,641 | 10,569 | 22,241 | 6,788 | 70.3 | 64.2 |
| Northampton | 6,178 | 7,304 | 6,062 | 4,016 | 98.1 | 55.0 |
| Onslow | 33,988 | 5,015 | 14,995 | 2,694 | 44.1 | 53.7 |
| Orange | 19,385 | 4,978 | 16,619 | 3,265 | 85.8 | 65.6 |
| Pamlico | 3,708 | 1,593 | 3,207 | 807 | 86.5 | 50.7 |
| Pasquotank | 9,409 | 4,936 | 6,079 | 2,127 | 64.6 | 43.1 |
| Pender | 5,631 | 4,085 | 5,486 | 1,672 | 97.4 | 40.9 |
| Perquimans | 3,083 | 2,027 | 2,291 | 985 | 74.3 | 48.6 |
| Person | 9,994 | 4,227 | 9,664 | 2,070 | 96.7 | 49.0 |
| Pitt | 22,621 | 13,575 | 27,039 | 4,449 | 100+ | 32.8 |
| Polk | 6,104 | 766 | 8,408 | 683 | 100+ | 89.2 |
| Randolph | 33,477 | 2,591 | 23,421 | 1,245 | 70.0 | 48.0 |
| Richmond | 16,019 | 5,514 | 13,985 | 3,515 | 87.3 | 63.7 |
| Robeson | 20,851 | 21,424 | 12,904 | 9,401 | 61.9 | 43.9 |
| Rockingham | 33,438 | 7,398 | 26,419 | 4,289 | 79.0 | 58.0 |
| Rowan | 42,866 | 7,209 | 32,219 | 4,332 | 75.2 | 60.0 |
| Rutherford | 24,020 | 2,572 | 23,986 | 1,515 | 99.9 | 58.9 |
| Sampson | 17,378 | 8,203 | 22,491 | 7,510 | 100+ | 91.5 |
| Scotland | 7,812 | 4,686 | 4,913 | 1,644 | 62.9 | 35.1 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stanly | 22,056 | 2,164 | 19,136 | 1,322 | 86.8 | 61.1 |
| Stokes | 11,786 | 1,025 | 7,500 | 1,500 | 63.6 | 100+ |
| Surry | 26,796 | 1,423 | 37,075 | 955 | 100+ | 67.1 |
| Swain | 3,878 | 756 | 6,547 | 81 | 100+ | 10.7 |
| Transylvania | 8,687 | 405 | 8,509 | 398 | 97.9 | 98.3 |
| Tyrrell | 1,597 | 849 | 1,089 | 422 | 68.2 | 49.7 |
| Union | 20,044 | 4,423 | 13,209 | 1,428 | 65.9 | 32.3 |
| Vance | 11,005 | 6,520 | 8,145 | 2,507 | 74.0 | 38.4 |
| Wake | 76,799 | 22,856 | 62,912 | 12,022 | 81.9 | 52.6 |
| Warren | 4,439 | 5,490 | 5,207 | 2,562 | 100+ | 46.7 |
| Washington | 4,365 | 2,643 | 3,855 | 1,308 | 88.3 | 49.5 |
| Watauga | 9,639 | 126 | 10,927 | 94 | 100+ | 74.6 |
| Wayne | 29,349 | 15,754 | 17,527 | 4,939 | 59.7 | 31.3 |
| Wilkes | 23,779 | 1,444 | 24,440 | 1,826 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Wilson | 20,566 | 10,770 | 12,503 | 3,096 | 60.8 | 28.7 |
| Yadkin | 13,039 | 576 | NV | NV | | |
| Yancey | 7,856 | 76 | 8,917 | 68 | 100+ | 89.5 |
| TOTALS | 2,005,955 | 550,929 | 1,653,796 | 281,134 | 82.4 | 51.0 |

NOTE: Non-white figures include Indians, but these are not a major portion of the statewide total. NV indicates statistics not available at the time the figures were assembled.

# SOUTH CAROLINA

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abbeville | 8,733 | 3,215 | 7,113 | 1,099 | 81.4 | 34.2 |
| Aiken | 33,646 | 10,040 | 32,958 | 8,585 | 97.9 | 85.5 |
| Allendale | 2,531 | 3,205 | 3,018 | 1,626 | 100+ | 50.8 |
| Anderson | 47,542 | 9,598 | 31,718 | 2,924 | 66.7 | 30.5 |
| Bamberg | 4,371 | 3,807 | 4,485 | 1,407 | 100+ | 37.0 |
| Barnwell | 5,652 | 3,242 | 7,029 | 1,759 | 100+ | 54.3 |
| Beaufort | 12,098 | 7,247 | 6,378 | 3,999 | 52.7 | 55.2 |
| Berkeley | 10,122 | 7,619 | 10,649 | 4,717 | 100+ | 61.9 |
| Calhoun | 2,623 | 3,318 | 2,663 | 1,621 | 100+ | 48.9 |
| Charleston | 77,909 | 35,499 | 52,815 | 17,422 | 67.7 | 49.1 |
| Cherokee | 16,037 | 3,360 | 14,824 | 1,757 | 92.4 | 52.3 |
| Chester | 11,172 | 5,664 | 11,123 | 2,558 | 99.6 | 45.2 |
| Chesterfield | 12,099 | 5,219 | 10,597 | 3,965 | 87.6 | 76.0 |
| Clarendon | 5,223 | 7,735 | 5,436 | 5,339 | 100+ | 69.0 |
| Colleton | 8,203 | 6,180 | 8,527 | 2,705 | 100+ | 43.8 |
| Darlington | 16,706 | 9,900 | 14,940 | 4,364 | 89.4 | 44.1 |
| Dillon | 8,725 | 5,529 | 7,593 | 2,840 | 87.0 | 51.4 |
| Dorchester | 7,121 | 5,370 | 8,624 | 3,941 | 100+ | 73.3 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Edgefield | 4,103 | 3,764 | 4,128 | 1,022 | 100+ | 27.2 |
| Fairfield | 4,975 | 5,536 | 4,894 | 2,227 | 98.4 | 40.2 |
| Florence | 27,047 | 15,951 | 24,770 | 7,759 | 91.6 | 48.6 |
| Georgetown | 8,855 | 7,173 | 8,418 | 4,189 | 95.1 | 58.4 |
| Greenville | 102,365 | 18,605 | 67,538 | 8,700 | 66.0 | 46.8 |
| Greenwood | 19,218 | 6,764 | 15,977 | 2,914 | 83.1 | 43.1 |
| Hampton | 4,711 | 4,052 | 4,889 | 2,355 | 100+ | 58.1 |
| Horry | 27,518 | 7,429 | 20,132 | 2,889 | 73.2 | 38.9 |
| Jasper | 2,689 | 3,333 | 2,879 | 2,079 | 100+ | 62.4 |
| Kershaw | 11,258 | 5,903 | 11,434 | 3,034 | 100+ | 51.4 |
| Lancaster | 16,213 | 4,762 | 17,465 | 1,944 | 100+ | 40.8 |
| Laurens | 19,775 | 6,818 | 11,149 | 6,222 | 56.4 | 91.3 |
| Lee | 4,394 | 5,446 | 4,616 | 2,564 | 100+ | 47.1 |
| Lexington | 28,774 | 4,782 | 25,002 | 2,519 | 86.9 | 52.7 |
| McCormick | 1,915 | 2,248 | 2,153 | 972 | 100+ | 43.2 |
| Marion | 8,103 | 7,684 | 7,204 | 3,047 | 88.9 | 39.7 |
| Marlboro | 8,230 | 5,932 | 8,462 | 1,514 | 100+ | 25.5 |
| Newberry | 12,204 | 4,954 | 10,833 | 1,884 | 88.8 | 38.0 |
| Oconee | 19,762 | 2,230 | 13,761 | 1,226 | 69.6 | 54.9 |
| Orangeburg | 16,381 | 17,355 | 16,039 | 8,397 | 97.9 | 48.4 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pickens | 24,015 | 2,356 | 17,339 | 1,077 | 72.2 | 46.1 |
| Richland | 79,050 | 32,670 | 55,509 | 19,265 | 70.2 | 59.0 |
| Saluda | 5,573 | 2,327 | 5,583 | 1,104 | 100+ | 47.4 |
| Spartanburg | 73,317 | 17,047 | 58,200 | 7,782 | 79.4 | 45.7 |
| Sumter | 22,004 | 15,380 | 13,849 | 9,238 | 63.0 | 60.1 |
| Union | 12,826 | 4,125 | 12,969 | 1,715 | 100+ | 41.6 |
| Williamsburg | 7,560 | 10,535 | 9,285 | 5,810 | 100+ | 55.1 |
| York | 31,799 | 10,196 | 23,094 | 4,516 | 72.6 | 44.3 |
| TOTALS | 895,147 | 371,104 | 718,061 | 190,609 | 80.2 | 51.4 |

S O U T H E R N  R E G I O N A L  C O U N C I L
5 FORSYTH STREET, NORTHWEST
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30310

# FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

January 20, 1967

## New Executive Assistant at SRC

James N. Wood of Mobile has been employed by the SRC as Executive Assistant to the Director. Jim was born in Richmond some time ago. He was graduated from Fluvanna County High School and then enlisted in the Air Force. He served overseas in World War II as a fighter pilot and was discharged as a captain in 1945. He received his B.A. degree in psychology from the University of Virginia in 1950. Since 1952 he has worked in Mobile in the grain merchandising and ocean freight forwarding business, which involved work with small, country grain elevators over an area including northwest Florida, southern Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, western Tennessee, southeast Missouri, and northern Louisiana.

Jim has served as director of the Mobile Area Committee for Training and Development, which operated a rural training program for approximately 100 migrant farm workers under Title III B of the Economic Opportunity Act and is currently operating an experimental and demonstration project for 280 trainees, with a budget of about two million dollars.

Together with Mrs. Wood (Kathie), Jim has long been active in the affairs of the Mobile and Alabama Councils on Human Relations.

He will take up his duties at the SRC office in late January.

## School Desegregation Boon

Human relations folks should be mindful of the beneficial effects of a recent decision and decree by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on school desegregation. All school systems under court-ordered plans in the fifth circuit are now required to desegregate under approximately the same rules set forth in Office of Education guidelines for Title VI compliance. This simplifies the task of those working for school desegregation. The NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund is reopening all fifth circuit cases. The fifth circuit covers Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and parts of Texas and Florida.

## Southern Interagency Conference

The Southern Interagency Conference held its first meeting of 1967 at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel on January 18-19. Most of the meeting was given to presentation and discussion of A "Freedom Budget" for All Americans, a program for the eradication of poverty recently proposed by the A. Philip Randelph Institute. Bayard

Rustin, Executive Director of the Randolph Institute made an overall presentation. Vivian Henderson, economist and president of Clark College, spoke on the "Freedom Budget" as it pertains to full employment and its proposal of a minimum annual income. Frank Smith, ex-congressman from Mississippi and now a T.V.A. Commissioner, talked about the Budget's proposals for regional development and conservation of natural resources. (SRC is the "secretariat" for the Southern Interagency Conference, a loose organization of some forty intergroup relations agencies for exchange of information and ideas.)

Tennessee Council on Human Relations

The TCHR Annual Meeting has been scheduled for January 28 and 29 at the Andrew Jackson Hotel in Nashville. Outgoing president Martha Ragland will address a luncheon meeting on Saturday. John Dyer, former director of the Office of Economic Opportunity for Tennessee, will speak that afternoon on utilization of available federal programs. Dr. Leslie Dunbar, director of the Field Foundation, will be speaker for the annual banquet on Saturday evening.

The Georgia Council on Human Relations

The Georgia Council has employed a new assistant to the director. The Reverend Al Henry will begin his work with the council in February. Al will come to Atlanta from Koinonia Community Farm of Americus, Georgia. Trained as a Southern Baptist minister, Al served the Pilgrim Congregational Church, Birmingham during the days of Bull Conner and the demonstrations. He was active in the Alabama Council there. The bulk of his efforts with the Georgia Council will be devoted to development of neighborhood councils in the Atlanta area. Al is married and the father of four children.

I have previously mentioned the booklet titled Know Your Rights which was published cooperatively by the Georgia Council and the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia, utilizing an initiating grant from SRC. It has been a phenomenal success. Designed primarily to help poor people who have trouble dealing with the police, it uses drawings and basic-vocabulary text to clarify the rights of persons stopped or arrested. More than 30,000 copies have been printed and distributed. (The South Carolina Council is distributing the booklet with its own imprint--an arrangement available to other groups, also.) Somewhat to everyone's surprise, it got a favorable reception from police departments. Mrs. Florence Robin of the Georgia ACLU attributes this fact to its emphasis on the policeman's rights, as well as the rights of citizens. Atlanta police Chief Herbert T. Jenkins ordered 1,000 copies and instructed all officers to read it. Police departments in towns like Augusta,

Gainesville, and Alma are using it, too. ACLU and the human relations council are holding a number of clinics around the state to explain citizens' rights, using the booklet and slides.

The Georgia Council has also expanded its program of education on welfare rights and will press school desegregation efforts again this year. Although many of us are disappointed with the weakness of "freedom of choice" desegregation plans, the GCHR feels that it is important to continue efforts to secure transfers during this year, lest momentum be lost and Negro parents be even more discouraged. In a series of five area meetings throughout the state the desegregation "rules" will be explained and community leaders instructed in the techniques of organizing for desegregation.

## The Houston Council on Human Relations

The Houston Council has a new Executive Director. He is The Reverend Jack Murray, a Lutheran minister. Mr. Murray, who is originally from New Haven, Connecticut, has long been an active member of the Houston Council. He is an Air Force veteran and a graduate of Bethany Lutheran College and the Lutheran School of Theology at Rock Island, Illinois. He has been pastor of Augustana Lutheran Church in Houston since 1960. He has served on the faculty of Houston's Institute on Desegregation for School Teachers, Administrators and Counselors.

The Houston Council has developed an interesting program called "Meet the Mayor." It consists of a series of public meetings at regular intervals at which the Mayor speaks for about 20 minutes on some aspect of the city's administration or problems and then opens the meeting for questions. The Mayor brings along a secretary to help record complaints. The complaints are referred to appropriate departments of the administration and so far have been acted upon with approximately 60% completions, according to Frances Dukler, Acting Director of the Houston Council. Average attendance at the meetings has been 300. The project was initiated last summer when tensions were high. "We cannot take credit for a summer of tranquility because of these programs," writes Frances. "However, we will take credit that 1500 people sat down and talked with the Mayor about common problems, and this was a first for all of us."

## The Arkansas Council on Human Relations

The Annual Meeting of the Arkansas Council was held at the Albert Pike Hotel in Little Rock on Saturday, January 14. Keynote speaker at the dinner meeting was Stephen N. Shulman, chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Paul Anthony, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, was a luncheon speaker.

The Arkansas Council has come out with a mimeographed Handbook for Local Councils on Human Relations, another of the commendable steps they are taking to organize and service local chapters. Incorporating materials previously prepared by the Florida and Houston councils, it includes specific suggestions of things to do in the areas of (1) education and public schools, (2) voter education, (3) labor and employment, (4) welfare and poverty programs, and (5) housing. Addresses of appropriate resource-agencies for each program area are given. There is also a sample constitution for a local council on human relations. The handbook is well done and seems to me to be a good idea for any of the state councils.

Among other things, the Arkansas Council is working extensively and effectively on prison reform and is in the process of forming chapters in El Dorado, Camden, and Arkadelphia. They have also been given a small special grant by SRC to conduct a study of welfare programs in three counties in eastern Arkansas.

## The South Carolina Council on Human Relations

In her quarterly report, Alice Spearman says:

"In the main, most decision-making in South Carolina is done quietly and behind-the-scenes, presumably by a relatively small group of people. To say how much this is because of accepted power patterns, lack of faith in democratic processes, or actual fear of the uneducated, uninformed masses would merely be to hazard a guess. Much evidence points to the need for building a widely representative, informed, and socially motivated citizens' movement. Granted such a process would be slow and require adequate resources and skill, we believe that this should become the articulated, long-range goal of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations."

The SCCHR has made a commendable start in that direction. A year ago they had 957 dues-paid members living in 80 South Carolina communities, and there were eight organized chapters. Now there are 1,178 members from 153 communities and 12 active local councils. In addition there are ten affiliated Rural Advancement Project groups and eight student human relations groups.

## A Couple of Movies

For church groups...Aubrey Brown of the Virginia Council, who headed the planning committee for the "Conference on People, Religion and a Changing Virginia," says that a movie shown at the conference seems to have made a great impression on those who saw it. Titled A Time for Burning, it was produced by the Lutheran Church and tells the story of a minister who tried to lead his congregation to come to grips with prejudice and discrimination.

In the end he is pressured into resigning, and the film portrays all of rationalization by some and growth by others in the process. It may be obtained at $20.00 per showing from Contemporary Films, 267 West 25th Street, New York 1, New York.

On conditions in the rural south...Francis Walter of the Selma Inter-religious Project highly recommends Lay My Burden Down, a 16 MM documentary film of social and political conditions among rural Negroes in the vicinity of Selma, Alabama. One hour in length, it illustrates how little recent laws have changed the lot of Negroes in Alabama, what Selma is like now, and the circumstances which drive rural Negroes into city ghettoes. The film may be ordered from National Educational Film Service Audio-Visual Center, c/o Mr. James Cole, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Department of Humans Related

A story in the Charlotte Observer about South Carolina Council director Alice Spearman, written by reporter Jack Bass, was headlined "SOUTH CAROLINIAN DOESN'T PUSSY-FOOT ABOUT LIFE" (in huge type). Because the wirte-up was so fascinating and because it says something about, as well as to, the kind of folks involved in human relations in the South, I want to quote the first few paragraphs here--and hope that I don't get into trouble for plagiarizing.

"For almost three years as a young woman, Alice Buck Norwood traveled the world, living on skimpy savings, $500 from her father, and by her wits.

"She spent six weeks in Russia with a student group in 1930 and later found herself branded a Communist as a result.

"To save money, she slept on the floor of train stations in India--with hundreds of the native poor.

"Through it all, the South Carolina banker's daughter developed a sense of compassion, a rejection of race as a measure of individual worth, and a desire "to teach people to raise hell and do something."

"As Executive Director of the S. C. Council of Human Relations, she took over a sickly organization in 1954 with 78 members and has given it her own drive and vitality.

"She has been Mrs. Eugene Spearman for almost 30 years, a smartly-tailored--but not overly stylish--animated aristocrat committed to democracy.

February, 1967

TO: COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

FROM: SRC URBAN PLANNING PROJECT

SUBJECT: CITIZENS AIDS

In the 15 months of the UPP assessment of Urban Planning in the South, we have concluded that the greatest need in obtaining effective and good Urban Planning would be more positive citizen participation. To assist in this we have prepared 5 pamphlets.

| | DATE | PRICE | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Single | Bulk |
| 1. NEIGHBORHOOD STABILATION | | | |
| Guidelines for groups trying to build stable interracial neighborhoods. How do you recreate neighborhoods that can overcome the forces of segregation? That keep the profits of increased property values in the hands of the owners, instead of in the hands of real estate speculators? --Your action must be biracially oriented. | 1966 | .30 | .20 |
| 2. A HOME OF OUR OWN | | | |
| What families should know when buying their first home. How to shop? What to watch out for? --Get this into the hands of families considering making this big investment. They need your help! | 1966 | .60 | .40 |
| 3. MR. MAYOR - SLUM GHETTOES IN YOUR CITY, Can We Solve Our Housing Dilemma? | | | |
| A guideline for city officials in facing the total problems of slums. What should your city government be doing to provide good housing for all its citizens? --Your job is to get your mayor and councilmen to read it and then press them into action. | 1966 | .50 | .40 |

4. NEIGHBORHOODS - WHERE HUMAN RIGHTS BEGIN

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Experiences and evaluation of three interracial neighborhoods. Three cities where people acted: stabilized their communities and built a sense of civic pride. How to create stable, interracial good places to live? --Your participation based on what others have done should make for more constructive action. | 1967 | .50 | .40 |

5. A GUIDE TO PROGRAMS FOR BETTER HOMES AND NEIGHBORHOODS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A layman's guide to government and private housing programs. Tells you the programs you are dealing with and how they operate. What public and private resources are available to provide good housing, equally available to all citizens? --Get with it! Being knowledgable is essential! | 1967 | 1.00 | .75 |

We hope that you will find these publications helpful to your program. We would appreciate your keeping us posted on your efforts in these areas of concern and on any results, positive or negative. And we would be grateful for any suggestions for improvement of or additions to these program aids.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS W. YOUNG, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

6 March 1967

Attached hereto are a complimentary group of pamphlets which we have gotten out with the purpose of clarifying Housing and Urban Planning to lay individuals. It is hoped that this will stimulate more effective citizenship participation in urban affairs.

We particularly would appreciate your thoughts, criticism and suggestions on A GUIDE TO PROGRAMS FOR BETTER HOMES AND NEIGHBORHOODS (government and private housing programs). This is a first draft of this manual and your valued advice would be constructive in the redraft before printing. Thanking you for your help, I am,

Sincerely,

Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA
Director, Urban Planning Project

MGS/km

Enc.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
DAILY INCOMING RECEIPTS

| | | | 410-430 | 510 | 531 | 532 | 721 | | 314 |
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| Date | Name | Address | Contributions | New South | Misc. Lit. | Pubs. Ser. | Travel | Misc. | |
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Listed by C. Lockhart

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PLACEMENT

# COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

172 Capitol Annex
FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY 40601
PHONE 564-3550

Chairman
Paul Oberst
Lexington

Vice-Chairman
David O. Welch
Ashland

Secretary-Treasurer
Charles T. Steele
Louisville

William F. Billingsley
South Fort Mitchell

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Zirl A. Palmer
Lexington

Mrs. Warren P. Rash
Middlesboro

Mrs. Irvin S. Rosenbaum
Louisville

Frederick G. Sampson II
Louisville

Executive Director
Galen A. Martin

WESTERN AREA OFFICE
601 West Walnut Street
Louisville 40203
Phone: 583-2775

GS

July 5, 1967

Dear Friend:

We have just received approval for increased salaries for our positions of Compliance Director and Community Service Director and I write to ask if you know of anyone who might be interested in applying. Both these positions as head of our staff divisions are now open as indicated in the enclosed job description.

We especially need persons with experience in some other agency. We have one of the better state laws covering employment and public accommodations. Our annual budget exceeds $200,000 and in other ways we have good support from State government.

If you know of possible applicants, please encourage them to write or call me personally and to send a resume or application. If you would send the names, addresses and phone numbers of qualified persons, we can contact them to see if they are interested.

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen Martin

Enclosures

CAREER OPPORTUNITY

for a

RESEARCH SPECIALIST

who has a strong commitment to civil rights

with

THE KENTUCKY COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

General Qualification: advanced degree with special training in research

Research Specialist — Salary Range: $9,384 - $11,976

to direct, and to assist the executive director in conducting a continuing program of collecting, compiling, analyzing and interpreting facts on race relations, desegregation and discrimination.

Examples of duties:

1. Collects, interprets and then disseminates information that will aid the Commission in developing an effective human rights program for Kentucky.

2. Develops and executes studies and reports (for printing as Commission publications) on such topics as: to what extent discrimination in housing occurs; how housing desegregation affects property values; minority teacher employment in Kentucky; minority employment in Kentucky industries; use of race and religion questions on employment forms.

3. Prepares research questionnaires; works with personnel in executing them; prepares reports on studies' results; and serves in advisory capacity on courses of action suggested by the results.

4. Aids the Commission's division directors in developing systematic methods of compiling information on the work in their fields.

5. Compiles data for various Commission documents and for general release.

6. Analyzes the Commission's programs and provides information for planning new programs and for strengthening existing ones.

7. Provides assistance to other staff in developing materials needed by them.

Anyone interested in applying, or knowing a qualified applicant, should immediately send a resume or get in touch with Galen Martin, executive director of the Commission, Capitol Annex Building, Frankfort, Ky. 40601. Phone: 564-3550

CLASS TITLE: Community Service Director

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CLASS: Heads the organizational unit providing field service to local human rights groups, including official city agencies and others, with direct responsibility to the Executive Director. Coordinates the Commission's efforts to involve other groups in affirmative efforts to bring about implementation of the Kentucky Civil Rights Act.

EXAMPLES OF DUTIES: Develops and coordinates the Commission program of service to local commissions on human rights and other civil rights groups throughout the State. Promotes the creation of local commissions on human rights as provided in Section 502 (d). Gathers information from agencies in other states and cities on which to develop programs for such groups in Kentucky. Coordinates Commission efforts to provide "technical assistance requested by persons subject to this Act to further their compliance as provided in Section 501 (j). Creates, formulates, develops proposed activities that local groups could utilize to advance civil rights in Kentucky. Makes specific suggestions of programs that local groups can carry out to eliminate discrimination in employment, hospitals, housing, etc. Works with the Executive Director and the Compliance Director pursuant to Section 501 (m) to create a state-wide advisory group representing employers and the public, to develop affirmative action efforts for fair employment policies. (Similar advisory groups for housing and other fields will come later.)

Develops communication with local civil rights groups in order to gather information about local activities and developments, and disseminates this information to all local groups so they can learn from the good examples set by their neighbors. Keeps abreast of developments throughout the State. Assists in educational programs including the planning of conferences.

Coordinates the Commission's services through its speakers bureau and film services. Coordinates efforts to aid local commissions in the adoption of enforceable ordinances along the lines of the State Law, plus housing. Works closely with lawyers on the Commission's staff to provide their services to local groups in this effort.

Suggests programs for mutual cooperation between two or more local civil rights groups.

Develops orientation and training procedures for new persons employed as field representatives. Consults with the Executive Director on employment of representatives in accordance with Department of Personnel rules.

MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS

Training and Experience: Graduation from a recognized college supplemented by extensive specialized experience in fields providing a thorough knowledge of the work of the program concerned; or an equivalent combination of training and experience.

Special Knowledge, Skills and Abilities: Thorough knowledge of the techniques of planning, composing and editing reports. Knowledge of techniques of effective community organization and affirmative action efforts to achieve compliance with an enforceable law through education and persuasion.

SALARY RANGE: Grade 18, $11,412 - $13,860

Anyone interested in applying, or knowing a qualified applicant, should immediately send a resume or contact Galen Martin, Executive Director of the Commission, Capitol Annex Building, Frankfort, Kentucky 40601, Phone 564-3550

CLASS TITLE: Compliance Director

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CLASS: Heads the organizational unit charged with processing complaints filed under the Kentucky Civil Rights Act with direct responsibility to the Executive Director. Supervises the work of the field investigators who receive and investigate complaints. Assists the Executive Director and performs related work as required.

EXAMPLES OF DUTIES: Supervises the day-to-day enforcement of the Kentucky Civil Rights Act; assigns complaints to field investigators; receives interim reports on investigations and advises investigators of further procedures if necessary; arranges and supervises conciliation conferences with business executives, attorneys, labor officials and others to achieve voluntary adjustment of complaints; summarizes complaints for consideration and disposition by the Executive Director and the Commission with recommendations for types of action; prepares and supervises the preparation of the case docket and narrative reports on the investigation and conciliation work of the Commission; reviews reports of field investigators to insure there is sufficient basis for each determination of probable cause, or dismissal and a record which would withstand hostile examination in a Commission hearing or Circuit Court review; furnishes information and advisory services concerning civil rights laws to employers, employees, labor unions, public and private groups and other interested individuals.

Develops orientation and training procedures for new persons employed as field investigators. Consults with the Executive Director on employment of investigators in accordance with Department of Personnel rules.

Studies the activities and procedures of other state and federal agencies to recommend improvements in the complaint procedure followed under the Kentucky Law.

Provides legal counsel to the Executive Director and other staff members. Drafts and participates in negotiating cooperative agreements with local commissions.

MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS

Training and Experience: Graduation from a recognized college supplemented by extensive specialized experience in fields providing a thorough knowledge of the work of the program concerned; or an equivalent combination of training and experience.

Special Knowledge, Skills and Abilities: Thorough knowledge of the techniques of planning, composing and editing reports. Knowledge of techniques of effective investigation and conciliation of cases involving alleged discrimination. Supervisory ability.

SALARY RANGE: Grade 18, $11,412 - $13,860

Anyone interested in applying, or knowing a qualified applicant, should immediately send a resume or contact Galen Martin, Executive Director of the Commission, Capitol Annex Building, Frankfort, Kentucky 40601, Phone 564-3550

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

M E M O R A N D U M

July 19, 1967

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Bill Roberts

SUBJECT: OEO's Comprehensive Neighborhood Health Services Program

Enclosed are the Guidelines and the proposal preparation instructions for the OEO's Comprehensive Health Services Program. Human relations councils are in a position to know the needs for this program and the conditions in specific areas; therefore, we hope you will familiarize yourself with this program and urge the appropriate agency(ies) to apply.

Of particular significance is the introduction in the guidelines booklet. In this section, it is stated that in too many instances, health services are: based on outmoded concepts, stripped of good therapeutic relationships, fragmented, inaccessible in terms of time and place, offered in dismal climates, confusing in their eligibility standards and not conducive to effective use. In light of this, a role which human relations councils might play would be that of documenting these conditions in specific areas.

While reading these documents we would like to call special attention to page 10, section A; page 13, section D; and page 14, section E.

As we gain more knowledge of this program we will relate it to you and we urge you to keep us informed of any problems and/or progress in your area.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JULY 20, 1967

To; Ed Stanfield and Paul Anthony

From; Bill Roberts

Subject: COMPREHENSIVE NEIGHBORHOOD HEALTH SERVICES PROGRAM

AS YOU KNOW TUFT UNIVERSITY WILL OPERATE A HEALTH CENTER TO SERVE 10,000 PERSONS IN A SOUTHERN RURAL AREA. IN AN EFFORT TO UNCOVER MORE DETAILS, I CALLED OEO REGIONAL IN ATLANTA AND MADE AN EFFORT TO CALL TUFTS UNIVERSITY, BOTH OF THESE PROVED UNREALIBLE OR UNINFORMED. IT WAS NOT UNTIL I CALLED A FRIEND AT OEO WASHINGTON, THAT I DISCOVERED SOMETHING. THE CENTER WILL BE IN BOLIVAR COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CAN BE OBTAINED FROM MRS. RUTH HANFT(202/382-2247) ON MONDAY.

IT SHOULD BE ADDED THAT ALTHOUGH OEO REGIONAL COULD OFFER NO ASSISTANCE, THEY HAVE BEEN VERY ANXIOUS TO HELP. A MAN NAMED JIM SPARKS(526-4322) CALLED ME AND OFFERED HIS SERVICES AND SEEMED ANXIOUS TO HELP IN ANYWAY.

ADDENDUM

THE PEOPLE FROM THE DELTA MINISTRY TO WHOM I TALKED TODAY GAVE ME THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

THE MEDICAL COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS(SOUTHERN OFFICE IN SELMA) ASSISTED IN THE GROUND WORK.

THE PROGRAM WILL BE CONDUCTED AT TWO NEGRO HOSPITALS(NAMES NOT YET KNOWN) IN BOLIVAR COUNTY

GOV. JOHNSON IS ALREADY ATTACKING.....

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. [illegible] GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

# FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

July 20, 1967

## About the Hungry Children

Much has happened since this time last month, when the plight of starving people in the Black Belt was mentioned in the newsletter. SRC's "Special Report" by six doctors was issued on June 23. It received wide coverage by the news media; some papers sent reporters into Mississippi and other parts of the South to verify the report. The Department of Agriculture cut from $2.00 to $.50 the minimum cost of food stamps in Mississippi and issued a flurry of defensive news releases, giving figures to show percentage increases in the number of participants in their food distribution programs over the past ten years. Predictable denials have come from the Mississippi press--including one editorial comment about the reported diet of cornbread and molasses, some beans, and little else: "of course... that is what they like."

The testimony of the six doctors before the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty on July 11 was one of the more promising developments. Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Chairman of SRC's Executive Committee, testified that the situation was "not only a medical emergency, but a national disaster." Senators Stennis and Eastland of Mississippi were there and, picking Dr. Wheeler as spokesman for the group, tried to discredit him and the other doctors. All of this the television networks reported. But they missed, for the most part, the moving statement Dr. Wheeler made toward the end of the day, a statement he had hastily hand-written. He spoke of how he had "watched the southern black man and white man walk their separate ways distrusting each other, separated by false and ridiculous barriers--doomed to a way of life tragically less than they desire...." And he added, in part:

> And through all of that dreadful pageant of ignorance and suspicion and mutual distrust, the most distressing figure of all has been the southern political leader who has exploited all of our human weaknesses for his own personal and selfish gain--refusing to grant us the

> dignity and the capability of responding to noble and courageous leadership--when all of us had nothing to lose but the misery and desolation which surrounds our lives.

## Houston Councils Sends Caravan to Belzoni

According to Jack Murray, their Executive Director, the Houston Council on Human Relations will send a caravan of fifty automobiles to Belzoni, Mississippi, on Saturday, July 22, in response to the furor about the children's condition. Each auto will be loaded with foodstuffs, clothing, and vitamins. The council is appealing to food wholesalers and drug wholesalers for supplies, and they are taking cash donations from individuals to by vitamins. Murray says that, in addition to whatever temporary relief the supplies might give, the Houston Council looks upon the caravan as a way of dramatizing the issue and keeping it before the nation. He suggests that other councils and allied organizations might want to do something similar on successive weekends.

## Sick, Hungry Children in Florida, Too

It seems to me that some of those caravans might well be sent to other parts of the South. To tell the truth, we are a little afraid that people will get the idea that its "only" Mississippi. It's not. For instance Augie VandenBosche, Executive Director of the Florida Council, has testified to the Rural Development Subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture that the annual wage of a migrant farm worker in Florida is between $698 and $1,379, according to the Department of Agriculture. (It averages $1,055, according to the Social Security records.) VandenBosche continued:

> Farm workers continue to exhibit high rates of disease and sickness incomprehensible in modern 20th Century America. For example, in one of Florida's smallest counties 100% of all migrant children between the ages of 0 and 15 years have parasitic diseases, 43% of these also have skin diseases and 96% of them under 5 years suffer from diarrhea.

## New State Council Personnel

The Alabama Council has employed William Henry Harrison of Yantley, Alabama, As Associate Director. Mr. Harrison attended the public schools of Choctaw County, Alabama, and earned his B.S. degree at Alabama State College. He has done graduate study at Alabama A. & M. College. A school teacher for thirteen years (social studies), he has a lengthy record of activity in community affairs and organizations.

The Florida Council has also employed an Associate Director, William H. Miles. Mr. Miles began his work with the FCHR on July 10. A native Floridian, he grew up in Jacksonville and West Palm Beach and attended Florida Normal Memorial College in St. Augustine. He has been a policeman in Miami, a recreation director with Miami's welfare department, and house parent in a Dade County juvenile home. He too has a long history of involvement in civil rights and human relations organizations and programs.

Random Notes from Quarterly Reports

...The Arkansas Council has two new chapters--in Wynne and Forrest City--and is hard at work on one in Camden.

...Three local affiliates of the Tennessee Council are concentrating on housing problems. The Nashville chapter is setting up a clearing house for persons wishing to buy, sell or rent on a non-discriminatory basis. The Memphis Council is just getting to work on residential housing integration. The Chattanooga chapter has a reservation for 100 units of 221d3 rent-supplement housing and is in the process of site selection.

...The East Alabama chapter of the Alabama Council has recently formed a credit union, with membership in the ACHR as the required "common bond," and has received its credit union charter. This is an interesting idea which enables some council members who are fortunate enough to have a small "nest egg" to put it to better use than just drawing any old kind of interest--and at the same time provides a much needed service to folks who otherwise might get into the clutches of loan sharks....The Huntsville chapter, for about the third year in a row, has had house-to-house visitation to get "freedom of choice" school transfers. About 60 people helped do the work, and they got 673 requests for transfers!

...The Mississippi Council has begun its summer program in the Jackson State College area. The Executive Director, Ken Dean, has been doing a survey on the Medicare program in Mississippi and has helped with another on discrimination in public parks and swimming pools. He has also been introducing poor people to a lot of reporters. A statewide meeting on poverty is planned for August 5.

...On June 18, the Chatham chapter of the Georgia Council sponsored a "Community Service of Prayer for Racial Harmony." There was a special worship service, and the Mayor proclaimed the 18th a day of prayer. The response of the community was generally positive. (For copies of the "Order of Worship," including unison prayers and litanies used, write the Georgia Council, 52 Fairlie Street, Atlanta.)

...The Louisiana Council has a new, growing, and active local affiliate at Franklin. The LCHR, a newly-staffed state council, has over 400 members now.

...The Houston Council has placed 20 VISTA volunteers throughout the city. Mr. William Ainley, a Peace Corps veteran (Uganda) and graduate student at Rice University, has been employed as VISTA supervisor....Some time ago the Houston Council purchased the motion picture film, "A Time for Burning." It continues to be widely shown and discussed throughout the state of Texas. (It was even shown once in Mississippi.)

Worried About Extremist Organizations?

Through the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials we heard about a new organization called "Institute for American Democracy." It aims to help make democracy work by keeping a watchful eye on extremists of both right and left. The IAD has published a pamphlet, How to Combat Air Pollution, which explains how to make use of FCC's Fairness Doctrine when legitimate groups or organizations are attacked by extremists. "This," quote the NAIRO newsletter, "may be of special interest to intergroup relations agencies in the South and rural areas." So, if you are getting a lot of "nut" programs over your radio, you might want to order this pamphlet. ($1.00 per copy. I.A.D., 1330 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20005.)

Sort of interesting to me was the IAD's run-down on extremist groups of the left and the right in a recent newsletter. The right-wing groups are far more numerous, far larger, and far, far richer. For example, the largest left-wing group in the U.S. is the Communist Party, USA,--according to the IAD--and their membership is about 12,000 and estimated income $148,000. The largest right-wing group is the John Birch Society with a membership of about 80,000 and an estimated 1965 income of $4,089,000. The "20th Century Reformation Hour" (Carl McIntire's program) has 625 radio outlets and an income of $3,040,000, according to IAD.

"Police Rudeness"

The Atlanta Constitution's Dick Hebert ought to get some sort of award for his editorial in the July 13 editions. After the Dixie Hills riots, during which he had observed Atlanta's police at work, Hebert wrote that though he was often with police at such scenes, he had never seen proof of outright brutality. "What I have seen is more subtle, harder to fight in court," he said. He went on to suggest the term police rudeness, pointing out that "rudeness," according to the dictionary includes "the desire to wound."

He had heard policemen call a Negro "boy." He had seen a policeman refuse to step aside to let a Negro pass. He had seen Negroes shouldered aside needlessly. No court would call these "brutality," he suggested, but enough of such rudeness can have the same effect as brutality.

Atlanta knows it must meet the slum tragedy head-on if it is to silence the angry. It must provide opportunity for jobs, housing, education. More immediately it must see to it that those with authority in their hands recognize that Negroes are due their rights, including the same personal dignity all men seek, and that Negroes, too, are innocent until proven guilty.

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

TUFTS UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE

DEPARTMENT OF
PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

25 BENNET STREET
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02111

July 25, 1967

Mr. William F. Roberts
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Roberts:

Mrs Hurst has passed on your note of July 21 to her and I am hastening to enclose some basic documents about the Tufts-Delta Health Center. This does not include very much in the way of current or operating detail but I will try to get more information to you very shortly. It now looks as if we will be open and in full operation by about October 15; the Health Center itself is now under construction and most of the necessary professional staff has been recruited. Things are moving so fast in Mississippi-and with the various political forces arrayed against us-that it is difficult to be definitive, but perhaps the enclosed material will serve at least as a beginning. If there are any urgent needs for information, or any special points about which you need further information for a particular purpose, please do not hesitate to call me. My phone number in Boston is 542-5600 ext. 638; in Mississippi it is Mound Bayou 85 (area code 601)

Sincerely yours,

H. Jack Geiger

H. Jack Geiger, M.D.
Professor of Preventive Medicine

HJG/dsr
Enc.

P.S. One of our urgent needs is to locate at least a few Southern Negro Registered Nurses, with public health experience and familiarity with or experience in rural conditions of the kind encountered in the Delta. In the entire state of Mississippi, there are no Negro nurses to our knowledge with public health training or experience! The program is a good one, adequate housing will be provided in Mound Bayou, or salary ranges for experience public health nurses would be between six and nine thousand dollars a year, and if the SRC has any resources that might help in this particular area of recruitment, I would be extremely grateful. More later, and thanks again.

Aug 16, '67

# Federal Aid Said To Abet Segregation

WASHINGTON (UPI) — A spokesman for the American Friends Service Committee charged today the widely praised federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act is preserving segregation in the South.

M. Hayes Mizell, director of the committee's South Carolina Community Relations Program, said ESEA funds are shoring up floundering Negro schools and encouraging Negro parents to keep their children in segregated schools.

"We are concerned that ESEA is indirectly contributing to the preservation of the dual segregated school system in many areas of the South," he told the Senate Education Subcommittee.

Mizell said ESEA funds are creating the impression among Negroes that education in Negro schools has significantly improved. This gives comfort to those who say it is the duty of the Negro community to stay with the Negro school and make it better, he said.

Mizell also charged that U. S. Education Commissioner Harold Howe has been unsuccessful in seeing that ESEA funds remain available to Negro children when they transfer to previously all white schools.

He said parents of children who benefit from ESEA funds for poor children have no voice in how the funds are used. This causes the funds to be used to teach Negroes skills traditionally associated with minority groups, Mizell said.

He said the result often was great misunderstanding and even hostility between the Negro community and school authorities.

Mizell also charged that the federal government has failed to properly enforce school desegregation guidelines.

He cited Dorchester County School District One in South Carolina as an example.

Mizell said he had worked with Negroes there last year and 140 children had shifted to white schools.

During the school year there were numerous instances of physical harassment and "complaint after complaint" was filed with the federal government, he said.

The government took no action and as a result there will be only 61 Negro children in desegregated schools there this year, Mizell said.

He attacked freedom of choice desegregation plans operating in the South.

Such plans "leave it to powerless Negro children to take the initiative to abolish the dual school system which they did not create," he said.

"Freedom of choice isn't worth a damn," Mizell quoted one South Carolina Negro as saying.

ED-8c

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ESTABLISHED 1894

CHARLESTON EVENING POST

134 Columbus Street, Charleston, S. C.

Robert M. Hitt Jr. — Editor

William P. Cheshire — Associate Editor

Friday, August 18, 1967

# Mr. Mizell For The State

It is the considered judgment of Hayes Mizell that South Carolina's freedom-of-choice system for making school assignments is a dud. Mr. Mizell, it may be recalled, heads the South Carolina chapter of the American Friends Service Committee. And the American Friends Service Committee, it may be recalled, is known more for its promotion of forced integration than for its efforts in behalf of freedom. Mr. Mizell's verdict is scarcely surprising.

The fact of the matter is, of course, that compulsory segregation in the classrooms is dead, and that the number of Negro children in previously all-white Southern schools increases significantly each fall. Year before last, the percentage of Negroes attending integrated classrooms in the 11 Southern states was a bare 7.5. Last year this figure more than doubled — it rose to 16.9—and this September it certainly will increase again.

Mr. Mizell is unimpressed, as he explained this week to Sen. Wayne Morse's subcommittee on education. The subcommittee is in the process of weighing the effectiveness of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and Mr. Mizell was there to file his customary brief in behalf of state and federal compulsion.

The trouble with the Education Act, he explained to the senators, is that it has helped poorer Negro schools. Many of these schools now provide training available nowhere else in the community. Is this any way to promote integration? Negro students who enjoy special advantages where they are can hardly be expected to appreciate, as Mr. Mizell does, the overriding importance of sitting next to a white child. Presumably these Negroes go to school to learn and not to foster the New Society that Mr. Mizell seems so anxious to promote.

If Mr. Mizell were alone in his delusions they would make no difference. But he is not. Among his powerful allies he can count a host of government officials, including the U.S. Commissioner of Education and more than one eminence of the federal bench. It is the belief of all these deluded brethren that integration, to be worth having, must be compulsory. It is the method, more than the result, that counts; and they would gladly substitute their greater understanding for the free choice of parents and children alike.

No doubt they are sincere in believing that this way lies the New Jerusalem. It is quite beside the point. Their error is as dangerous as it would be if they were conscious of what they are promoting. For what they are promoting is a compulsory society, as opposed to a free society. New arrivals will receive no kinder reception for having traveled to the destination on someone's good intentions.

This is not to say that Mr. Mizell and those who share his philosophy will bring about the republic's immediate collapse. Rome was not built in a day; neither did it fall in a day; and neither shall we. Nevertheless, those who would sacrifice the judgment and free choice of the individual for the allegedly superior wisdom of the state are furthering the process of deterioration. Mr. Mizell is among this company, and those of us who live within earshot of his counsel should keep the fact in mind.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

August 29, 1967

## About the Riots

All hell has broken loose since our last newsletter, and it would seem awkward to begin this one without taking note of the riots. We can hope that it is about all over for this season, except for the analyzing--some of which turns out to be almost as agonizing as the riots themselves. In fact, on the assumption that nearly everything that can be said has been said, what I would like to do is comment on a couple of the commentaries.

One was an observation by Mr. Herbert Bienstock of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in connection with a report of the Bureau on unemployment and under-employment in the slums of the nation's cities. "The South sowed the wind," he said, "and the northern and western cities of greatest Negro population are reaping the whirlwind of never-ending joblessness and despair." He was thinking, of course of the "wind" of inadequate education and training, the lack of opportunity and therefore of motivation with which the South has burdened its Negro citizens before they migrated to those cities. On the other hand, a recently-published study of the Watts riot of 1965 found that a preponderance of the rioters and looters were not recent arrivals, but people who had been in Los Angeles for a long time--and had found the nation's promises fulfilled no better there than in the South. So let's face it: it is a national problem, and no city or region has "escaped" the riots, least of all the South.

Then, I find illuminating the insight of Frederick J. Hacker, a white University of Southern California psychiatrist. "What must be understood by the rest of America," he said, "is that, for the lower class Negro, riots are not criminal, but a legitimate weapon in a morally justified civil war." In other words, what appears to us insiders to be criminal irresponsibility appears to some Negro slum dwellers (I wish Hacker and a lot of others would learn to speak of "some Negroes" instead of "the Negro") as a highly responsible and moral rebellion against an immoral and irresponsible and chronically oppressive society.

Finally, there was the finding, not surprising, of both the Louis Harris and Gallup polls that white Americans are growing less sympathetic and more prejudiced. "The whites concern about the black man has been quickened," reported NEWSWEEK, "but it seems vitally lacking in affection. Fear and resentment have apparently displaced their weight in sympathy, and the white man's endorsement of massive aid to the ghettos may seem to him an imperative more pragmatic than moral."

> In a list of standard indexes of white prejudice toward non-whites, nearly every familiar stereotype of the Negro finds greater acceptance by white majorities than it did last year. Thus, 70 percent of the whites agree that 'Negroes have less ambition than white people,' against 65 percent who thought this way in 1966; 47 percent agree, 'Negroes keep untidy homes,' against 39 percent a year ago, and 58 percent accept a flat statement that 'Negroes have looser morals,' compared with 50 percent last year. The trend was the same on assertions that Negroes 'laugh a lot,' 'have less native intelligence,' 'want to live off the hand-out.'

What all of this means to me is that if, as I keep arguing, the special task of private human relations agencies like ours is enlightenment of the white majority, our job has been made bigger and more difficult even while the time available for doing it has been foreshortened.

The "Urban Coalition"

That impression was further strengthened by a sidelight on the Emergency Convocation of The Urban Coalition, held in Washington on August 24. The Urban Coalition is made up of prominent municipal officials, captains of industry, and civil rights leaders. The Emergency Convocation brought together 1000 such leaders to further the Coalition's goals, which are: (1) an emergency work program to provide job training and employment for the urban poor, (2) a major expansion of the private sector's efforts to train and provide jobs for the hard-core unemployed; (3) a long-range program for the physical and social reconstruction of American cities. The Coalition's steering committee includes men like Mayor Lindsay of New York, Mayor Allen of Atlanta, Henry Ford II, George Meany, I. W. Abel, civil rights leaders Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, and John Wheeler, president of the Southern Regional Council. Co-chairmen are Andrew Heiskell of General Electric and A. Philip Randolph.

After adopting a very fine statement in which these people and hundreds similar to them committed themselves to the goals mentioned, a delegation went up Capitol Hill to talk to congressional and administration leaders about it. They were graciously received by

the Speaker of the House, who listed the administration's present legislative goals and asked for their support. But, according to published reports, the response of both Capitol Hill and the White House was notably lacking in a sense of urgency or imagination; the Emergency Convocation galaxy was just another meeting.

Which means that, if anyone around still thinks there is no need for private initiative and voluntary associations like human relations councils now that we have all of those civil rights laws,--he has another think coming!

## South Carolina Council Chooses New Director

Mrs. Alice Spearman, Executive Director of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, is retiring. She has been Director of the SSCHR since it was first formed, and it goes without saying that the Council and all of us who have worked with her are deeply indebted for the person she has been and the work she has done for so long.

Her successor, beginning September 1, will be The Reverend Paul W. Matthias, who comes to South Carolina from his pastorate in the Cashiers Methodist Church, Cashiers, North Carolina. Paul is twenty-nine years old, married, and the father of three small boys. He received his B.A. from Duke University in 1960 and his S.T.B. degree from Wesley Theological Seminary in Washington, D. C.

## The Department of Good Ideas

While the council presidents were meeting in July, Dr. Stewart Wilber of the Houston Council on Human Relations suggested that the SRC promote gift subscriptions to NEW SOUTH. Commenting about the high quality of the magazine in its quarterly format, he said this would provide human relations council members with a way of putting the most thoughtful literature on the subject in the hands of friends who maybe have not seen the light--or at least haven't become accustomed to it. It would also be a good project for local councils to give annual subscriptions to public libraries, school libraries, church libraries, etc.

We rather liked that idea. Accordingly, there is a gift-subscription form with each copy of the Summer issue of NEW SOUTH, which is just off the press. In addition to all four 1968 issues, your gift-recipients will get a copy of the Fall, 1967 issue along with a gift subscription certificate in your name. Thus, you give five issues for the price of four ($3.00).

This is an opportunity to take the easy way out on your gift list for Christmas, Hannukkah, or birthdays without feeling guilty! It's for a good cause.

People who do not have a gift-subscription form may just send their lists of names, addresses and ZIP numbers along with a check in the appropriate amount. They should include themselves on the list, of course, since, if they don't have a subscription blank--they aren't getting NEW SOUTH.

## And a "MUST" Book

Pat Watters, SRC's Director of Information, and Reese Cleghorn, Associate Editor of the Atlanta Journal, are the authors of a book to be published November 7, 1967, by Harcourt, Brace and World. The title is CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER--THE ARRIVAL OF NEGROES IN SOUTHERN POLITICS. Leslie W. Dunbar, former Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and now Executive Director of the Field Foundation, writes in the Introduction:

> A history of the struggle of Southern Negroes to gain dignity and the ballot in the 1960's, this vivid book brings intimacy and depth to its subject by drawing on the Southern Regional Council's field report files of the two Voter Education Projects. Excerpts from these reports show what it is like to be up against sheriffs, Klansmen, and artfully dodging public officials in hundreds of Black Belt towns; how Civil Rights professionals and idealistic students met the unlettered people of the cotton-field shanties; and how Negro communities, hitherto passive and numb, found the courage to demand the vote.
>
> There is analysis of the meaning of the new vote...the continuing power of White Supremacists, of the NAACP, SCLC, SNCC, and CORE and their differing senses of necessity, the emergence of "Black Power" and the problems it poses for the traditional alliance between white Liberals and Negro activists.
>
> CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER is not just for the South, or for Watts, Chicago, Newark, Harlem, or Detroit, but for all America.

The price will be $8.95. Pre-publication orders may be sent to Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 757 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

## Dates of the SRC Annual Meeting

Dates of the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council, originally set for November 8, 9, and 10, have been changed to November 1, 2, and 3. There has been some confusion about this, so the change should be noted--especially by state council directors and chairmen, who will be invited guests. As usual, the meeting will be held in Atlanta.

## About That Wicked Federal Money

Citizens of Georgia were shocked last week when Governor Lester Maddox, who is normally a bit on the puritanical side, said that he was sorry there appeared to be no legal way to provide state money for private schools and that if the federal government keeps jeopardizing public education in Georgia with all of that school integration business, they should be told to "take their money and...and...ram it."

I just hope he doesn't ram it too far. The Tax Foundation reports that only seventeen states now pay the federal government more money than their own states get in return to finance aid programs. Georgia citizens pay the feds only 72 cents for every dollar they get in return, while folks in New Jersey pay $1.83 and, in New York, $1.40 for each dollar they receive. I should think the Governor would be grateful for such timely succors.

Mississippians pay 45 cents for a federal dollar, by the way, and most of the southern states follow the example. South Carolina pays 81 cents; Louisiana, 51 cents; Kentucky, 57 cents; West Virginia, 46 cents. And so it goes.

## And Finally (I hope)

I absolutely promise not to clutter this newsletter with personal notes, which I realize most readers would find boring. However, I do like to conclude these things a little on the light side, and this time the joke is on me. Joyce and I are the proud and deliriously happy parents of twin boys, born Sunday, August 27, and doing nicely, thank you.

Bill Roberts, who is working with us on temporary assignment, is also newly the father of a son, born August 31 (for obvious reasons, I am finishing this thing three days after I started it!). And, Mrs. Carol Lockhart, Secretary to the Field Activities Department is "on deck."

What population explosion?

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

November 9, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

RE: Joint Meeting of SRC and A. Philip Randolph Institute with Rustin on November 8, 1967

It was agreed to hold the meeting at the Biltmore in Atlanta on February 23, 24 and 25. The initial session would begin at 8:30 p.m. on February 23 with sessions from 9:30 am to 12:00 p.m and 2:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. on February 24 and 25. On the night of February 24th there would be a banquet. It is still a question as to whether or not other than participants would be included in the banquet. Also a question as to who would pay.

As to participants, Rustin suggests southern NAACP, SCLC, Urban League, VEP reciprocants, Negro elected officials, including only city and county officials and state legislators, labor, a hopeful area entitled "white political leaders, white southern liberals, key church people and fraternal groups." Paul and I suggested adding, in addition, representatives of the organized poor, some local CAP board members and university individuals, both black and white. The question as to how to approach national civil rights leadership was resolved by a proposal to invite them to the banquet on Saturday night asking each one to make a short presentation.

It was proposed that the meeting devote itself to three general topics: voter education and voter registration, organizing the unorganized and economic programs. Hopefully, we can find 10 individuals knowledgeable in all three areas to serve as resource individuals in Saturday and Sunday morning workshops. It was felt that 10 workshops of approximately 40 people each would be used. And hopefully some scheme could be devised so that these groups could be shuffled for each of the three program meetings.

The opening session would hear two keynote addresses one by a Negro, probably Vivian Henderson, one by a white, possibly Ray Wheelter. The final meeting Sunday afternoon would be a meeting of the entire group. In essence the chief function of this meeting would be to adopt a one page statement. Rustin is to prepare the first draft. We at the SRC are to begin immediately attempting to select the 400 participants. We want to get out as soon as possible an advance notice of the meeting simply requesting people to be aware that an important meeting is to be held on February 23, 24, and 25 to which they will be invited and to please if possible hold these dates. Rustin has accepted the responsibility of writing the actual invitation to the meeting.

We agreed that we would need an absolute minimum of $10,000 to run the meeting and we would need $20,000 to comfortably run the meeting. Rustin, since he is in New York, will begin the preliminary negotiations with several foundations attempting to raise $25,000. Paul will go to New York and accompany Rustin when the actual solicitations are made.

It was felt that the three subjects to be covered particularly voter registration, and organizing the unorganized will have to be described somewhat more diplomatically. Paul will undertake this task.

JNW/km

SHEET NO. _____ ACCOUNT NO. 322

NAME NEGRO COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION CREDIT UNIONS AGRICULTURAL CO-OPS

ADDRESS (Ulmer) (Ford)

FORM 608-40 MADE IN U.S.A.

| Salaries | Travel & Tel. | Co-op & Supplies | Cooperating agencies Grants | Fees & Other | DATE 19 67 | DESCRIPTION | POST. REF. | DEBITS | CREDITS | BALANCE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | 52684 | | 52684 |
| | | | | | Jan 1 | | CR-1 | | 22000 — | |
| | 24140 | | 660 — | Fees 40 — | 31 | | CD-5 | 94140 | | |
| 111668 | | | | | 31 | | PRJ-3 | 111668 | | (941508) |
| | (36 —) | | | | Feb 28 | | CR-2 | | 36 — | |
| | 77606 | Materials 190 — | | Writing 1232 — | 28 | | CD-9 | 79806 | | |
| 126652 | | | | Meeting | 28 | | PRJ-6 | 126652 | | (1598650) |
| | 32857 | | 450 — | 13446 | Mar 31 | | CD-14 | 212303 | | |
| 119160 | | | | | 31 | | PRJ-8 | 119160 | | (1267187) |
| | 23954 | | | F 10000 618 | Apr 30 | | CR-19 | 34572 | | |
| 79580 | | | | | 30 | | PRJ-10 | 79580 | | (1153035) |
| | (9335) | | | | May 31 | | CR-5 | | 9335 | |
| | 32806 | | | F 800 | 31 | | CD-23 | 32806 | | |
| 40000 | | | | | 31 | | PRJ-13 | 40000 | | (1087564) |
| | | | | 41CA 15564 | 1 | | JE-2 | 15564 | | (1074000) |
| | 17056 | | | F 20000 | June 30 | | CD-28 | 37056 | | |
| 40000 | | | | | 30 | | PRJ-16 | 40000 | | (996944) |
| | | | | | July 31 | | CR-7 | | 500000 | |
| | 12865 | | | F 12000 | 31 | | CD-33 | 24865 | | |
| 40000 | | | | | 31 | | PRJ-20 | 40000 | | (1432079) |
| | | | | | Aug 31 | Economic Opportunity Grant | CR-8 | | 1000000 | |
| | 9822 | | | | 31 | | CD-37 | 9822 | | |
| 40000 | | | | | 31 | | PRJ-24 | 40000 | | (2382257) |
| | | | 550000 | omitted 12000 | Sept 30 | | CD-42 | 560000 | | |
| 40000 | | | | | 30 | | PRJ-26 | 40000 | | (1782257) |
| | 40034 | | | 6900 | Oct 31 | | CD-49 | 46934 | | |
| | | | | | 31 | | PRJ-31 | 131668 | | (1603655) |

ACCOUNT NO. 322 SHEET NO. 2

NAME Community Organizations

ADDRESS

| Salaries | P + J | Supplies ANALYSIS | Grants | Fees + other | DATE 19 67 | DESCRIPTION | POST. REF. | ✓ | DEBITS | CREDITS | BALANCE |
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| | | | | | Oct 31 | Brought Forward | | | | | (16036 55) |
| | | | | | Nov 1 | FICA | JE-7 | | 11966 | | |
| | | | | | | Ins. | | | 567 — | | |
| | | | | | 1 | | JE-8 | | 10000 — | | |
| | | | 15000 | | Nov 30 | | CD-53 | | 15000 | | |
| 131668 | | | | | 30 | | PRJ-34 | | 131668 | | (388321) |
| | 6130 | | | Fees 1310 — | Dec 30 | | JE-9 | | 137130 | | |
| | | | | (880 —) | 30 | | JE-10 | | | 880 — | |
| | 100771 | | | 88000 | 31 | | CD-58 | | 188771 | | |
| 131668 | | | | | 31 | | PRJ-37 | | 131668 | | (18752) |

NAME NEGRO COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

ADDRESS 22,000,

WILSON JONES FORM 608-40

| C.Fees | Salaries | Travel/Tel. | Supplies | Grants | Other | DATE 19 68 | DESCRIPTION | POST. REF. | ✓ | DEBITS | CREDITS | BALANCE |
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| | | | | | | Jan 1 | | | | | 18752 | (18752) |
| | | (7020) | | | | 31 | | CR-1 | | | 7020 | |
| 160.00 | | 72287 | | | | 31 | | CD-3 | | 88287 | | |
| | 131668 | | | | | 31 | | PRJ-3 | | 131668 | | —194183 |
| | | | | | | Feb 29 | | CR-2 | | | 2200000 | |
| | | 98181 | | | | 29 | | CD-10 | | 98181 | | |
| | | | | | | 29 | PRJ | ~~PRJ~~-6 | | 156664 | | (1750972) |
| (160.00) | 156664 (288332) | (163448) (4747) | | | | Mar 31 | | CR-3 | | | 4747 | |
| | | 38711 | | | Contribution 1000— | 31 | | CD-15 | | 138711 | | |
| | 144166 | | | | | 31 | | PRJ-9 | | 144166 | | (1472842) |
| | | (13150) | | | | Apr 30 | | CR-5 | | | 13150 | |
| 135.00 | | 90791 | | | LOAN 1000— | 30 | | CD-20 | | 204291 | | |
| (295.00) | 144166 (576664) | (275053) | | | (2000—) | 30 | | PRJ-12 | | 144166 | | (1137535) |
| | | | | | | May 31 | | CR-7 | | | 1500000 | |
| | | 106440 | | 11000— | | 31 | | CD-24 | | 1206440 | | |
| | 144166 (720830) | (381493) 54307 | | | (Fed Sales Cap) 5000— | 31 | | PRJ-16 | | 144166 | | (1286929) |
| | | | | | | June 30 | | CD-28 | | 554307 | | |
| | 144166 (864996) | (435800) 92372 | | 15000 | (7000—) P.MAT. 1800 | 30 | | PRJ-21 | | 144166 | | (588456) |
| | | | | | | July 31 | | CD-33 | | 109172 | | |
| | 144166 (1009162) | (43527) | | (1115000) | Land App. 8500 | 31 | | PRJ-26 | | 144166 | | (335118) |
| | | | | | | Aug 31 | | CD-37 | | 52027 | | |
| | 100000 (1109162) | (571699) | | | (710300) | 31 | | PRJ-31 | | 100000 | | (183091) |
| | | 46749 | | | | Sept 30 | | CD-41 | | 46749 | | (136342) |
| | | 12483 | | | | Oct 31 | | CD-46 | | 12483 | | (123859) |
| | | 2415 | | | | Nov 30 | | CD-51 | | 2415 | | (121444) |
| | | | | | | Dec 31 | Aaron E. Norman | ~~CR~~-5 | | | 2500— | |
| | | (10605) | | | | 31 | | CR-17 | | | 10605 | |
| 80.00 | | 14.00 | | | | 31 | | CD-55 | | 81400 | | (300649) |

MADE IN U.S.A.

Bill Roberts

# SOUTHERN RURAL RESEARCH PROJECT

## THE NEGRO IN RURAL ALABAMA--
## LIVING, FOOD & HEALTH CONDITIONS

During the summer of 1967, the SOUTHERN RURAL RESEARCH PROJECT invited students from all over the U.S. to participate in a massive job of information-gathering in rural Negro areas of Alabama and Mississippi. The students, utilizing a 23-page questionnaire dealing with farm programs and related problems as well as living conditions, interviewed over 1800 Negro heads of households (representing families of over 10,000 persons).

Nine hundred eighty-six (986) of the interviews were conducted by 14 students in 5 representative blackbelt counties of Alabama. The following is a composite of the living conditions, food and health situations revealed by the answers to their questions...and observations of the interviewers.

The Negro farmers interviewed are the invisible people of the South. One million farm Negroes were "lost" by the local white census takers for the 1960 census.* Services, both federal and state, are equally "lost" on their way to the Negro farmers. The result is as follows:

*Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs, U.S. Civil Rights Commission, 1965, p.9, n.20.

Written by Sylvester Christie
SRRP Field Staff
Fall, 1967

## LIVING CONDITIONS

The home of the Negro farmer in Alabama is typically an unpainted 3-4 room wood-frame shack for 3-5 adults and 8-12 children.

### Sleeping Rooms

The home is all bedrooms except for one room for cooking with no living room or common room. Each bed is used for 2 or 3 adults or up to 5 children--2 to 3 beds to a room. Those who do not own "spring" mattresses will use fertilizer sacks stuffed with raw cotton or rags--frequently infected with lice, ticks, fleas and roaches. In some cases, children must sleep on the floors with little or nothing underneath them nor any covers for warmth or protection against the swarms of insects, particularly mosquitoes.

The lack of space and privacy mean that even conjugal intimacy must take place in the presence of children of all ages, while young students in the family lack the solitude for their studies.

### Kitchen

In the kitchen, cooking is done for an average of 9 to 11 people. This part of the house is much like a partitioned porch and is only partially cut off from the outdoors by crude doors and paneless windows or shuttered holes in the wall.

The largest piece of furniture in these kitchens is likely to be the woodburning stove. This stove blackens the interior of the house when used for cooking or, less effectively, for heating. The soot also covers the few clothes which hang on nails or a cord in corners of the other rooms. Where electricity is available, there may also be a refrigerator or deep freeze which is used to store vegetables for winter.

* * *

Outdoor pumps are the usual source of water in most areas, but some communities of Negro farmers must share wells or walk 1-2 miles for creek water. Some of these creeks provide foul, stagnant water in which there may be silt and animal droppings. Carrying the days drinking, cooking and washing water is a considerable task for the mothers and children when they cannot trap enough rainwater. The water is placed in a pan for washing dishes; in a big black iron pot for boiling clothes outdoors; in a tub for use with the washboard and in the same tub to stand up in while "sponge bathing."

There is no piped-in water in these homes and <u>never</u> any indoor toilets. Pots are kept inside during the night and bushes are used near the house or wherever the members of the family happen to be. The few outhouses to be found are wooden enclosures containing 2 slats of wood with space between--covering a hole in the earth and usually inconveniently located in fields--often, by circumstances, uphill from the water supply.

What windows there are in the house are very unlikely to have any glass and are "sealed" (as are the holes and gaps in the walls, ceilings and floors) by use of rags and cardboard. Newspapers cover the walls to both seal the house against the elements by cutting down the draft through the walls and to better reflect the light in the soot-darkened home.

Nevertheless, cold air and rain come in through the walls and ceiling of all the rooms of these shacks. Often a large hole in the floorboards is allowed to remain to permit an escape for rainwater coming through the unrepairable wood roof--all of which contributes to the rat problem. To survive in these homes in winter without expending large amounts of wood, the families dress themselves day and night as heavily as their wardrobe allows.

Although the landowner is obligated to make repairs on the homes, he rarely makes any improvements and promises repairs only on condition of higher rents. The expense of the repairs and the insecurity of his tenancy prohibit the farmer from making the costly repairs himself. House rent, when not included in the crop rent, is usually $10-$15 per month.

## FOOD

### Breakfast

Breakfast, especially during the seasons of heaviest work, is the largest meal of the day. It is eaten before daylight at those times when the farmer and his family have to be in the fields--otherwise it is eaten at an indefinite time before noon and typically consists of:

| | |
|---|---|
| Hominy grits | Eggs (up to twice weekly) |
| Biscuits or cornbread | Meat (occasional small portions of chicken or lean pork) |
| Coffee or water | |

### Midday Meal

Children going to school are generally unable to pay the daily fee of 25¢ for the school lunch and when peanut butter and jelly sandwiches (occasionally bologna) are not available, they do without the noon meal. The rest of the family will generally skip the midday meal except when engaged in hard work on the farm.

### Evening Meal

This final meal consists of vegetables, peas or beans with cornbread or biscuits and maybe leftovers of a hot midday meal--if cooked that day. Most of the year, however, breakfast and the midday meal are spaced far enough apart to avoid the evening meal and the midday meal is eaten late when the children return from school.

The beans and vegetables eaten are those grown in the gardens around the house and are generally okra, collard greens, sweet potatoes and turnips. These are cooked with large quantities of grease and chunks of fat, called "fatback." The fatback is also eaten by itself as a course and is called "whitemeat."

The "filler" in the meal is huge servings of a bread: home cooked biscuits or cornbread and occasionally storebought "lightbread." At times, especially during the winter when the canned vegetables have been used up, bread soaked in syrup becomes a meal in itself.

The drink served with these meals is sometimes coffee, but usually watered down Kool-Aid with little sugar. As an alternative, ice-water is offered. Less than half of the families interviewed drink milk at any time and only a few of these drink it regularly. About 20% of the families own cows that provide milk.

The "meat" meal is usually chicken. Most farm families raise some chickens, but not enough to be able to consume them regularly nor do the hens lay regularly. As a result, chicken and eggs are eaten only about twice a week and come from the farm's resources only part of the time.

Most of the time, the only meat is some pork product, neckbones or just fat. The low cost of these pork products and the ease with which pigs can be raised are the main reasons why pork is eaten over beef. Families possessing pigs or hogs will slaughter as many of them as possible and ration the meat, fat and bones throughout the winter months. Beef is rarely encountered in the rural Negro' diet.

Service of Meals

Cooking the meals on the wood stove is a laborious task. The stoves discourage any complicated cooking and severely limit the range of variations and the number of dishes that can be prepared. When the preparation of a meal is completed, the pots are left simmering on the stove and the family moves to the kitchen and help themselves to the peas, beans, fatback and the cornbread. Since there is rarely enough silverware for the entire family at once, it is used by only a few. There are never enough dishes--those who eat last use the plates of those who have already finished.

There is never enough table space (and chairs) for the whole family to sit down and eat together. This requires eating in "shifts" and eliminates the pleasure of communal dining and conversation.

At the end of the meal, none of the family will feel hungry, and nothing is ever "left over" for snacks. Some may even feel bloated.

When wood becomes especially scarce, cooking is done only every other day or so and portions of the provisions are warmed over. This eliminates the need to buy or haul or purchase wood (at rates up to $4.00 for a 2 day supply). The purchase of wood occurs most often among families that live on or near soybean plantations where all woodland has been stripped away.

## HEALTH

From birth to death, the Negro farmer and his family in Alabama are denied the rudiments of health care that is generally considered as essential to survival.

### Birth

The Negro baby is delivered in the home by a Negro midwife who, though of considerable experience, is trained to a limited degree. The midwife is of little help in difficult births which in these circumstances can become emergencies endangering the life of mother and child. The midwife's job is also complicated by the fact that the minimal medical attention paid the expectant mother in advance of birth does not warn of unforeseen difficulties such as a breech birth.

The homes in which these birthsoccur provide the most deplorable conditions in which an American child could be born. There is sometimes no electricity and almost never any running water. The water used in the delivery comes from a creek or well or perhaps a yard pump and may be polluted with soil or animal waste, including in some instances,the excrement of the family itself.

Heating is attempted with fireplaces and the wood stoves which must also be relied upon to boil water for the delivery. The stoves require considerable quantities of wood and the soot which pours into the air further complicates all attempts for sterility.

The material used in the handling of the child is not likely to have been washed in water hotter than can be tolerated by the hands. The cleanliness of nothing in the house is guaranteed. The home and its furnishings are infested with swarms of flies, fleas, lice, mosquitoes and ticks.

After birth, the mother may be forced to resume her activities within a few days but always within a few weeks of the delivery with a greater or lesser speed dictated by the economic predicament of the moment or the need for labor in the cotton fields.

During the first critical year of its life, the average baby does not see a doctor although he is taken to the clinic for free shots by the nurse. (The typical family is unaware, and unadvised of, other free or low cost health services at the same clinic.) Much more often than is true for the whites of the same area, the children of the farm Negro are stillborn or are born sickly of a sick mother and die during the first year*

In winter, the wind rushing through the cardboard-filled holes defy the small fireplace and kitchen stove making it impossible to adequately heat the home. It is not unknown for babies to freeze to death at night. Mothers describe the health of the children as being much worse during winter months because of continual exposure to the cold--sometimes below freezing temperatures--when only one room of the home can be warmed and the family groups there.

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*According to the 1960 Census figures for Alabama, the infant mortality rate for Negroes was almost double that of whites.

When the poorest of the mothers is incapable of nursing her child, the baby receives no milk at all. These most unfortunate babies are sometimes nursed with water--the cloudy water of the wells and creeks.

Childhood

During the important years of his greatest growth, the farm child's diet is largely confined to hominy grits, chicken or pork bones, fat, certain vegetables, beans, breads and little or no milk. Even those with milk cows have neither the equipment not the knowledge of methods to process surplus milk for the period when the cow "dries up." The surplus is instead fed to the pigs.

Toddlers are wrapped in pieces of cloth or wear old undershirts until their turn for the rags of their elder sisters and brothers. The problem of clothing the children against the weather often keeps them out of school during the coldest part of the year--during the summer, the token garments suffice. In warm weather, shoes are usually worn only by those who work in the fields. The bare feet of the children are open from bruises and from sores which continuously appear on their feet (as well as other parts of their bodies.) It is through such openings in the feet that stomach worms are acquired.

The children under seven commonly have scabs and sores on their heads, arms and legs that remain open and running with puss and blood. These scabs and sores get little medical attention or cleaning and are fed upon by flies and other insects which do not seem to annoy the drowsy children who let the flies climb around their eyes and mouths with no apparent irritation. These sores and infections often spread throughout the family, which only in the rarest cases can afford (or even are aware of) antibiotic treatment.

The youths suffer from swollen stomachs and skimpy hair, while mothers complain of the children's loose teeth and worms or respiratory problems. In one instance, a family sought medical attention for a child of 10 who had lost his fingernails and whose arms and legs were covered with sores and scabs. The condition was diagnosed as probable vitamin deficiency, but the mother, a widow and tenant cotton farmer, was unable to afford further help or medication.

Throughout their childhoods, the children display relatively little interest in each other and play no "make believe" or other games. The children have no toys or dolls. When not working around the house or in the fields, the youths sit idly in the dirt handling sticks or string or remain inside sitting quietly or sleeping. The children always sleep a great deal in school. In spite of this behavior, the mothers who are unfamiliar with noisey, vivacious children, consider the over-all health of their own children to be "as good as it could be" or "normal." These mothers consider what they have described of their children's ills as usual meaningless events in child growth.

While working in the fields, the mother takes her children with her, and keeps them nearby until they are about four years of age and capable of shelling peas and other household tasks. By the time the child is seven, he works full time in the fields--sacrificing much of his education. (White school officials rarely attempt to enforce truancy laws among Negro students.)

## Adulthood

A child may reach adulthood without [illegible] ever having been to a doctor unless perhaps he has suffered a serious injury. The dentist is seen for needed extractions--rarely for treatment. During adulthood, the rural Negro begins cycles of dizziness and "falling out." Visits to doctors invariably reveal a need to discontinue starchy and fatty foods such as pork products, especially fatback and cornbread, biscuits, beans, peas and grits--the basic diet. The women especially become bloated from this diet and suffer because of their extreme poverty, and in spite of their great industry, the obesity that proverbially afflicts the rich and slothful.

Year in and year out, the Negro farmer and his wife work 8 to 10 hours a day under summer suns, planting, chopping and picking cotton and vegetables and legumes until muscular and joint injuries curtail their enfeebled efforts at making a subsistance income. Complaints of strokes and partial paralysis are common among farmers of middle age. Victims of severe arthritis, or strokes often do not go to the doctor--they would be unable to follow his directions because of the cost of the medications or of the foods they may be required to eat.

The adult woman, even when pregnant, continues her heavy schedule of work beginning in early morning with cooking, cleaning, hauling water and preparing children for school until midmorning when she must prepare meals for the rest of the family. The remainder of the morning and the entire afternoon is spent in the cultivation of her vegetable gardens and cornfields and in very strenuous work in the cotton fields until she prepares the evening meal, puts her family to bed and closes the day. The pregnant mother quits her labors as late as three weeks before giving birth. During pregnancy, the mother visits the clinic two or three times but receives the only treatment given to pregnant Negro women--the measuring of weight and blood pressure by a nurse--never a doctor.

By the age of 40, the Negro farm wife has given birth to 6 to 9 children who have the choice of following the unpromising and difficult paths of their parents or of leaving their south for a less desireable experiment in one of the urban ghettoes. If the child remains, he can expect to repeat an up-till-now unaltered cycle of poverty.

WILCOX COUNTY, COY, ALABAMA

Description of the B____ Family Home

The B's, a Wilcox County cotton farming family of 10 persons, live in a one room wooden shack, 3 miles off the main paved road of Coy, Alabama. The dirt road leading to the B's home, and shared by 8 other Negro farm families, is in a state of almost total neglect. In a matter of minutes after a brief summer shower, the ruts and holes turn into impassable mud puddles--and remain in that condition for several days following. During an exceptional rainy season (such as this summer) the puddles do not have a chance to dry up at all. Ordinarily, a small car cannot drive up the road above 5 miles per hour. Aside from an occassional shack, the narrow road is lined on either side by expansive cotton fields.

The B's hut squats on a small clearing off the dirt road. The ground in front of the house is sandy--or more often than not--ruddy. The shack itself is an almost square (15'x9') wooden box, with one door and two shuttered windows. The roof is unshingled--the skeleton wood frame covered by a layer of tar paper for protection against the elements. Unlike most Negro farm huts in Wilcox County, the B's house does not have a porch--and thus for socializing and relaxing as well as for escaping the intense heat of the closed in room, the family sits on a large, old--no longer servicable--horse cart in the front yard. A sawed off tree stump serves as door step.

The inside room is dark and cluttered. A lone naked bulb dangles from the ceiling. Two foldaway beds (with three children lying width-wise on each) line the walls. Rag quilts on the floor provide beds for the older children. Dust, dirt, paper, and food scraps are swept into a large hole in the floor, left by a rotting plank. It is the same hole through which the rats crawl into the room at night to gnaw at the fertilizer sacks that serve as bedding and linen for the family. The matresses themselves, despite the attempt to keep up fresh bedding, smell of stale urine. Fleas, flies, and cockroaches vie for room on the beds. Holes in the roof and the walls are tacked up from inside with flattened cardboard boxes--and colored newspaper sheets pasted over the wooden slats--both insulate and decorate the hut. The family does not have an "outhouse" or any other toilet facilities. Water is supplied by a pump in the back yard. The shack is heated in the winter by a single fireplace, and the small wood stove used also for cooking.

Except during the cotton picking season, the B's eat two meals a day--usually grits for breakfast and greens and chicken necks--or sometimes field peas for dinner. The bulk of the family's diet is supplied by the vegetable garden and, especially in the fall, from small wild game occasionally caught in the woods nearby: squirrel, possum, wild turkey, etc. About $5 a week is spent on the other food staples: rice, grits, flour, cornmeal, coffee, sugar, fat back, etc.

Mrs. B. is virtually head of the family and manager of the 40 acre cotton and truck farm (rented)in the absence of her husband. She clears, plants, and harvests the land along with the help of 6 of her 8 children--ranging in age from 2 to 16--and of a tractor that she managed to obtain through loans and outside work. It is still only partially paid for. The work day for Mrs. B., as for most Alabama farmers, begins at sunrise and ends at sunset. The family subsists on a gross annual income of $1,200 from the proceeds of the farm.

There is little money to be had for clothing. Mrs. B. works every day in a worn out, torn YWCA porter's dress that someone gave her. The girls wear old slips, polo shirts and material scraps. The youngest child (age 2) goes naked or else wears just a top. The children all seem under sized and underweight for their ages. When they are not working in the fields, the children spend their time sleeping or sitting out in front of the house doing nothing. The two year old cannot yet balance himself for walking because of the size of his swollen belly, and the thinness of his legs. He does not yet talk and is just beginning to cut his first teeth. The oozing, crusted sores on his head attract both fleas and flies, which he rarely bothers to brush away. Mrs. B. complains of headaches, fainting and weak spells. She thinks she may have high blood pressure, but cannot afford to get to the doctor for medicine for herself or for the children.

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PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

M E M O R A N D U M

January 17, 1968

TO: State Council Executive Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Our next meeting

Let me suggest that we have our next state council directors' meeting on Friday, February 23, here in Atlanta. This date is suggested because SRC and the A. Philip Randolph Institute are co-sponsoring a meeting, to start that evening and run through Sunday noon, to which you will be invited. By flying in on the night of February 22, we could gather early on the 23rd and have our business completed before the conference starts.

Please let me know if there are objections to that date, or if you will not be able to attend our meeting on that date. If there are strong objections, I will let you know; otherwise, consider it a firm date.

The conference which is to run through that weekend will attempt to bring together a broadly representative group of southerners to assess the situation in the South and, hopefully, agree on some common goals and steps. I understand that there will be particular emphasis on voter registration and education, organizations and the un-organized, and economic progress. (You will get a fuller explanation a little later.) If there are persons you particularly would have invited to such a conference, please send their names and addresses. Be sure to list them in order of priority.

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5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

January 1968

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PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

# FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

February 7, 1968

## State Council Notes

For some reason January and February get more than their share of annual meetings of the state councils on human relations. Arkansas, Tennessee, and Virginia had theirs on the same day, January 27. I could attend only one. Maybe they plotted it that way.

At the Arkansas Council's meeting Will Campbell of the Committee of Southern Churchmen spoke in his own inimitable way to 153 people at a banquet. August VandenBosche, Executive Director of the Florida Council, spoke at a luncheon meeting.

Father Walter Clancy was honored as retiring president, after three terms of very notable leadership of the Arkansas Council. The new president is Rabbi Elijah Palnick of Temple B'nai Israel, Little Rock.

The Tennessee Council met at Hotel Patten in Chattanooga. Featured speaker was Dr. Charles Hamilton, Professor of Political Science at Roosevelt University. Dr. Hamilton, a noted interpreter of the Black Power movement, spoke on "Racial Isolation: The Conflict Between Group Goals and Priorities."

Mr. Lewis Sinclair was elected to succeed Dr. William G. Pollard as president of the Tennessee Council. The council adopted a budget of $68,500 for 1968.

Baxton Bryant, Executive Director, reported a 50% increase in membership, which now stands at more than 1,800. He also reported formation of the West Tennessee Self-Help Development Corporation as an outgrowth of TCHR efforts in West Tennessee. With a board made up of citizens of five rural counties (Tipton, Lauderdale, Fayette, Haywood, and Hardeman) the Corporation has enjoyed excellent cooperation from the State Employment Commission, Welfare Commission, and Farm Home Administration, as well as from officials of federal agencies.

Bryant also announced plans to employ four part-time assistants, one in each of the four largest cities of Tennessee -- Knoxville, Chattanooga, Nashville, and Memphis. These persons will work with the local chapters and with chapters in surrounding areas. It is envisioned that this may lead to full time professional staffing for each of these urban-rural areas.

Finally, Bryant told about his "Wide Area Telephone Service," recently installed in his Nashville office with an extension to his home. Most people know, by now, what a WATS line is. But, just in case you don't it enables the subscriber to call anywhere in the state (or specified area) for a flat monthly rate. So Baxton can call anybody in Tennessee anytime of the day or night and talk for as long as he likes without worrying about running up a bigger telephone bill. I'll bet he does, too.

The Virginia Council, at their meeting in Richmond, launched a major program, called "Project Homeward Bound," aimed at assisting veterans of the armed services to find equal employment opportunities and fair housing opportunities. The program will be coordinated with "Project Transition" of the Department of Defense. Alfred B. Fitt, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, was a major speaker at the meeting.

Carl E. Auvil, President of VCHR, says some 15,000 veterans will return to Virginia in 1968 alone. "White and Negro Virginians have come to know one another in wartime as they seldom have in our largely segregated way of life. Many will be satisfied with nothing less than equal opportunity upon return to civilian life."

Simultaneously VCHR is launching a statewide funding campaign. Armistead Boothe is Chairman of the Campaign Committee. The goal is $50,000.

The Virginia Council has already begun a book service, according to Frank Adams, Executive Director. It offers members savings of 20% on any hardback book and 10% on paperbacks. Plans are also underway to offer a prescription eyeglass service which will provide doctor ordered specs for $15.00 ($18.00 for bifocals). A discount drug distribution service is also planned.

The VCHR Board has approved a plan to reorganize the council. Basic units will be small groups of no more than ten people, instead of city-wide chapters. These small groups are designed to (1) enable people to relate to each other as persons and in-depth, and (2) enable them to act for justice and an open society according to their felt needs and interests. Thus there might be, in the same city, one group devoting its attention to fair housing. Another group or two might concentrate on voter registration and citizenship education. Another might put out a community newspaper. Another might monitor the school board and city council meetings.

Whew! I figure we are about to find out what happens when an irresistible force (Frank Adams) meets an immovable object (The Commonwealth of Virginia).

The Alabama Council met at the Stafford Hotel in Tuscaloosa on February 3. The Honorable Brooks Hays, former congressman from Arkansas, was the principal speaker. (It was a moving speech. The remark I recall most fondly was, "The patriot and the dissenter can inhabit the same heart.") Joseph Gannon of Huntsville was elected to succeed Dr. C. G. Gomillion as president.

Staff reports included accounts of the formation of the Greene-Hale Sewing Center by Rural Advancement Project Director Lewis Black; intensive work with the newly organized Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association; efforts for the second consecutive year to help Negroes in Macon County participate in Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections; and surveys of Alabama's blind and deaf schools, mental health hospitals, industrial schools, and other institutions, resulting in some measure of desegregation.

The North Carolina Council has elected Moses C. Burt, Jr., its new President. Mr. Burt is an attorney and was legal counsel for the North Carolina Fund. He is a resident of Durham.

Much of the NCCHR's energies have been devoted to fair housing efforts in Greensboro and the "Research Triangle," which includes Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill. The Council co-sponsored the Seventh Annual Housing and Urban Renewal Conference in Durham in late November. The staff carried much of the burden in preparing for that conference, and Will C. Allred, Executive Director, prepared and presented a position paper.

The Mississippi Council's staff has devoted months of attention and effort to the problem of hunger in Mississippi. Kenneth Dean, Executive Director, and Glennis Barnes, Associate Director, have assisted all of the various groups doing reports and offering aid of one kind or another. Rather recently MCHR published in tabloid form an illustrated reprint of the three principle reports--that of the SRC, one by the Surgeon General, and a third by the staff of Mississippi's governor. The MCHR collection is titled, "The Truth About Mississippi's Hungry Children."

Increasingly, the Mississippi Council is serving as a clearinghouse for relief efforts. I picked up a copy of Look last week and saw, in the letters to the editor column, a notation that readers desiring to donate for relief could send contributions through the Mississippi Council. Also, plans are under way to set up the "Family Project," by which northern families will be asked to assist impoverished families in Mississippi.

## Randolph Institute-SRC Conference

The A. Philip Randolph Institute and the Southern Regional Council will sponsor jointly a conference at the Sheraton-Biltmore Hotel in Atlanta, February 23-25. A conference "call" has gone out to more than 400 persons, black and white, in the South.

"We believe that the South has a unique and powerful contribution to make to the solution of the agonizing problems of this nation," says the call. The South has "confronted the issue in its starkest form," it continues, and "...because of this...the South understands, as no other section of the country does, that it must make a fundamental, ethical choice." After pointing out that the South has yet a little time to avoid the errors which were committed in northern cities, the call concludes, "Therefore, we summon Southerners, both black and white, to the duty, the opportunity and the challenge to participate in a common effort, laying aside past racial antagonisms, to construct a just social order for all people."

## For Local Councils

The Chatham County Council on Human Relations (Savannah, Georgia) has come up with an idea that might be borrowed, with appropriate adaptations, by others. They have prepared a 30 minute film-slide presentation titled "In the Heart of Old Savannah." It turns out to be a graphic commentary on slum conditions. Members of the council present it to civic groups, schools, -- anywhere they get a chance.

## The Exit Line

I've run my 7½ watt mind over the world situation, the national situation, the regional situation, the Georgia situation, the Atlanta situation, and my own personal situation -- and I can't think of anything really funny. The nearest I can come is to picture for you Charles Morgan, Jr., ACLU regional man, as the only member of a projected panel to show up at a meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference. The subject was "Racial Separatism," so Chuck proceeded to role-play both sides of th issue. The trouble was that he was equally convincing on either side. One came away with a notion something like "Armed rebellion is inevitable, but it cannot possibly succeed, so things are bound to get worse." It was a funny kind of panel, but nobody laughed much.

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

# NEW FORCES OF URBAN POLITICAL POWER

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director, Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Delivered to:

The Foundations Group
Harmonie Club
New York City
February 20, 1968

One of the great delights of my youth, as I grew up in Atlanta in the country's first public housing project, was the joy of visiting my relatives in the country during the summer. The roadside shanty in West Georgia where my aunt lived was to me a resort, a villa---despite the outdoor toilet, the well water and the cracks in the wall, the ceiling and the floor. There was no place like rural Georgia in the summers of my youth. For in the fresh country air my cousins, my brother and I and the little white boys from the big white house played in the red dirt, kept an eye on the rabbit boxes, and ate heartily my aunt's hot self-rising biscuits and sorghum syrup.

I remember riding there in the "colored" section of the train and waiting to be met in the "colored" section of the tiny, rural railroad station. I remember drinking from the "colored" water tap and going to the back window of the cafe at the county seat on Saturday. These indignities never really bothered me because they were no different from the indignities in Atlanta. I knew that my cousin worked for three dollars a week and two quarts of buttermilk. I knew that in payment for working seven days a week at the big house, my aunt didn't have to pay rent on her shanty. And I thought that telling Mr. Sam's wife at the store to put the candy and drinks I wanted "on the books" was a pretty good deal. I never knew until years later that my aunt could never completely clear the debt and was always owing at the end of the year and at cotton-picking time.

The one thing that I got really mad about, and never accepted, was my aunt's instruction in the summer of 1947 to

call Bobby, one of the white boys at the big house, "Mr. Bobby, now, because Mr. Bobby is twelve years old." I was twelve that year too, but nobody called me "Mr. Vernon." But not even this could keep me from eagerly looking forward to my summers in the country.

But then, after a few summers came a letter written by my aunt to my mother. My aunt explained that she didn't want to stay on Mr. Sam's place any longer. The family owed Mr. Sam great sums of money and was getting deeper in debt with each year and each crop. Cotton and farming wasn't what it used to be. Mr. Sam was looking for work in the county seat for himself, and food was short. My aunt and her family wanted to leave the country and come to the city, but they were afraid to ask Mr. Sam for permission to leave. As it turned out, my brothers and I drove to West Georgia at midnight and sneaked them out under cover of darkness to bring them to the city.

So they came to the city for a better life---for what <u>had</u> to be a better life. But they came uneducated, more than a little frightened, and ill-equipped to deal with the complexities of city life. This is not an uncommon story. It can be told by thousands and thousands of Negroes all over America. My aunt and her family and thousands like them brought something besides their battered luggage to the city. They brought an abiding distrust of white people and their way of manipulating the accounts, a bitterness about the white man's callous manner of dealing with them, and deep scars left by the experience of being driven from the land. Such experiences are not soon forgotten. Their misfortunes and their bitterness are being passed along to generations who don't know what a rabbit box or an outhouse or a cotton crop or a country store look like.

So my aunt and the other black people of America moved to the city. They are still moving. Some are coming to the cities because of drive and ambition and the search for a

better quality of life. Many are being pushed off the land by new farm techniques and, sometimes, by spiteful landowners. With their movement, black people are reshaping the nation's cities and the nation's politics.

But when my aunt and others have left the land and the small towns and the tightly run citadels of resistance and degradation and have fled to the cities, what do they find? They find, to a certain extent, more freedom and, perhaps, fewer overt insults and less constant oppression. In some respects, however, life in the cities is as bad and in many respects it is worse.

Life in American cities is becoming increasingly crowded and chaotic. As an article in the Los Angeles Times recently put it, our cities are "unplanned and unmanageable, unsafe and unhealthy, overcrowded and underfinanced." But to the urban poor---and particularly the black poor---these are abstractions. In the daily press, we read about the problems of air pollution, congested freeways, and overloaded airports. We read about water pollution, inadequate tax base, and the need for rapid transit systems. As real and pressing as these problems are, the problems facing the poor are even more real and pressing---hunger, disease, filth, unemployment, inhumane police, crowded schools, and inadequate housing. For many of the poor, in short, the problem is survival.

Urban Negroes are increasingly finding that an effective weapon for meeting this problem is political participation and the vote. Sometimes the realization comes slowly, but I believe that it now is coming at a rapid accelerating rate.

The Negro vote in the North emerged as an important political force in the presidential election of 1944. It

was in this year that the new Negro votes in Northern cities made the presidency especially responsive to the interests and demands of Negroes.

In the South, meanwhile, Negroes were just getting the right to vote, and that plays an important part in our story.

Just after World War II, only a half-million Negroes were registered to vote in the 11 states of the Old Confederacy. Today the figure is more than three million, or 60 per cent of the Negro voting age population.

These new Negro votes in the South, like Negro votes in the Northern cities, are making themselves felt in national elections. A post-election study by the Southern Regional Council in 1964 showed that the Negro vote made the difference in the presidential outcome in five Southern states. As it turned out, Mr. Johnson was not exactly in desperate need of more electoral votes. Nevertheless, the demonstration of Negro voting strength in the South was there for all to see. In the five Southern states carried by Sen. Goldwater, Negro registration was either below or barely equal to the average for the region. In other words, as might have been expected, the senator carried those states in which Negro registration was the lowest.

The greatest gains in Negro registration in the last several years have come in these states covered by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Under the Act, Negro registration in Alabama has more than doubled. There also have been significant gains in Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia. But nowhere has the leap forward been as dramatic as that in Mississippi. From a pitifully low Negro registration figure of eight per cent, Mississippi Negroes have jumped in just two and a half years to a registration figure of nearly 60 per cent.

I am sure I will surprise you when I tell you that Mississippi no longer is at the bottom of the ladder in Negro registration and that this dubious distinction now belongs to North Carolina with a Negro registration just over 50 per cent. There are more than 30 counties in North Carolina covered by the Voting Rights Act, but thus far the Justice Department has not seen fit to send in federal examiners.

I mentioned presidential races, but I could cite dozens of elections in which the Southern Negro vote has been decisive in the last several years.

For the first time since Reconstruction, Negroes serve in legislatures in six of the 11 Southern states. There is a total now of 23 Negro legislators in the South.

But this barely scratches the surface in describing the extent to which Negroes are gaining political office and political strength in the South. There are nearly 250 elected Negro officials in the South today, and the number is growing steadily. The list of elected officials includes 22 Negroes in Mississippi of whose victories you probably read in November. And just the other day, an additional 35 were elected in Louisiana.

The first big push by Negro voters in the South came in urban areas. It was in the cities that Negroes could register to vote without being put off the land or getting a not-so-friendly visit from the sheriff. To the extent that any Negroes could pay the poll taxes and meet the literacy tests and overcome the other discriminatory barriers erected by Southern registration laws, it was, by and large, urban Negroes. Hence there is hardly a major city in the South today in which Negroes do not constitute an important political force. Often, the Negro vote can be decisive. As

whites move out and Negroes move in, Negro voting strength becomes stronger.

To be sure, sometimes there is difficulty persuading the urban Negro in the South to go to the polls. But this is not always the case. Very often it depends on who is running and what the issues are. Just recently the conservative Richmond News Leader complained that whereas only 63 per cent of the white registration in that city voted last November, 73 per cent of the Negro registration voted. A bit reluctantly, no doubt, The News Leader concluded that "the administration of local affairs rightfully belongs to those who go to the polls come election time."

But as important as the urban Negro vote is, even more stirring developments are taking place in the oft-forgotten rural areas of the South. It is in these areas that the civil rights struggle is most fierce and most hazardous. It is in these areas that the road to political participation is most difficult and most dangerous. Only one of the 23 Negro legislators in the South comes from a rural area. Nevertheless, many seemingly minor but locally significant offices are being won in rural areas.

West Feliciana Parish in Louisiana provides as good an illustration as any I know of. A little over four years ago, not a single Negro was registered in this small parish, although well over half the parish population is Negro. Now more than 2,000 Negroes are registered in this parish, thanks to three things---civil rights activity, the Voting Rights Act and grants from the Voter Education Project. And last November, six Negroes were elected to parish offices in West Feliciana Parish. This is a picture which is gradually beginning to emerge from some of the rural areas in the South where some of the worst racist oppression has taken place. In a few minutes, I plan to tell you what meaning this rural

activity has for the cities, North as well as South.

Thus far, I have attempted to identify two important new forces in the politics of urban America: the Negro voter and the Negro officeholder. Of course, we have had some elements of each of these forces for many years. But now we have both in large numbers, and each constitutes a major urban political force.

There is a third new force which ought to be mentioned. It is the community, or indigenous, organization. I have in mind particularly those neighborhood organizations set up under the anti-poverty program. Others are being organized, publicly or privately, to deal with some special neighborhood need related to ghetto life.

Very rapidly, these community organizations have learned that their demands, no matter how legitimate, generally must be backed with political muscle. They are learning that political participation is a route to justice and the realization of their aspirations. Thus these community organizations quite frequently have political awareness as a major emphasis.

Mayors, county bosses and backward-looking politicians are not unaware of this fact. This explains a great deal of the political opposition to the poverty program. It explains Congress' desire to tack on the Green Amendment and other crippling restrictions designed to check the poverty program's thrust in the direction of political participation on the part of the nation's poor.

Hence, the survival of this new force in the urban political process depends to a degree on how well the poverty program survives. At this point, one would have to say that outlook is unencouraging---perhaps even bleak.

I could mention reapportionment as another new urban

political force. Indeed it was reapportionment that made possible the election of 11 Negroes to the Georgia Legislature. And reapportionment is making legislatures, previously almost totally rural in outlook, at least slightly more responsive to the needs of cities. But reapportionment also has made possible the election of suburban conservatives and reactionaries as well as urban progressives. As a result of reapportionment 20 new members of Congress were elected from suburbs of big cities in 1966. Only five of these new members voted against the drastic curtailment of funds for the Model Cities program. So this force, if we define it as one, moves simultaneously in differing and offsetting directions.

Having identified the new forces of urban political power, the question next becomes what are the problems inherent in making these forces effective. More specifically, how can these forces be made vehicles for meeting the needs of the urban poor and, particularly, the Negro poor?

If these are truly forces to be reckoned with, then there is bound to be conflict over who will lead them. Such conflict rages continually among urban Negroes today. Just a decade or so ago---and I speak especially of Southern cities, which I know best---a handful of Negroes made all the decisions for the black people of the community. Generally, these were in the city's better educated and more successful Negroes. In a word, they were middle-class. In almost every city today, these ruling cliques no longer make all the decisions. In city after city, their power has diminished drastically in the space of a few years. No longer are they the sole consultants for city hall.

The first direct challenge of the old leaders came from the student protesters in the sit-in movement. Nowadays the challenges come from the community organizations I mentioned

earlier. These "grassroots" organizations are demanding a share in the decision-making and a place in neogtiations with city hall and the city's white power groups, such as chambers of commerce.

These conflicts over leadership do not lend themselves to unanimity among urban Negroes. But neither do the times nor the issues. No longer, usually, is the issue simply black vs. white. And objectives are not as easily defined as they were when the target was desegregation of lunch counters and public accommodations. Today the city-wide Negro leadership may be pushing for jobs, housing and better education. But the indigenous organizations may be more interested in paved streets, playgrounds, street lights and better police protection.

An unending battle rages between Negro conservatives and more militant leaders whom we might describe as Young Turks. But even the latter are having to prove their intention and their capacity to lead to the more radical and less rational Black Power advocates. City hall and the chamber of commerce only make the situation more difficult with their seemingly irresistible temptation to brand one leadership group or the other as being "responsible." Black Power groups cannot be excluded from the leadership. There is a tremendous emotional response among Negroes to their position. So black leaders today must be responsive to a wide range of opinion within the black community. The role is not an easy one to fill.

Another problem confronting the new forces of urban politics is alignment or non-alignment with some of the old urban forces. In some parts of the country, urban Negro voters have allied themselves with upper middle-class and power structure whites to elect moderate but cautious white officials. There are strong signs that the burgeoning Negro

vote is ready to reject these alliances, which always were undependable anyway.

No longer will Negro voters be willing to align themselves with those who seek Negro support in the election of a mayor and congressman and then instruct those mayors and congressmen to vote against Negro positions on such issues as open housing and the location of public housing units. In short, the alliance with wealthy whites---which has existed in some Southern cities---has proved too much a one-way street to suit the growing Negro vote.

Neither can labor be counted upon as a regular ally. Negroes are looking with increasing suspicion at the discriminatory practices of many unions. They are looking with increasing suspicion, too, at paper coalitions formed with labor leadership a few weeks before the labor fellowship goes out to vote for the racist candidate. There is a growing awareness among Negro leaders that this sort of thing happens more often than it should.

Lest you think that I overstate the case against labor, let me tell you about a meeting at which I spoke just a few days ago. This was a regional meeting of up-and-coming young prospective labor leaders from Southern states. At this meeting a presidential poll was taken. The results revealed that the front-runner was not Johnson, not McCarthy, not Nixon, and not Romney. It was, instead, none other than the de facto governor of Alabama, George Wallace. When I spoke, I found out that the poll accurately reflected the sentiments of these young white union men, and I am quite sure that the prejudices run just as deep, if not deeper, among the rank-and-file in the locals back home. Urban Negro voters have more than ample reason to be wary in their dealings with labor.

On the other hand, it is clear that Negroes cannot in most cases win by "going it alone." Alliances and coalitions are undoubtedly necessary. Yet they cannot be as tenuous, uncertain and unrewarding as in the past.

Still another problem confronting the new forces of urban politics is the problems these forces have with each other. I speak now about the relations between Negro officeholders and Negro voters.

Every officeholder must try to remain on good terms with his constituency. But for Negro officeholders today, this basic political task is doubly difficult. There is a strong feeling among some American Negroes today that the entire "system" is corrupt, and that this means each and every officeholder, whether black or white. Often the Negro officeholder becomes a favorite target of abuse from the very people who elected him. Whether fairly or unfairly, his constituents expect him to deliver tangible benefits. If he does not deliver, and pretty fast and often, he is assumed to be a "sell-out."

Even the Negro candidate for Congress in southwest Mississippi, Charles Evers, is viewed with suspicion by some Mississippi Negroes. When candidate Evers went to predominantly Negro Tougaloo College a few days ago, he encountered hostile questions. It seems that Mr. Evers was accused of being something of an Uncle Tom because he chose to run for Congress. He was reprimanded for saying that he would strive to represent all the people of the district.

From the standpoint of the Negro voter, it must be said that some of the suspicion about Negro officeholders is understandable. There have been enough Negro officeholders who have been guilty of Uncle Tomism to make Negro voters wary of them all. Very often the Negro officeholder walks

a booby-trapped path, with enemies of both colors waiting in ambush on all sides. Usually he must sit at the table with white officeholders of equal and higher ranks. But the very act of sitting down at the table seems to cost him support among some Negro voters. We may find more and more Negro officeholders going out of their way to get criticized by white politicians. There is nothing like an attack by white interests to repair one's fences among Negro voters.

The Negro officeholder must have some victories in the councils of government to carry back to his constituents. He must produce legislative and policy concessions that go to the heart of ghetto problems, or his days in office are numbered. Such victories also are needed as antidotes to the frustration and disillusionment that lead to urban violence.

Another problem facing the new forces in urban politics is the movement toward metropolitan government and city-county merger. There is a great hue and cry today for consolidation of local government units to provide a broader and more effective base for meeting our multiplying urban problems. This also is a means of recapturing for the city well-to-do whites who have moved to the suburbs for a variety of reasons---among them the desire to escape taxes, responsibility and Negroes. There is much to be said for the trend toward consolidation in local government.

At the same time, this trend poses a threat to the new forces of urban political power that we have been talking about. Generally, the result is a dilution of Negro voting strength. Sometimes it sounds almost like a form of gerrymandering designed to prevent the rise of Negroes in local politics. There is a joke now to the effect that Atlanta will extend its borders to Macon, 90 miles away, if it will prevent the election of a Negro mayor. Three Southern cities ---Miami, Nashville and Jacksonville---have forms of metropolitan government. I must confess some misgivings about this

approach if it means blunting the forces for change and reform.

Likewise, Negroes should be on guard against another "good government" device often pushed in the cities, and that is citywide or areawide elections as opposed to district elections. District election is a major reason why Georgia alone has nearly half of the Negro legislators now serving in the South. Areawide and at-large elections usually mean fewer Negroes at the tables of government.

The community groups and indigenous organizations that I talked about are groping to maximize their effectiveness and to bring needed programs to their community.

Yet, they are relatively inexperienced in government and public affairs, especially in the South, and there is much they need to know. They need to know how to best relate their new political strength to bread-and-butter issues. The tremendous enthusiasm of the new indigenous groups must be matched with technical political skills and know-how, information and research, and an understanding of the nature and functions of government. These groups need an investment of resources and people to help them help themselves.

The leaders of the indigenous groups today are those who yesterday were inspired by the bands of youth in the South who preached to them the gospel of political participation. Having inspired them, and having led them thus far in the political process, the idealistic students of the early sixties have largely abandoned their unlettered but courageous friends of the cotton fields and the slums at a time when they are most needed. Indeed the greatest hope for the masses of Negroes rests with the young, educated, new Negro middle-class. They are needed as community organizers, proposal writers, lawyers, doctors, welfare specialists and the like.

I said earlier that Negro political success in the

South, whether in rural areas or urban areas, influences the solution of urban problems, including those of Northern cities. This is so because rurally oriented Southern conservatives are the quickest to vote against any congressional proposal that has to do with the plight of the cities. Moreover, these Couthern conservatives command key congressional committees that can kill or cripple legislation designed to help the cities. In the past these Southern conservatives have relied on white voting blocs to retain office. The future of these Southern conservatives is decided periodically in dusty crossroads towns that Manhattan never heard of. Thet is why, if I make myself clear, 260,000 Negro voters in Mississippi can have a lot to say about what happens in Harlem, Watts and Hough.

I began this talk by telling how my aunt moved from a rural county to the city. Despite the disappointments and rigors of urban life, she, like most Negro Americans, has not lost faith in America, nor hope for solving the nation's racial problems. She is among those Negro Americans referred to in two recent polls of Negro opinion. The polls reveal the Negro's abiding faith in himself and his country.

The question, however, is whether or not her children and grandchildren will inherit and hold on to her faith and her hope. I say this because their faith and hope are shattered almost daily, as must have been the case in Orangeburg, the children and grandchildren of those who came to the city for a better quality of life remember that they could not bowl in the local alley because they are black. Some are proclaiming that if they could not bowl at the bowling alley, they cannot go to Vietnam. They hear the mayor saying that Orangeburg's race relations are as good as any city's in the nation. They see the governor telling the nation that Black Power was

the cause of it all. And they witness Henry Smith, a fellow student, shot, dragged off campus, slugged with billy clubs, struck by a gun butt, dying by gasping, "You can hit me, but you can't hurt me no more."

So black youths in the ghetto are asking, "Keep WHAT faith, baby?"

The democratic political process can restore that faith and renew that hope. Whether it will or not remains to be seen.

(air mail)

1968

Dr. Joseph P. Witherspoon
School of La w
University of Texas
2500 Red River
Austin, Texas 78705

Dear Dr. Witherspoon:

Herewith is a copy of the draft statement of aims for the proposed "Southwest Council of La Raza." Except that it is proposed as a Mexican-American organization, rather than a multi-ethnic agency, it seems to be similar in purpose and function to the sort of council we have been discussing.

At any rate, I thought you would like to see what is being proposed. As you know, I will be going to Denver to meet with them on Saturday, February 10, and will of course give you a report.

I have talked to Reese Cleghorn to tell him that he will receive an invitation to be a workshop leader at the Austin conference and to urge him to accept. I believe he will. So far I have not reached Al Kehrer, who is out of town.

Best wishes,

Enclosure

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# IN MEMPHIS:
# MIRROR TO AMERICA?

by J. Edwin Stanfield

Second Supplement to Special Report of March 22, 1968

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"So we are going to Washington on the urgent business of reform before it is too late. We must have a de-escalation of the war in Vietnam and a massive escalation of the war against poverty and racism. We must guarantee that in this richest society in history, the poor, too, can find comfort and security and decent jobs and respect. It is time to re-order our national priorities. All those who now speak of goodwill and who praise the work of such groups as the President's Commission now have the gravest responsibility to stand up and act for the social changes that are necessary to conquer racism in America. If we as a society fail, I fear that we will learn very shortly that racism is a sickness unto death."

-- Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,
Poor People's Campaign News Release
March 4, 1968

## I N T R O D U C T I O N

In a special report issued March 22, 1968, and a supplement dated April 3, the Southern Regional Council described in detail the strike of sanitation workers in Memphis which began February 12. These reports explained that the strike had quickly become a struggle for assertion of manhood and dignity, supported overwhelmingly by the Negro community of Memphis, seeking an end to the paternalistic variety of racism which prevailed in white Memphis.

The first report warned of "tragedy waiting in the wings." Its supplement said that tragedy had come in an outbreak of violence (window breaking and a small amount of looting and arson by Negroes, clubbing and shooting by police) during and after a march led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on March 28. That incident resulted in the death of a sixteen-year-old Negro male by police gunfire and in injuries to sixty people, mostly Negroes. The supplementary report ended with this statement: "It is not the nonviolent movement that is on trial in Memphis, but -- once more -- American democracy. Not the leadership of some Negro ministers is threatened, but the nation itself."

It is a sad duty to offer now, in a different era inexorably begun, a continuation of our report of the confrontation in the microcosm that is Memphis -- and of its appalling denouement.

D A R K  F O R E B O D I N G

After the march was destroyed on the 28th, top staff leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference flew into Memphis and began intensive preparations for a new attempt at a march on Friday, April 5. At the suggestion of Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and Victor Gotbaum of the New York Council of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, the date of the march was postponed to Monday. The two men promised a rally of labor and civil rights forces from across the nation.

Meanwhile, Federal District Court Judge Bailey Brown, at the request of city officials, had issued on Wednesday, April 3, a temporary restraining order which prohibited Dr. King and his aides and "all nonresidents acting in concert" with them from "organizing or engaging" in the massive parade. Dr. King promptly labeled the order a "basic denial of First Amendment privileges" and said that he planned to ignore it, if attorneys could not get it lifted.

That night Dr. King, addressing the 2,000 people who came to Mason Temple in the rain, was in a somber, reflective mood. He said:

> Well, I don't know what will happen now. We've got some difficult days ahead. But it really doesn't matter with me now. Because I've been to the mountaintop. I won't mind.

> Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's Will.
>
> And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over, and I've seen the promised land.
>
> I many not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the promised land.
>
> So I'm happy tonight. I'm not worried about anything. I'm not fearing any man. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.

Baxton Bryant, Executive Director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, said shortly after the meeting ended that the civil rights leader "sounded as though he were giving his own eulogy." Others concurred.

That premonition was all too accurate, as the world now knows. It was the last speech of Dr. Martin Luther King. Twenty-one hours later, an assassin -- believed to be white -- shot Dr. King to death as he stood on the balcony of his hotel room.

## SORROW, ANGER -- AND MORE FRUSTRATION

In the early hours of Friday morning, following the assassination, Baxton Bryant called for the resignation of Mayor Henry Loeb:

> We saw President Johnson this week place the interest of the country above his own self-interest and pride. Peace seems to be a little closer in Vietnam as a result.

> Mayor Loeb has nothing but trouble and turmoil ahead governing a city whose population is 40 per cent Negro. He is a man of principal but doesn't have the capacity or the background to understand or interpret the rising expectations and demand for decency in the black community.
>
> For the peace, justice, and tranquility of the entire community, and safety and peace for himself and his family, he should resign as mayor of Memphis.

The call for the mayor's resignation was taken up by the Memphis Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

It was Mayor Loeb's insistence that the strike was illegal, together with his avowal that he would "never" sign a contract with the union or agree to deduction of union dues from the men's paychecks, that had prolonged the strike and led to the invitation to Dr. King to come to Memphis. But Loeb was reflecting the sentiments of the majority of his constituency.

Later on that morning, nearly 150 ministers, about 30 of them Negroes, held a memorial service at St. Mary's Episcopal Cathedral, then walked silently seven blocks to the city hall for a confrontation with the mayor. The decision to take that walk had actually been made on Wednesday, April 3, the day before the murder. The inner-city ministers were in the majority and were for it, but suburban ministers were nervous about such action and the group was persuaded to

postpone it on the rationale that there should be a carefully prepared statement. Now, on Friday, there was no delay. After hearing and adopting a prepared statement, the group proceeded, spontaneously, to the mayor's office. They were accompanied by three police cruisers. Four officers in each car wore white helmets and some carried shotguns. They passed elements of the National Guard in battle gear stationed before public buildings and stores.

Mayor Loeb was waiting for them in his office. Their resolution was headed by a quotation of Jeremiah 8:13: "They have healed the wound of my people lightly, saying, 'Peace, peace,' when there is no peace."

> We, as ministers of God . . . mourn with deep sorrow and a sense of unspeakable loss the murder of our brother, Dr. Martin Luther King, eminent preacher of peace, advocate of the power of nonviolent love, promoter and practitioner of true manhood.
>
> We who are white confess our implication in this tragic event by our failure to speak and act, clearly and specifically, with conviction and courage, to the attitudes of prejudice and patterns of injustice which produced the society in which this act could occur . . .
>
> . . . The grave crisis which is upon us is caused primarily . . . by lack of private and public will to put into action, at whatever costs, the professions we have so long and so easily made with our lips -- to do unto others as we would have them do unto us and to love our neighbors as ourselves.
>
> . . . Let us together . . . work creatively and selflessly for a new community, in

> which equality and justice for all prevail and in which no man suffers the loss of his human rights because of racial prejudice or arrogant paternalism.
>
> . . . We implore our mayor and city council to address themselves with swift dispatch to the forging of a mutually acceptable solution including agreement upon union recognition and dues check-off . . . .

The statement was concluded with a quotation from the New Testament: "And when He (Jesus) drew near and saw the city he wept over it, saying, 'Would that even today you knew the things that make for peace.'" (Luke 19:41-42a)

After the reading, Rabbi James A. Wax, head of the predominantly white Memphis Ministers' Association, made an impassioned statement to the mayor. He spoke in a loud voice and did not conceal his wrath. "We come here with a great deal of sadness and . . . a great deal of anger," he said. He told Mayor Loeb that what had happened was the result of oppression, injustice, and inhumanity and that they were appealing to him for leadership. He adjured the mayor to stop hiding behind legal technicalities and obey "laws greater than the laws of Memphis and Tennessee . . . the laws of God."

The mayor responded, according to the New York Times, "Each of us is sincere. I know your sincerity and I hope you know mine. Although we disagree on some points, each of

us is trying to do what we think is right . . . I thank you for coming up."

Clearly he thought the interview ended. But Dr. Ralph Jackson, converted conservative Negro minister, whose fiery preaching had moved and delighted Negroes throughout the struggle, now showed a different side of his personality in a tearful, sorrowing plea to the mayor. "We plead with you. We beg you, do not send us away from here again without an affirmation," he cried. He urged the mayor to blame the ministers, if necessary, but by all means to modify his rigid stance. But the mayor's position remained unchanged.

His next visitors were nine Negro teachers. They had just come from the airport where Dr. King's staff had enplaned for return to Atlanta with his body. They complained that they had been kept from "our dear Dr. King's body" by National Guardsmen with bayonets. They also rebuked Mayor Loeb for neither going to the airport nor sending a representive of the city.

## OTHER REACTION IN MEMPHIS

On Friday morning, the Memphis Commercial Appeal offered a reward of $25,000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the murderer or murderers. The Scripps-Howard

chain offered another $25,000. On Friday afternoon, the Memphis City Council underwrote another $50,000, the bulk of which, councilmen were told, would be raised by subscription of Memphis businesses.

An anonymous would-be benefactor offered to give the union $25,000 to pay union dues for all of the sanitation workers for six months, so that there could be a cooling-off period. This was rejected with some vehemence by the union, and labor leaders explained that the prospective donor did not understand the situation: what was at issue was not money but the dignity of collective bargaining by these laboring men.

That person, whoever he was, was not the only one with good intentions who missed a point. The two daily newspapers, whose news and editorial policies were high on the list of grievances of the Negro community, predictably pleaded for calm and reason. But the lead editorial in Friday's Press-Scimitar interlarded some noble expressions with insensitive chauvinism: " . . . Dr. King, evangelist of civil rights, was cut down -- and deplorably in Memphis, one of the cities which has been moving most steadily toward the goals he advocated -- by the force he preached against: the violence of extremism." Again: " . . . his (the assassin's) act was a frightful disservice to the country, and an especially

stunning blow to Memphis." And again: "He (the assassin) has stained the nation and our city in the eyes of much of the world . . . ."

Nor could the paper refrain from reiterating, even on that sorrowful day, an opinion well-formed and oft-repeated among white Memphians:

> While granting him complete sincerity as to nonviolent purpose, the Press-Scimitar has felt -- and warned many times -- that his methods tended to produce violence, both sympathetic and antagonistic. This was due to the highly emotional nature of his speeches. The record of his visits to many cities, and at last Memphis, all too starkly bore out this warning.

On Sunday morning, Memphis citizens on their way to church passed police cruisers with four officers in each. The men wore blue riot helmets with heavy plastic visors. On their radios citizens might have heard a recorded message, mindlessly played by a local station, in which Mayor Loeb urged citizens to contribute to the Arts Council Drive, because the arts and culture "are the things that make a city great."

In a fashionable white church, a minister led the congregation in a prayer of confession. It acknowledged their implication in the assassination by their "failure to speak out clearly and quickly." It also acknowledged that "we cannot wash blood from our hands by pouring water over ourselves."

There were about half-a-dozen Negroes in the congregation at that service. Asked about them, one of the ministers explained ruefully that they were not members or even regular attendants, but had been invited especially on that day by some members who had Negro friends. "You may have noticed," he remarked, "that they were well looked after."

In contrast, the pastor of a Negro church, meanwhile, was telling his congregation that he had received a multitude of reports of abuses of Negroes by police and National Guardsmen, especially the latter.

The minister asked his parishioners to wire the President to request trained army regulars instead of National Guardsmen from rural Tennessee.

## MEMPHIS CARES - BUT NOT MUCH

The Memphis Ministers' Association had scheduled a memorial service for two o'clock on Sunday afternoon in Evergreen Presbyterian Church. A group led by a Memphis businessman and calling itself the "Memphis Does Care Committee" suggested that a larger "Memphis Cares" meeting be held instead, in E. H. Crump Stadium. The ministers acquiesced.

About 5,000 people attended the "Memphis Cares" meeting. The racial composition of the crowd was about the same as that of the city's half million population --

60 per cent white and 40 per cent Negro. Attendance at the meeting had been urged by virtually all ministers at their services that morning and on television by dignitaries, including Mayor Loeb, all day Saturday.

Those attending were handed a printed program as they entered the stadium. It carried the following statement:

> We live in Memphis. It has been a good city, but far from perfect -- much less perfect than many of us realized. Something happened here which laid bare a side of our common life to which all too many of us had been blind.
>
> We are brother Memphians in name. We can become so in fact as we have never been before. We will not leave this to someone else, but each of us will take the responsibility upon himself.
>
> Our goal is a city in which a man's honest and openly expressed opinion can be respected, without fear of punishment or retaliation, and differences resolved in the understanding that we are all human.
>
> We therefore solemnly, in the presence of God and of one another, pledge ourselves -- our time, our effort, our resources -- and if need be, our lives themselves -- to the building of a city where people can trust one another, respect one another, and respond to the needs of one another.
>
> Memphis cares.

On the back of the program was a small section in which were printed the two words "I Care." A line for a signature was beneath them. Memphians attending were asked to sign this two-word statement, tear off the section, and drop it into a receptacle before leaving.

The program itself was very simple. It consisted of

the national anthem, an invocation, a hymn ("O God, Our Help In Ages Past"), an introductory statement, statements by eight "Memphians Who Care," unison reading of the "Memphis Cares" statement, a singing of "God Bless America," and the benediction.

The first of the eight speakers said, "The time has come when you must stand and be counted . . . choose your ground and stand on it." He did not suggest what ground. (It was learned later that those who planned the program sought to exclude specific mention of (1) the garbage strike, or (2) Dr. Martin Luther King. This prohibition was ignored by at least three of the speakers.)

Tommy Powell, head of Memphis' Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, was the fifth speaker. He drew applause when he affirmed a laboring man's right to a recognized union. ("Look!" said one Negro to his wife. "There are some white folks applauding.") The loudest applause of the afternoon came in response to Mr. Powell's call for news media to present fairly and impartially both sides of issues.

The sixth speaker was Judge Ben Hooks, a Negro. He said that Martin Luther King was much misunderstood because the news media "will not tell the truth." Again there was loud applause on that point.

During the fifth and sixth talks, a reporter noticed a large number of white people drifting out of the stands --

a hundred or more. There was no obvious reason for this, so during the seventh speech -- by a businessman named Tom O'Ryan -- the reporter began asking a few of these departing what they thought of the meeting.

"You see me leaving, don't you?" snorted one elderly gentleman. Asked if he would say what he disliked about the meeting, he grumped, "Not for quotation," and kept walking.

The question was asked of two young men next. "That Irish fellow told it like it was," one of them replied. "A dual effort. I'm a young man, and I've never done anything to oppress a nigra . . . They're not going to ravage through the streets and endanger my family . . . If they want to practice what they preach, okay with me, but it's going to have to be a fifty-fifty proposition."

Another elderly man on his way out volunteered good-naturedly, "This thing has turned into a nigger protest meeting, hasn't it?" He explained that he had thought it was to be a memorial service for Dr. King. He was glad so many whites had come to show that they cared, "regardless of what they hear . . . But I don't like these nigger preachers making all those rabble-rousing speeches."

Two middle-aged women were next. "I'm disappointed," one said. "I came to support the mayor and the city, not to honor King -- although I'm sorry . . . I do feel that it's

good that Negroes and whites can sit together like this. It certainly does no harm . . . I'm just sorry the mayor is not here. He's in a tough spot. He needs support."

By that time the meeting had ended. A Negro man was asked what he thought of it. "Nice meeting," he answered, "if they do what they say; not say one thing, then turn around and do something else."

A white man and his wife, with their son, were among the last to leave. The boy, about eight years old, was wearing a "Charlie Brown" sweatshirt which read, on the back, "HOW CAN WE LOSE WHEN WE'RE SO SINCERE?"

"That was about the right shirt to wear, wasn't it?" the father asked. He said he felt "sort of two ways" about the meeting. He too thought "the Irishman" had put it best -- that it is something for the whole community to work out, not just the whites. He was fatalistic. "It's been this way since time began. There's no reason to think this will change things very much for very long."

This wholesome-looking family had recently moved to Memphis from Houston, where they had lived when President Kennedy passed through en route to Dallas. The man said the atmosphere in Memphis before Dr. King arrived was much like it was in Houston before President Kennedy came through -- "people said they wished he were dead." "And since King was shot," he went on, "I have heard numerous

comments to the effect that they are not sorry he was shot -- just sorry it happened here."

A policeman directing traffic at the gate of the stadium motioned a Negro motorist toward a different lane, yelling, "Pull it on over here, boy!"

One reporter viewing the crowd had said before the meeting began, "Memphis cares -- but not much."

## THE MASON TEMPLE MEETING

Far more than 5,000 people, all but a tiny fraction of them Negroes, gathered later that afternoon in the Mason Temple of the Church of God in Christ. The multitude rippled with the movement of life and vibrated with its sound.

They heard Jerry Wurf, International President of the striking union, tell them that "if it has to go on for a week or a month or a year, these men are prepared to go on!"

They heard Tommy Powell declare that he had been dissuaded, by some of "supposedly goodwill," from saying something he had wanted to say at the "Memphis Cares" meeting. They had admonished him that it would be "too political." "But I want to ask you here to join the Memphis Labor Council in calling for the resignation of Mayor Loeb!" In an instant the people were on their feet and cheering.

They heard and loved the inimitable Dr. Ralph Jackson:

"I'm sick and tired of white people trying to ease their consciences by calling in a few of us to talk to them . . . It's time for them to spit -- I said spit -- or get off the pot!"

He told the people that, if Dr. King could give up his life, they could give up a day's work to make the march the next day. "We want everybody on that march. We want everybody! We want everybody! Everybody! Everybody! Everybody! Get on the telephone and tell everybody! Tell everybody to tell everybody! Tell everybody to tell everybody to tell everybody!"

## THE MEMORIAL MARCH

Federal Judge Bailey Brown had agreed on Friday, April 5, to lift the ban he had issued against a march on the following Monday. His cancellation of the restraining order was subject to an eight-point agreement:

(1) The march had to begin after nine a. m. and end by five p. m.

(2) Marchers had to walk no more than eight abreast.

(3) There had to be internal policing, by persons selected and trained as marshals by march leaders.

(4) Placards could be carried, but could not be

mounted on sticks.

(5) There would be no limit on the number of marchers.

(6) There would be no minimum age for marchers.

(7) Young people and older people had to be well mixed in the line of march.

(8) Arrangements had to be made for fast, high-level consultation with the court and police to take care of contingencies.

This agreement was negotiated by Bayard Rustin and his assistant, Norman Hill, both of whom accepted much of the responsibility for organizing the march, with the help of the few SCLC staffers who could be spared from funeral preparations in Atlanta.

Plans called for 500 marshals -- young militants among them -- 50 captains, and 20 chief marshals. There would be a public address system sufficient for a crowd of 40,000. Three principal messages were printed on hundreds of placards: "UNION JUSTICE NOW," "HONOR KING: END RACISM," and "I AM A MAN."

Monday was a cool, slate-grey day. A threatened rain never materialized. People started gathering at Clayborn Temple before eight o'clock, although the appointed hour

was ten o'clock -- the march to begin promptly at eleven.

Unionists arrived from all over the country. A very large delegation came from the New York United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO. Just a few of the others represented were the Texas AFL-CIO; the Maritime Union; the Councils of American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees from Michigan, Arkansas, New York, and Louisiana; and the "Cincinnati Labor Movement."

There were civil rights groups from Chicago, Milwaukee, Forest Park, and Peoria, Illinois. There were representatives of the New York School of Social Work and of the Negro Benevolent Society, Inc., Department of Sanitation, City of New York.

Mrs. King's plane had been delayed in leaving Atlanta because of weather conditions, but the march was begun at eleven-twenty anyway. Two huge trailers had been so placed on Hernando Street as to form a funnel through which only eight people could pass abreast, and the march started through that passage.

The Rev. Mr. James Lawson and Dr. Ralph Jackson led the way. The front rank also included Walter Reuther; T. O. Jones, president of the striking local; Jerry Wurf; and Dr. Benjamin Spock.

There were quite a few local white ministers in the march. There were members of the militant "INVADERS"

wearing yellow arm bands to indicate that they were marshals. Councilman Jerry Blanshard, the only white member of the city council to vote with the three Negro members throughout the dispute, marched near the front.

Silently the march passed battle-geared, helmeted Guardsmen stationed in front of a fire station, construction sites, and vulnerable store windows. Double ranks of Guardsmen sealed off all side streets. They stood at parade rest, the muxxles of their rifles thrust out before them at arm's length. Unsheathed bayonets pointed upward toward the line of march like the points of a listing picket fence. For the most part, the Guardsmen looked straight ahead, but could not keep their eyes from following a bearded young photographer with flowing locks who minced past them on sockless feet.

Guardsmen were visible on the roofs of tall buildings. A city policeman stood at the corner of Linden and Main with an automatic weapon at the ready. A motorcycled "special officer" with a bolt-action rifle slung on his back idled his rumbling machine alongside the silent marchers.

There was a delay of about ten minutes at Main and Beale. Then, at eleven-fifty-five, Mrs. King took position at the head of the march, along with the Reverend Messrs.

Abernathy, Young, and Williams of the SCLC staff, and Harry Belafonte.

One marcher wore a T-shirt lettered, "I Had A Dream -- 4-8-68." Another walked in striped prison trousers and carried a sign that read "Out With Loeb and His Butchers."

A man in the rank behind Councilman Blanshard carried a high frequency radio receiver tuned to the police band. Mr. Blanshard told another marcher he was mortified to hear the police dispatcher repeatedly give directions like "Large number of male niggers at Main and Union . . ." or "Two niggers spotted in window on north side of the hotel . . . ."

On the sidelines, some spectators had climbed into a display window out of which the glass had been broken during the March 28 "riot." A sign on the intact window of one shop read "Closed Monday in Memoriam to Dr. Martin Luther King." There was a floral spray on the door. The display compartments were bare -- just in case.

Two elderly Negro women stood weeping and wiping their eyes. One old Negro man said to another, "Well, we've lived to see some history."

There were many young Negroes in the march. A sizeable number of bitter-loooking, hard-eyed teenagers walked along behind spectators, occasionally stopping to watch. Four or

five of them stopped to talk in the entry of a vacant store. One idly stood on tiptoe and picked up a broken piece of heavy wooden molding from the top of a column. He hefted it a couple of times with his hand, then, grinning, replaced it.

As that group moved on down the sidewalk, another member of it grinned at his buddies and asked jokingly, "Ya'll ready now?"

Three tough-looking young white men stood on the curb monitoring police calls on a portable receiver and making comments. As a group from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers passed, carrying their identifying sign, one of this trio said, "Aglamated . . . algam . . . what's that?" And one of his friends replied, "Don't know. Must be some kind of sick nuts."

Another group of three or four whites were laughing on a corner. They kept glancing appreciatively at the National Guardsmen stationed there. "They better not start a riot," one remarked. "Yeah," his friend agreed with a smile and a nod toward the troops. "If they start a riot, there's gonna be a big funeral in Memphis."

The ceremonies were started in the plaza in front of city hall before even half of the marchers had filed in. They were still coming, four abreast, when the speech-making was more than half over.

There were brief remarks by Ossie Davis, Harry Belafonte, Mrs. King, Jerry Wurf, Dr. Spock, Dr. Ralph Jackson, and James Bevel. Congressman John Conyers of Michigan introduced Mrs. Rosa Parks and Congressman William F. Ryan of New York.

The principal address by the Rev. Ralph Abernathy was, in the main, an expression of determination. "We are on our way to Washington," he said. "It became necessary for us to detour by way of Memphis . . . We are going to Washington, but we are going to stay here in Memphis until this problem is solved."

After he had spoken, Don Slaiman of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Division brought a message from George Meany, president of the organization. "The struggle of the sanitation workers here in Memphis is the struggle of all organized labor." He looked forward to black and white working together in a solid program, "starting today."

Walter Reuther announced a donation of $50,000 from the United Auto Workers strike fund to Memphis sanitation men. He added, "I want to say to the mayor that, if it takes more than this, there will be more coming." (On the same day that Dr. King was murdered, the AFL-CIO donated $20,000 to start off a nationwide appeal to unions for funds for the Memphis strike.)

## BACK-THE-MAYOR CAMPAIGN

Determination seemed no less on the other side. A local newspaper the next day reported that the Jackson Avenue Lions Club had sent Mayor Loeb a telegram stating that the club was "standing 100 per cent behind you." The message had the approval of the Lions Club International, according to the article.

It was also reported that a letter and telegram campaign in support of the mayor was underway. Apparently it was organized very well indeed. As of that date, the mayor had received 1,809 telegrams backing his stand. Of 22 telegrams opposing,it, only seven were local. There were 307 letters favorable to the mayor. Of 56 unfavorable letters, only 14 were local. Fifteen letters of support had been received by special delivery before the regular mail delivery on that day. More than 1,000 signatures had been obtained on petitions of support for Mayor Loeb.

Mrs. Bee Clark, who heads the Western Union credit department in Memphis, said, "Everybody in town is sending telegrams. I've never seen anything like it. You would think it was the end of the world."

## STRIKE SETTLEMENT

Shortly before the assassination Mayor Loeb had said,

"I'll never be known as the mayor who signed a contract with a Negro union." Until the tenth week of the strike and for 12 days after the assassination, he kept that vow.

Undersecretary of Labor James Reynolds arrived in Memphis the day after Dr. King's murder. He had orders from President Johnson to mediate in the labor dispute. There had been no attempt at federal intervention before, despite the outbreak of violence on March 28. The first Southern Regional Council report on Memphis noted the failure of "other agencies of government, state and federal, which might be expected to act toward mediation and reconciliation when a city did not." Only after murder did action come on this level, as in the Congress of the United States with passage of the 1968 Civil Rights Law, and in other matters which must have seemed to Negroes "too little, too late." Non-binding mediation had been initiated locally with the very capable help of Frank B. Miles, former labor leader and Department of Labor mediator, whose services were donated by the Memphis lumber company which presently employs him. Those negotiations had collapsed before the assassination.

Finally, on April 16, an agreement was reached. The union won recognition by resolution of the city council -- a better form than they had anticipated, as union negotiators

had previously suggested a mere exchange of letters as a face-saving device for the mayor. A contract included union dues check-off through the city employees' credit union, a good grievance procedure, and wage increases of ten cents per hour May 1 and another five cents in September. The period of the contract was 14 months. Members of Local 1733 approved the agreement unanimously. The city council vote was 12 to 1.

Memphis Negro ministers plan to continue the organization they formed to support the strike. (It was called Community on the Move for Equality, or C.O.M.E.) Mass meetings on a regular basis have been discontinued. The general boycott of downtown stores has been called off, but not the one against Memphis' two newspapers. Selective boycotts are planned, aimed at securing jobs for Negroes and business investment in the black community. A group of 1,000 Negro women is being organized to back these and other efforts.

## MEMPHIS, A MICROCOSM

So, in Memphis, black people successfully asserted their manhood and dignity and won a point of justice -- but at a terrible cost. If that is the end of the matter, what will really have been proved is that in Memphis, in America, justice costs too dear -- and, perhaps, that liberty is less

likely than death. There can be little doubt that Mayor Loeb and the city fathers of Memphis were faithfully reflecting the temper of whites in their city. By many indications they were reflecting, as well, the mood of the nation.

Amid all of the racism still obvious in Memphis there were faint, hopeful signs of change. For one thing, as we have seen, some white clergymen at last were moved by the situation. For another, the Chamber of Commerce scheduled, one day after the settlement, a serious meeting of local businessmen with Negro and white ministers to talk about a large-scale program of employment and on-the-job training. Observers said that growing pressure from the business community was an important factor in moving the mayor and city council to settle the strike. In calling for the original boycott, Negro ministers had told their followers that "Loeb won't listen to you, but he will listen to the downtown merchants." In itself, the merchants' response to economic pressure may mean only the sort of tokenism which pragmatic businessmen in many southern cities have advocated, particularly on the issue of school desegregation, as the minimum change necessary to avoid economic loss. It remains to be seen, of course, whether the existing unity and determination of Negroes in Memphis

will continue, and whether political, industrial, and civic leaders have really learned anything about responding to protest or from the murder of one of America's greatest men.

The same is true of the nation. An article in the New York Times (April 14, 1968) reported that a new strategy for handling riots has been worked out by Attorney General Ramsey Clark and others, including Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance. The method was tested in some cities during Negro outbreaks following the assassination. Both as a matter of tactical necessity ("the other side has guns") and for humane reasons, the new strategy calls for massing large numbers of law officers and troops, using tear gas extensively, but refraining from firing upon people -- even looters and arsonists. Proponents of the plan argue that this technique in fact minimizes property damage as well as deaths, although they frankly say that human life must be valued above property. It is perhaps significant that none of the disorders where the method was used developed into full-scale riots, thus saving property as well as lives.

At almost the same time, however, the mayor of Chicago insisted that arsonists are, in effect, murderers. He ordered Chicago law officers to "shoot to kill" anyone caught in the act of arson. He also ordered them to "shoot to maim or cripple" anyone looting. (New York's Mayor Lindsay

pointed out that many who were shot as "looters" in the 1967 riots were, in fact, innocent.)

It remains to be seen, therefore, in America as in Memphis, whether the ruling majority will insist on brutal measures of repression, easier in the short run, in response to minorities which protest grievances. It should be clear by now that Negroes and other minorities cannot allow present conditions to continue and, in the absence of redress of legitimate grievances, will use ever-stronger forms of protest. It should also be clear that a few, especially among the young, have despaired and, in frustration and anger, may resort to violence -- against property, if not against people.

A former mayor is fond of saying that Memphis is "always doing the right thing for the wrong reason" -- meaning that the city takes right action only when necessary to prevent a loss to its good image or economy.

It is to be hoped that Memphis has learned from its travail to respond to legitimate protest in a timely manner, to respond with dignity to citizens acting with dignity. The alternative is clear: unavoidable escalation of protest, bringing white violence against black protestors (the common southern pattern), and danger of the newer pattern of Negro violence against property, with indignity and tragedy for all.

The fundamental issues of quality education, housing, and jobs -- and the dignity of which they are part -- are not settled in Memphis or elsewhere in the nation. Memphis is America in microcosm. The sickness which led to the death of Dr. King can lead to the death of the United States. The only atonement for this murder, the only hope of national survival, is fast, full action to remedy the wrongs of racism.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
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PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... A 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER
August 9, 1968

This is to say goodbye and, at the suggestion of Paul Anthony, to tell you a little about what the SRC is doing that involves my moving.

Before the end of August we Stanfields will be moving to Austin, Texas, where I am to be executive director of a new agency, the "Southwest Intergroup Relations Council." SIRC will be a counterpart in the Southwest to the Southern Regional Council. It will be multi-ethnic, its membership composed of Mexican-Americans and Indian-Americans, as well as Negroes and Anglos. It will work in an eight state region, including Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, Utah, and California, -- roughly, those states having a large Mexican-American minority, a large Indian-American minority, or both.

The steering committee for the SIRC has made an arrangement with the SRC whereby I shall continue on the staff of the SRC for up to six months, but shall be assigned to the SIRC with an allowance for travel and related expenses. After that the SIRC will be "on its own" -- for better or for worse, for richer or for poorer, in sickness or in health.

The steering committee for the new agency envisions an eventual membership of about 300 and a Board of Directors of 50. Knowledge and experience in ethnic-group problems and intergroup relations, geographic representativeness, and ethnic representativeness will be important considerations in choosing members. Care will also be taken to assure that poor people, young people, and -- yes -- women will be well-represented in the membership and policy group. New members and Board members will be elected on nomination by a membership committee. The majority of that committee will be chosen by the existing membership on nomination by various ethnic-

group organizations. These organizations, community organizations, and institutions may join a "Cabinet of Organizations" on which the SIRC will rely for advice and consultation.

The new agency will be incorporated in the State of Texas and will locate its office in Austin, at least for an interim. (The steering committee left open the possibility of moving to a city more central to the region at a later date.)

Much of the credit for instigating this new agency must go to Professor Joseph P. Witherspoon of the University of Texas School of Law. Mr. Witherspoon is a distinguished legal scholar and teacher. He is also a community leader in Austin. Among other things, he has been instrumental in securing an effectively-structured Community Relations Commission in Austin and in getting reforms in the local police department. He has made himself an expert on civil rights law and its enforcement. It was Professor Witherspoon who convened an ad hoc committee, which in turn selected a steering committee, for a Southwest Intergroup Relations Council.

Other members of the steering committee are:

--Mario Obledo, recently selected as General Counsel for the new Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, San Antonio, and formerly Assistant Attorney General of Texas;

--The Reverend Henry J. Casso, San Antonio, Civil Rights Chairman, Texas League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC);

--Mrs. Lorella M. Salazar, Bernalillo, New Mexico, an employee of the Sandia Corporation (industrial relations) and formerly head of the Albuquerque office of Senator Anderson of New Mexico;

--R. P. (Bob) Sanchez, McAllen, Texas, Labor and civil rights attorney, and leader in the American G. I. Forum;

--Clarence A. Laws, former executive secretary of the Texas NAACP, now Regional Director for Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Dallas;

--The Reverend C. William Black, San Antonio pastor;

--John B. White, President of the Oklahoma Equal Opportunity Association, Oklahoma City;

--T. D. Armstrong, Galveston, Texas, businessman;

--The Reverend Charles E. Sanders, Secretary of the Original Cherokee Community Organization, Stilwell, Oklahoma;

--Stuart Trapp, Legal Counsel, Original Cherokee Community Organization, Tahlequah, Oklahoma;

--Vine Deloria, past executive director of the National Congress of American Indians, and now a law student at the University of Colorado in Boulder.

--William Canby, Peace Corps Director in Uganda, 1964-66, and now Professor of Law and Director of the Office of Indian Law, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona;

--Robert A. Beer, president of Robert Beer and Company, Realtors, and Vice-President of the Dallas Real Estate Board.

While we leave Atlanta with reluctance and certainly will miss our associates here, I am excited, of course, about the possibilities of the SIRC.

Our home address, after August 26, will be 2801 Silverway Drive, Austin, Texas 78757.

--Edwin Stanfield

Mr. Donald H. Weiss, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Philosophy
~~Department~~
The University of Texas at Arlington
Arlington, Texas 76010

Dear Dr. Weiss:

Thank you for your letter of March 11. We shall be glad to help in any way we can with the Human Relations Resource Center and Seminar Program.

Enclosed are two bibliographies from the Curriculum Consultation Service and one copy of our publications list. Please note that you may take advantage of our publications subscription service, which would assure your getting all of our publications at once.

It was a pleasure meeting you, and we wish you well in this worthwhile undertaking.

Cordially,

Under separate cover we are sending free copies of the three reports we have issued so far in 1968.

(Carole - sign and mail. Also mail, separate cover, Delta Phoenix, Orangeburg, and Black Youth.)

ATTACHMENT 6

## GRANT-IN-AID CONDITIONS

1. All grants are contingent upon the ability of the SRC to raise the total grant-in-aid budget. Should this not be possible, the necessary reductions will be made on a pro rata basis.

2. One-fourth of the total projected grant-in-aid to each council will be paid on the first of each quarter of the calendar year, subject to receipt of the required reports due and to fulfillment of all other grant conditions.

3. The required reports are:

a. One copy of an audit by a Certified Public Accountant for the Council's last fiscal year. If an audit has not been received by July 1, the quarterly payment then due will be suspended automatically, pending action of the SRC's Executive Committee.

b. A list of the names and addresses of officers and policy board members of the state council and the chairman (or presidents) of all local councils as of January 1, 1967. Revisions should be sent when made.

c. Two copies of an adequate, orderly program report for each quarter. If, in the judgment of the SRC staff, this report is not satisfactory, grant payments will be suspended pending adequate amendment or action of the Executive Committee.

d. Two copies of a monthly financial statement showing receipts for the month and for the fiscal year to date from each of the following categories: SRC Grants-in-Aid, Foundations, Membership Dues, Individual Contributions, Business Contributions, and Miscellaneous (sale of literature, dinners, etc.). A similar breakdown of expenditures for the month and year to date for all budget and non-budget items is suggested.

e. Two copies of a monthly report on membership showing chapter-by-chapter the number of dues-paid members enrolled or re-enrolled during the month and during the membership year to date. Categories for out-of-state and at-large members should be included.

4. In keeping with the general purpose of the grant-in-aid program, to facilitate growth of state councils into basically self-sustaining membership organizations, it is expected that staff strength and income from local sources will be maintained at least at the 1966 level. If, in the judgment of the SRC staff, the funding and staffing of a council falls below that level, grant payments will be suspended pending action of the Executive Committee.

## 1967 GRANT-IN-AID SCHEDULE

## SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

| | |
|---|---|
| Alabama | $ 15,300 |
| Arkansas | 13,600 |
| Florida | 13,800 |
| Georgia | 14,600 |
| Louisiana | 14,000 |
| Mississippi | 16,000 |
| North Carolina | 13,800 |
| South Carolina | 13,600 |
| Tennessee | 15,000 |
| Virginia | 13,100 |
| Houston | 5,000 |
| Contingency | 2,000 |
| Mitchell Award | 1,000 |
| TOTAL | $150,000 |

# STATEMENT OF THE THIRD WORLD LIBERATION FRONT

## PHILOSOPHY AND GOALS

The Third World Liberation Front is composed of peoples who are opposed to the present oppressive system in America, as based on the anglo-saxon racist philosophy, and as this enslaving and colonialist oppression is extended to our brothers throughout the world. The purpose of the TWLF is to initiate discussion and develop programs pertinent to the needs of the Third World students. The TWLF of San Francisco State College has as its purpose to aid in further developing politically, economically, and culturally the revolutionary Third World consciousness of racist-oppressed peoples both on and off campus. As Third World students, as Third World people, as so-called minorities, we are being exploited to the fullest extent in this racist white America and we are therefore prepariang ourselves and our people for a prolonged struggle for freedom from this yoke of oppression.

The TWLF recognizes the struggles for freedom of non-white peoples around the world as a positive part of our educational processes. We are a third world organization. We adhere to the struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, ideologically, spiritually, and culturally.

We seek, as members of the TWLF of San Francisco State College, simply to function as human beings, to control our own destinies. Initially, following the myth of the American Dream, we worked too hard to attend predominantly white colleges, but we have learned through direct analysis that it is impossible for our people, so-called minorities, to function as human beings in a racist society in which white always comes first and anything else is synonomous with enemy, no matter what the attainment, educarional or otherwise. So we have decided to fuse ourselves with the masses of Third World people, which are the majority of the world's peoples, to create, through struggle, a new humanism, a New World Consciousness, and within that context collectively control our own destinies.

The TWLF will require various officers, coordinators, and staff, paid and voluntary. We will involve ourselves and be affiliated with other organizations and special projects which relate to our needs and objectives. We intend to present programs of Third World arts and thoughts in the Gallery Lounge and elsewhere, utilizing talents of the third world people both on and off campus.

We shall move to more closely associate ourselves with Third World communities to aid in organizing our people around the issues which directly affect their lives. We must also associate oursleves with the organizations which most directly relate to the needs of third world people. One final note on the development of the TWLF: we offer a positive program. We are not anti-white; we are anti-white-racist-oppression, and it is this powerful and just determinant that is the genesis of our movement, but the growth of the movement is affirmative: an affirmation of our humanity, our strength, our beauty, our dignity and our pride. Our programs are working programs. Our direction is revolutionary. Our method is organization. Our goal is Third World Power. Our essence is a New World Consciousness of oppressed peoples.

WHAT WE BELIEVE:

1. We believe that Black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We believe that the Federal Government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income.
We believe that if the White American Business man will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the business men and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We believe that this Racist Government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 Years ago as retribution for slave labor and mass murder of Black People. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered 6,000,000 Jews. The American Racist has taken part in the slaughter of over 50,000,000 Black People. Therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We believe that if the White landlords will not give decent housing to our Black community, then the housing and the land should be made into co-operatives so that our community, with government aide, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We believe that Black People should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a Racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like Black People, are being victimized by the White Racist Government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the Racist Police and the Racist Military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We believe we can end police brutality in our Black communities by organizing Black Self Defense groups that are dedicated to defending our Black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The second amendment of the constitution of the Unites States gives us a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all Black people should arm themselves for self defense.

8. We beleive all Black people should be released from the many jails all prisons because they not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We Believe that the courts should follow the United States constitution so that Black people will receive fair trails. The 14th amendment of the U.S. constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economical, social, religious, geographical, enviornmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the Black community from which the Black defendent came. We have been, and are being tried by all white juries that have no understanding of the "Average Reasoning Man" of the Black community.

10. When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to separation.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,-- That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute men government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes: and accordingly all experience hate shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuse and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under abosolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty. To throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

SUGGESTIONS FOR ARTICLE ON HOUSING

Montgomery would provide an excellent example of how various government projects are used by the local power structure at the Negroes' expense.

1. It should be shown how local real estate interests have banded together and predetermined certain decaying white areas to become Negro areas. There are three: (1) Virginia Avenue area -- North of Jeff Davis Avenue, (2) Kaye Street area -- between Court Street (white) and Cleveland Avenue (Negro), North of Marshall Street, and (3) Terrace Avenue, near the Negro college, Alabama State. Through interviews, case histories could be recorded of exhorbitant prices charged for these old houses. Conversely, there are isolated cases where prominent whites have arranged for their personal servants to come out very well. Fred Ball, prominent lawyer, has helped an aged seamstress, Georgia Brown, to purchase a good house on Virginia Avenue at little more than the amount she got for the one she lost to the Interstate.

2. There are two major Interstate Highways being built through town, largely through Negro residential areas.

Data should be obtained on the ratio of Negro ownership in the demolished houses as compared with untouched areas. On one street, Tuscaloosa Street, most of the well-to-do Negroes lived, and fought the losee of their homes for several years. The location of the Interstate seems to have been carefully planned to displace the largest number of Negro home owners.

3. The Houston Hill Urban Renewal Project took a large number of Negro homes many Negro owned. Mrs. Willease Simpson say they were promised the option of repurchase, but were not given it. Two new streets of homes were built, but contain only a fraction of the families displaced. The rest of the land is commercial. The new homes are for those in the upper income bracket in the Negro community, but border on undesirable businesses and are separated from them by high anchor fences.

4. A new low cost project of 500 homes was built on the outskirts of town in a low, almost swampy area, very inaccessible and almost impossible for people whose job demand irregular hours.

5. Levi Watkins, Negro President of Alabama State College, is a Wallace appointee, hated by the Negroes. He has

saved his professors' homes, but the rest of the area has been razed for enlargement of the college, all under a government grant.

6. It is said that some Negroes are awarded sums of about $4,000 for a house, then have welfare funds taken away until they use up the money they got for the house. It is not enough to buy another. (Mrs. Bert Will, Sr., bears such a case, but she has to be approached with caution, as she is a staunch segregationist).

The Office of the Urban Renewal Agency in Montgomery, (Mrs. Elizabeth Hobbie Wright, has all the data on number of families displaced and new units built.

An article covering the great change in the city due to these many government projects, and how the Negro is suffering from it, could make good reading.

THE CONTINUING CRISIS. A report on race-related violence in the South, published jointly by SRC and the American Jewish Committee. .60

Bulk .40

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH. County-by-county registration figures by race for seven southern states as of summer and late summer of 1966. NC

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION 1966: THE SLOW UNDOING. An examination of school desegregation in the twelfth year since the Supreme Court decision against racially separate schools. Includes a narrative account of the southern assault on the federal guidelines and a critique of the guidelines' potential. .40

Bulk .30

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN THE SOUTH. Statistical analysis. .30

Bulk .20

IN THEIR OWN WORDS. A student appraisal of what happened after school desegregation in Alabama. .75

Bulk .60

CORRECTIONAL

Name of Institution

_____

1a. Number of custodial employees in your institution, or institutions, under your control.

| | WHITE | NEGRO | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| Guards | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Matrons | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Supervisors | _____ | _____ | _____ |

b. Other than guards, please indicate the numbers and race of the following employees in your institution, or institutions under your control.

| | WHITE | NEGRO | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| Clerical | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Administrators | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Instructors | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Other (specify) | _____ | _____ | _____ |

2. Do you have?

| | WHITE | NEGRO | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chaplains | | | |
| Full time | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Part time | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Doctors | | | |
| Full time | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Part time | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Counselors (Case Workers and/or Social Workers) | | | |
| Full time | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Part time | _____ | _____ | _____ |

| | WHITE | NEGRO | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| Psychiatrists and/or Psychologists | | | |
| Full time | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Part time | _____ | _____ | _____ |

3. What is the prisoner population of your facility, or facilities under your control?

| | WHITE | NEGRO | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prisoners: | _____ | _____ | _____ |

4. Please check those programs that are currently in effect at your institution, or institutions under your control.

( ) Literacy training

( ) High school program (opportunity for inmate to get a diploma or certificate)

( ) Correspondence courses

Which?

( ) Technical

( ) Elementary school level

( ) Secondary school level

( ) College level

( ) Other (please specify on back of this sheet)

# Grants to Cooperating agencies

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Royal Knights Foundation | 300.00<br>200.00 | 500.00 |
| New Bethel Methodist Church | 250.00 | 250.00 |
| Clay County Community Development Program | 10,000.00 | 10,000.00 |
| American Friends Service Comm. | 500.00<br>1000.00<br>2,500.00 | 4,000.00 |
| Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education | 500.00 | 500.00 |
| The Vine City Foundation, Inc. | 211.75<br>75.00 | 286.75 |
| S. W. Intergroup Relations Council, Inc. | 2,500.00 | 2,500.00 |
| Golden age Enterprises | 50.00 | 50.00 |
| Race Relations Information Center | 2,000.00 | 2,000.00 |
| Economic Dev. Corp. | 250.00 | 250.00 |
| National Endowment for the Humanities | 2,000.00 | 2,000.00 |
| Harold Martin | 2,000.00 | 2,000.00 |
| Joan Titus | 1,500.00 | 1,500.00 |
| | | 25,836.75 |

# State Councils on Human Relations

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | | 4,000.00<br>4,000.00 | 8,000.00 |
| Arkansas | | 5,000.00<br>5,000.00 | 10,000.00 |
| Florida | | | |
| Georgia | | 4,000.00<br>4,000.00 | 8,000.00 |
| Miss. | 6,000. | 6,000.00<br>3,350.00 | 15,350.00 |
| S.C. | 2,000. | 6,000.00<br>6,000.00 | 14,000.00 |
| Virginia | | 5,000.00<br>5,000.00<br>1,000.00 | 11,000.00 |
| Tenn. | | 5,000.00<br>1,300.00<br>5,000.00 | 10,300.00 |
| | | | 76,650.00 |

Grants in aid to State Councils on Human Relations – 1970

Service Centers

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Clark College | 9,047.44 | |
| | 4,038.74 | 13,086.18 |
| Miles College | 10,623.39 | 10,623.39 |
| Ala. University System | 3,757.76 | |
| | 9,598.87 | 13,355.63 |
| Talladega College | 3,156.58 | 3,156.58 |
| | | 40,221.78 |

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add. Grants to Cooperating

VEP Grants 55,

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Bal. 13,

161,500.

Foundations 814,392
organ. 300
Ind. 12,546

121,166 —

70,964

50,202

836 75

10,500

75,650

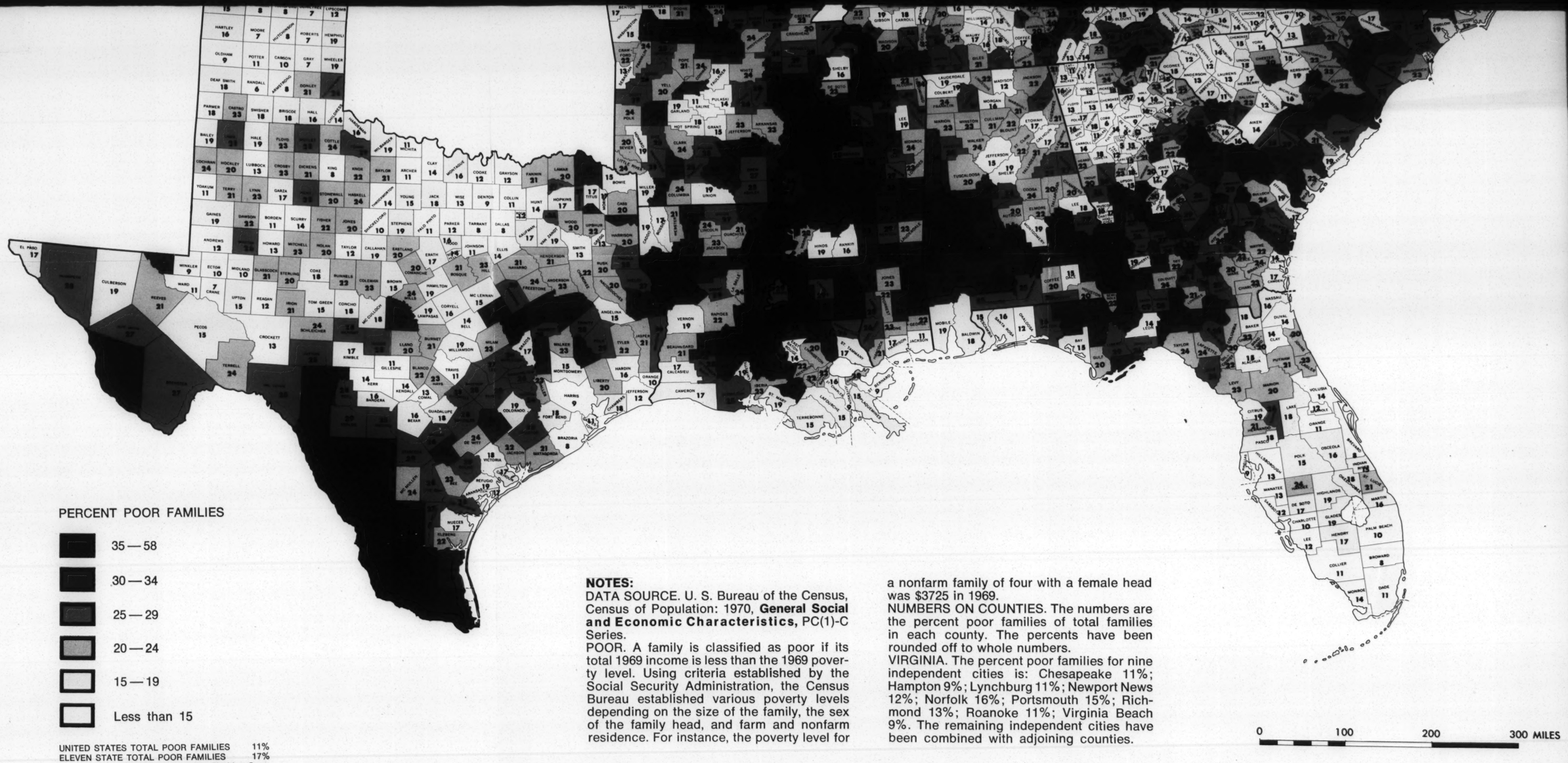
add Service centers: 6,74,64.

# THE OTHER TWENTY PERCENT:

## A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF POVERTY IN THE SOUTH

BY GRETCHEN MACLACHLAN

# POOR FAMILIES AS PERCENT OF ALL FAMILIES
## Counties of Eleven Southern States: 1969




PERCENT POOR FAMILIES

- 35 — 58
- 30 — 34
- 25 — 29
- 20 — 24
- 15 — 19
- Less than 15

UNITED STATES TOTAL POOR FAMILIES 11%
ELEVEN STATE TOTAL POOR FAMILIES 17%
(Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.)

**NOTES:**

DATA SOURCE. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, **General Social and Economic Characteristics,** PC(1)-C Series.

POOR. A family is classified as poor if its total 1969 income is less than the 1969 poverty level. Using criteria established by the Social Security Administration, the Census Bureau established various poverty levels depending on the size of the family, the sex of the family head, and farm and nonfarm residence. For instance, the poverty level for a nonfarm family of four with a female head was $3725 in 1969.

NUMBERS ON COUNTIES. The numbers are the percent poor families of total families in each county. The percents have been rounded off to whole numbers.

VIRGINIA. The percent poor families for nine independent cities is: Chesapeake 11%; Hampton 9%; Lynchburg 11%; Newport News 12%; Norfolk 16%; Portsmouth 15%; Richmond 13%; Roanoke 11%; Virginia Beach 9%. The remaining independent cities have been combined with adjoining counties.

**PUBLISHED BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, OCTOBER, 1973**

# THE OTHER TWENTY PERCENT:

# A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF POVERTY IN THE SOUTH

BY GRETCHEN MACLACHLAN

December, 1974

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Price: $3.00 single copy; bulk rate, $2.50

# INTRODUCTION

In a time of economic recession and inflation the persistence of poverty in the South takes on special significance. Inflation in the South, for instance, has grown at a higher rate than in the nation as a whole. Moreover, the method of computing those in poverty fails to take into account an extremely important factor. Items in family budgets which had the most rapid price increase—food, housing, transportation—constitute a far greater share of poor people's expenditures than of those in middle income groups. Poverty levels established in 1964-65 are updated each year to reflect changes in the cost of living by the increase in the *total* consumer price index. But beginning in 1972, accelerating in 1973 and 1974 the price increase in the items for which the poor spend their money has been greater than in the total index. What this means is that since 1972 the number of actual poor has been understated and that as inflation continues, especially in food prices, the number will continue to be understated.

This study, essentially a statistical analysis of regional poverty data derived from the 1970 Census, illustrates that well before the present crisis in the nation's economy the South had a larger proportional share of the nation's poor than the remaining 39 states. It is also clear that a significantly large number of Southerners, not classified as poor, were living on incomes that put them perilously close to poverty levels.

The census of 1970, we would point out, represented the first time that the Census Bureau had collected poverty data on the scale reported here. Our purpose in presenting an examination of the regional data is to identify the South's poor in detail in order to provide a statistical base for remedial action. Several major findings, with broad policy implications, emerge from our analysis.

- Poverty among Southern blacks, as has historically been the case, remains more intense than among whites, although in absolute numbers more whites are poor than blacks.
- Poverty rates in rural areas, not unexpectedly, were uniformly higher than in urban areas.
- The percentage of poor families headed by females was far greater than those headed by males. Black female headed families are particularly vulnerable. As a result, the South's poverty bears heavily on the children of the region, since most female-headed families—of both races—contain children.
- Work is no guarantee against poverty. The majority of Southern poor, in fact, do work, but do not earn enough to raise their families' income above poverty levels.
- The industrial structure of the South in 1970 was more heavily concentrated in low wage industries than was true in the rest of the nation.
- Only a very small percentage of Southern families received public assistance in 1970. All states defined need at levels lower than the federally established poverty line. In most Southern states maximum payments were far below even the states' own established need levels. The result of such policies was inevitable: public assistance helped only a small fraction of the poor to move out of poverty.
- Although overall the rate of participation in Social Security by the South's elderly was only slightly below that of the elderly in the rest of the nation, participation among elderly blacks was far below national averages. This was so because elderly blacks during their work years were heavily concentrated in domestic work and farm labor, jobs that only during the past two decades have come under the Social Security Act.

• Southerners have received less formal education than the nation's population as a whole. Among the poor the percentage with a high school education is still alarmingly low.

Detailed policy recommendations to reach the causes of regional poverty are beyond the scope of the present study, but the need for certain broad measures is clear.

Public education in the South should provide for equitable financing of schools in order to bring a higher quality of education to children in poverty areas.

There must be adequate funds for manpower programs that will enhance individual earning opportunities, improve productivity and contribute to economic development. Such programs should not only meet labor market demands, but provide special assistance to persons living in rural areas and in urban ghettos, to women, to youth, to minorities who have for so long borne the penalties of employment discrimination These programs should be linked with governmental economic development policies that will influence the location of jobs in poverty-heavy areas.

Social welfare programs should be focused toward bringing both the working poor and those not in the labor force to at least a minimum needs level, preferably to be determined by the federal government, on a uniform basis rather than by states. Existing programs should be strengthened, outreach efforts undertaken to enroll those eligible. For, almost by definition, the poor among us are those who benefit inadequately and inequitably from the normal workings of the economic and social order.

There remains the danger, however, in a period of national economic crisis that the problems of those at the very bottom of the economic ladder will be exacerbated. Programs designed to aid the poor have never been popular among the affluent, and today there are voices in the land calling for drastic cutbacks in social welfare programs as a panacea for halting inflation. We do not pretend to have the solution to the nation's current economic perplexities. But we do not believe that in a compassionate nation, at a time when more people—not fewer—will likely need the services of such programs that acceptable answers are to be found in penalizing those most victimized by, and least responsible for, the hard times that now beset us all.

Nor, finally, will the best interests of society be served by penalties that prevent those same people from finding a productive role. Back of each statistic in our report are flesh and blood people, adults who have never known any existence other than that of harsh, and shattering poverty, children whose childhoods are being needlessly blighted and whose potential for growth into useful citizens is being jeopardized, the elderly who are victims of their own failing strength and of society's indifference. Seen in such a light the statistics here take on a new and terrifying reality.

We present our data, then, with the hope that policymakers at every level of government and in the private sector will use it as the basis for formulation of policies and programs that both respond to basic human needs and open up opportunities for a full share in a productive society.

George Esser
Executive Director

Harry Bowie
Associate Director

# CONTENTS

**INTRODUCTION**

**DATA SOURCES** 4

**CHAPTER I**
**Residence and Poverty** 5

**CHAPTER II**
**The Working Poor** 14

**CHAPTER III**
**Poor Southern Families with Children** 31

**CHAPTER IV**
**The Elderly Poor in the South** 39

**CHAPTER V**
**Family Income and the Poverty Line** 46

**APPENDIX A**
**The Spanish-American Poor Population in Florida and Texas: A Special Note** 52

**APPENDIX B**
**Definitions** 53

**MAPS**

**Poor Families as Percent of All Families** **Front Cover**

**Rural Population as Percent of Total Population** **28-29**

**Black Population as Percent of Total Population** **Back Cover**

# DATA SOURCES

The majority of data used in this report was derived from the 1970 Census of Population—either from the printed reports or computer summary tapes. The printed reports primarily used were:

U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, *General Social and Economic Characteristics,* PC(1)-C Series and *Detailed Characteristics,* PC (1)-D Series.

These will be referred to in the table sources as *General Social and Economic Characteristics* and *Detailed Characteristics* with further reference to the U. S. Summary and/or state volumes and to the Census tables from which these tables were computed.

The computer summary tapes used were the Fourth Count Summary Tapes which contain state summaries for data about the characteristics of the poor population among other subjects. In the table sources these tapes will be referred to as 4th Count Tapes. For a detailed description of the content and technical nature of the tapes see:

U. S. Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census Users' Guide,* 1970, Part II.

All other sources, including the 1970 Census, are fully noted in the table sources.

Data in the text with source references such as Table 1, Table 5, etc. refer to full tables which follow each chapter.

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Research assistance and statistical computations were performed by Robert Nader, Elaine Gilliard, and Janet Warner.

Maps by Marge Manderson.

# CHAPTER I RESIDENCE AND POVERTY

## SUMMARY


1. *With only 25 percent of the nation's total population, the South contained 38 percent of the nation's poverty population.*
2. *The South's poverty rate was twice that of the remaining 39 states.*
3. *While in* absolute numbers *more poor families were headed by white males than any other race/sex grouping, the incidence of poverty was highest among black female-headed families. Two out of three such families in the South were poor, while one out of ten white male-headed families were poor.*
4. *The difference in poverty incidence between the South and the non-South was greatest for black males—nearly three times as severe in the South. Female-headed families showed little regional variation.*
5. *A larger percentage of the Southern poor (85 percent) were members of families than was true outside the South (74 percent) and a larger proportion of these Southern poor families were headed by males than in the non-South.*
6. *By residence type the highest poverty rate in the South was in rural areas—nearly one quarter of all families. But over half of black families in rural Southern areas were poor compared to 17 percent for rural Southern white families.*
7. *Poverty rates in Southern counties ranged from lows of four percent in two suburban Virginia counties to a high of 58 percent in Jefferson County, Mississippi.*
8. *Black families in Southern urban fringe areas were the least poor of all black residential groupings, but their poverty rate was higher than that of rural white families, the poorest white residential group. Black poverty incidence was three to four times that of whites in the same residential places.*
9. *The poverty incidence between urban and rural female-headed families was relatively slight compared to a nearly two-fold difference for male-headed families.*
10. *Poor families headed by females were more concentrated in urban areas than those headed by males, at least two-thirds compared to less than half of male heads.*
11. *The variation in poverty among Southern states ranged from a high in Mississippi of 30 percent to a low in Florida and Virginia of 12 to 13 percent. Black rates ranged from 2.5 to 4.3 times white rates in the Southern states.*


In 1970 there were 27 million poor people[1] in the United States and ten million of them lived in the eleven states of the South.[2] Thus, while the South contained 25 percent of the nation's population, it contained 38 percent of its poor (Table 1). Such a disproportion resulted in a Southern poverty rate[3] of 21 percent compared to a national rate of 14 percent.

The intensity of the South's poverty is more apparent still when its 21 percent rate is compared to the eleven percent rate of the remaining 39 states. In brief, the South's poverty rate was double that of the non-South's.

Poverty Rates, the Non-South and the South, 1970*

| | Non-South | South | So./Non.S.** |
|---|---|---|---|
| All persons | 11 | 21 | 1.9 |
| Children | 12 | 24 | 2.1 |
| Unrelated individuals | | | |
| 18-64 years | 28 | 36 | 1.3 |
| 65 years or over | 48 | 62 | 1.3 |
| Families | 9 | 17 | 1.9 |
| Head 18-64 years | 8 | 15 | 1.9 |
| Head 65 yrs. or over | 15 | 30 | 2.0 |
| White head | 8 | 12 | 1.5 |
| Black head | 21 | 41 | 2.0 |
| Male head | 6 | 13 | 2.2 |
| Female head | 29 | 43 | 1.5 |

*The Census data was collected in April, 1970. The determination of poverty was on the basis of the 1969 income. This is the case for the other tables in this report.
**Ratio of the Southern poverty rate to the non-Southern rate.
Source: Computed from Tables 1 and 2.

[1]The poverty population are those whose income in 1969 fell below poverty levels (See Appendix B). The basis of the definition is the Department of Agriculture's economy food plan which is designed for *"emergency or temporary use when funds are low."* This diet is not meant for sustained and permanent use. In addition the diet is deficient in several nutrients (See *Hunger U.S.A. Revisited, A Report by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States;* the Southern Regional Council, and the National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition). This inadequate diet is priced and that amount is multiplied by three to derive a monetary value which is the poverty level. Various levels, depending on size of family and so on, are priced to derive the various poverty levels. Families who live on farms are assumed to raise part of their food, therefore their poverty levels are figured at 85 percent of the nonfarm level. This is in spite of the fact that the farm family may not be raising food. An alternative method of setting living standards is described in Chapter 5. This method, that of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, defines a minimum level according to a mix of goods and services and not just a food plan.

[2]Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

[3]The terms *poverty incidence* and *poverty rate* are used interchangeably and refer to the percent of a group who are poor, whose income falls below the poverty level appropriate to their characteristics. Throughout the report the distinction between "rate" and "absolute numbers" should be remembered.

Moreover, as the figures below illustrate, poverty rates for various population groups in the region also were approximately twice that of those outside the region.

Those persons not attached to families (unrelated individuals) were the group least affected by a regional differential.[4] Families headed by whites and families headed by females show less regional differential in poverty rates than the average, but families headed by blacks and families headed by males[5] show more.

When race and sex of the family head are considered together the greatest Southern differential in poverty rates is shown for black male-headed families—nearly three times that of the non-Southern rate.

Poverty Rates by Race and Sex of Family Head, the Non-South and the South, 1970

| Family head | Non-South | South | So./Non-S.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| White male | 6 | 10 | 1.7 |
| White female | 25 | 30 | 1.2 |
| Black male | 12 | 33 | 2.8 |
| Black female | 46 | 64 | 1.4 |

*Ratio of the South poverty rate to the non-South rate.
Source: Non-South, computed from Table 2; South, Table 3.

The poverty rate for Southern black male-headed families contrasted to their counterparts outside the South is higher than would be expected from a regional difference alone. The relative poverty of black male-headed families in the South is also shown by their place in the ranking of poverty rates. In the South they are slightly more subject to poverty than white female-headed families, but in the non-South were half as subject to poverty as white female-headed families.

The regional variations in poverty rates should not detract from the facts of the rates within the South. The incidence of poverty among white male-headed families was one in ten; among white female and black male-headed families, about one in three; but for black female-headed families, *two out of three.*

The poverty rate for black female-headed families showed less regional difference than male-headed families' rates. Their rate is, however, the most severe within the region—twice as high as those for white female and black male-headed families and over six times that of white male-headed families. The rates for white female-headed families showed the least regional differential, but within the South were still three times as high as white male-headed families.

The higher poverty rates for blacks and for women, at the very least, indicate a need for more anti-discrimination activities in the South—increased enforcement of current statutes, passage of anti-discrimination legislation in jurisdictions where none exist, more diligently implemented affirmative action plans for public and private employers.

## Composition of the Poor Population in the South and the Non-South

The poor population in the nation was in large part comprised of the very young and the old. In absolute numbers poor family heads were most often white and/or male. This was true for the South and for the rest of the nation. However, the profile of the poor in the South was not the same as in the rest of the nation. Relatively more of the Southern poor were family members compared to the non-South. Among the poor of the South were proportionally more children and non-elderly adults.

Composition of the Poor Population, the Non-South and the South, 1970

| | Non-South | South |
|---|---|---|
| In families | 74% | 85% |
| Children | 36 | 41 |
| 18-64 years | 29 | 35 |
| 65 yrs. or over | 8 | 9 |
| Not in families | 26 | 15 |
| 18-64 years | 14 | 7 |
| 65 years or over | 13 | 8 |
| | 100% | 100% |
| Total, in millions | 16.9 | 10.3 |

Source: Computed from Table 1.

In view of the hard pressed circumstances of poor families, that 85 percent of the Southern poor remain within families is remarkable. There are advantageous aspects to this: income maximizing may be easier for groups than for individuals, public aid can be more efficient when it is combined with other income sources within the family, and the need for separate institutions for the poor (such as homes for the aged) may be smaller than if more poor were not in families.

Although proportionally fewer whites were heads of poor families in the South than in the non-South, they were still a majority of poor family heads. Of poor Southern families 1.3 million were white and 0.9 million, black and 39,000 other races.[6] Male-headed families were more prevalent among the South's poor

[1]Among the Southern poor were 762,000 unrelated individuals under 65 years, including over a half million whites. The group is diverse including some of the young whose status will certainly change as they mature, those who have taken vows of poverty (the religious), the migrant workers who have little chance of escaping poverty, and others. The poverty incidence for the whites was 36 percent and the blacks, 52 percent. Although their poverty is severe they comprise a small proportion of the South's total poor persons, 7 percent, thus will not be analyzed further in this report. Table 11 shows the number or poor and poverty rate by race for these non-elderly unrelated individuals in the eleven Southern states.

[5]Husband-wife families are classified by the Census as male-headed regardless of other factors, hence the vast majority of male-headed families are husband-wife families. In female-headed families there are no husbands present.

[6]Because of the relatively small numbers of Indians in the Census South (42,000 families) it is more difficult to make extensive regional generalizations about their poverty status. Over one-fourth of all Indian families within the United States reside in the Census South. Their poverty incidence is similar to that for Indians in the total U.S. But the rate for both is extremely high, reflecting the grave economic difficulties faced by Indians. Of Indian families in the Census South, 32 percent were poor; in urban areas, 21 percent; and in rural areas, about 40 percent. Spanish-Americans are discussed in Appendix A; the vast majority are included in the Tables with whites since that is their racial classification. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Populaton; 1970, *American Indians*, PC(2)-1F.

families than the non-South's. Considering race and sex of the family head together, there were two major differences between the South and non-South. In the South a greater proportion, by far, of poor families were headed by black males (24 percent) than in the non-South (7 percent). A smaller proportion of Southern poor families were headed by white females than in the non-South (13 percent compared to 24 percent).

Race and Sex of Poor Family Heads, the Non-South and the South, 1970

| Family head | Non-South | South |
|---|---|---|
| White male | 56% | 46% |
| White female | 24 | 13 |
| Total white | 80 | 59 |
| Black male | 7 | 24 |
| Black female | 11 | 16 |
| Total black | 18 | 41 |
| Other races | 2 | * |
| | 100% | 100% |
| Total, in millions | 3.3 | 2.1 |

*less than 0.5 percent.
Source: Computed from Table 2.

Families headed by white males make up the largest portion of poor family heads in the South, though relatively much less than in the total Southern population (46 percent compared to 76 percent[7]). However, this is not to down-play the fact that blacks make up a much greater share of the Southern poor than non-Southern. No family type is spared the impact of poverty.

## Locational Aspects of Poverty in the South

Like the regional variation in the national poverty profile, within the South the incidence of poverty varies by residence and the distribution of the poor population is different from that of the total population.

The map on the inside of the front cover shows the variation among Southern counties in the percent of the population that was poor in 1970. The range is from a low of 4 percent in Henrico County, Virginia (Richmond suburbs) and Fairfax County, Virginia (Washington suburb) to a high of 58 percent for Jefferson County, Mississippi (100 percent rural). Within the South definite sub-regions with high incidence of poverty exist —most of the state of Mississippi; the coastal plains of the Carolinas and Georgia; the mountain counties of North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee; south Texas; substantial sections of Arkansas and Louisiana adjacent to the Mississippi river, but not confined to those locations; southern Alabama; and north Florida. In each of the eleven states a geographical concentration of counties with high poverty rates is apparent. These regions only to a limited degree can be characterized as rural areas.

Using counties as the units for the map tends to place more importance on area (land) than on population. The rates for many counties are high but many of these counties have few people. The central city counties, on the other hand, have lower rates of poverty than rural counties, by and large, but they have much more population. These counties containing the largest cities are mostly shaded yellow, but if the data were disaggregated for neighborhoods, sections of the cities where the poor were concentrated would fall into the heavier poverty ranges and would consequently be darker than yellow.

The map in the centerfold shows for Southern counties the proportion of the population that was rural. There is less of a pattern on the rural map than on the poverty map. The highest poverty incidence counties (reds) include counties from each of the various rural percent ranges. The explanation for this dissimilarity is found in the data on poverty rates by residence.

By residence the highest poverty rate in the South was in rural areas—nearly one-quarter of all families. The lowest rate was in the urban fringe—8 percent. The rate for the central cities was less than the regional rate and that for smaller towns about the same as the regional average.

The one-quarter poverty rate for all families living in rural areas is much lower than the extremely high poverty rates for individual counties—especially the darkest red—shown on the map. However, when the poverty incidence is examined according to both the residence and race of families, the maps are more understandable.

Poverty Rates For Families by Race and Residence in the South, 1970

| | Total | White | Black |
|---|---|---|---|
| Urbanized areas* | | | |
| Central cities | 15% | 9% | 32% |
| Urban fringe | 8 | 6 | 29 |
| Other urban | | | |
| 10,000-49,999 | 16 | 11 | 41 |
| 2,500-9,999 | 18 | 13 | 45 |
| Rural | 23 | 17 | 52 |

*See Appendix B for definition.
Source: Tables 4 and 5.

These data reveal that *over half of black families in rural areas were poor*. This percentage is in line with the extremely high poverty rates on the poverty map. In these areas there is also a high proportion of black residents. The map on the inside of the back cover shows for Southern counties the percent of the population that was black. There is a fairly high degree of correspondence between the black population map and the poverty map in the areas of darkest hues (reds and blues). There are several notable exceptions on the poverty map that are not heavily black—southern Texas (high percentages of Spanish-Americans) and

[7]Table 2.

the Appalachian counties (areas of poor whites).

Other comparisons between white and black families for other residence places show that black rates are three to four times higher than white rates in the same place. The least poor black residential group, the urban fringe, has a higher poverty rate than the most poor white residential group, rural. Blacks in every residential place have rates so much higher than whites that location alone is not a sufficient discriminator in describing poverty.

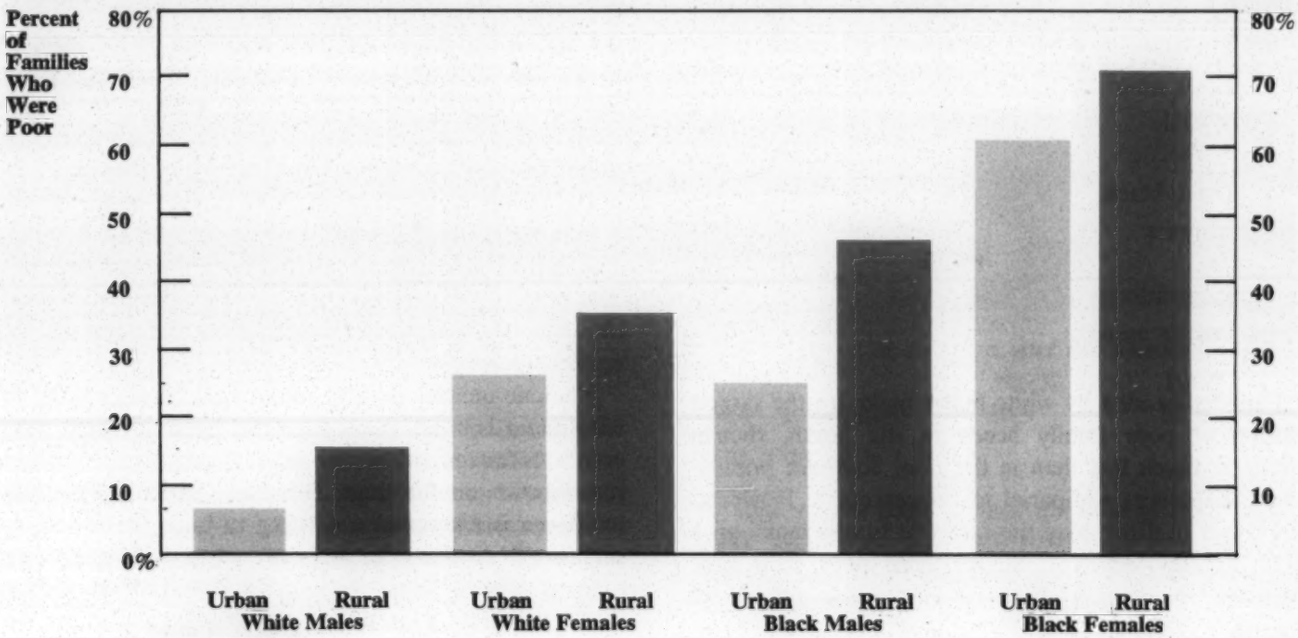
Residence of All Families and Poor Families by Race in the South, 1970

| | All | Poor | Poor White | Poor Black |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Urban | 65% | 52% | 48% | 57% |
| Urbanized areas | 45 | 32 | 29 | 36 |
| Other urban | 20 | 20 | 19 | 21 |
| Rural | 36 | 48 | 52 | 43 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

Source: Tables 7 and 8.

**CHART 1**

**POVERTY INCIDENCE IN THE SOUTH FOR FAMILIES BY RACE, SEX, AND RESIDENCE OF FAMILY HEAD, 1970**




**Source: Table 6.**

It was mentioned earlier that there was a smaller regional differential in poverty rates for female-headed families than male. Within the South this was also the case for urban-rural poverty rate differentials. The poverty rates for rural families headed by males were about twice those of urban areas. But for families headed by females the differential was less.

Poverty Rates by Race and Sex and Residence in the South, 1970

| Family head | Urban | Rural | Rural/Urban |
|---|---|---|---|
| White male | 7 | 16 | 2.3 |
| White female | 27 | 36 | 1.3 |
| Black male | 25 | 47 | 1.9 |
| Black female | 61 | 71 | 1.2 |

Source: Table 6.

Though rural poverty *rates* are higher than urban ones for all groups, the urban poor, nevertheless, make up the greatest number of poor. Of all Southern families in 1970 more lived in urbanized areas compared to smaller urban places or rural areas. However, a greater percentage of the poor lived in rural areas than the total population, about the same percentage in smaller urban places, and relatively fewer, in urbanized areas.

However, the residence pattern of the poor was not the same for whites and blacks. Poor black families were somewhat less likely than poor white families to be rural residents.

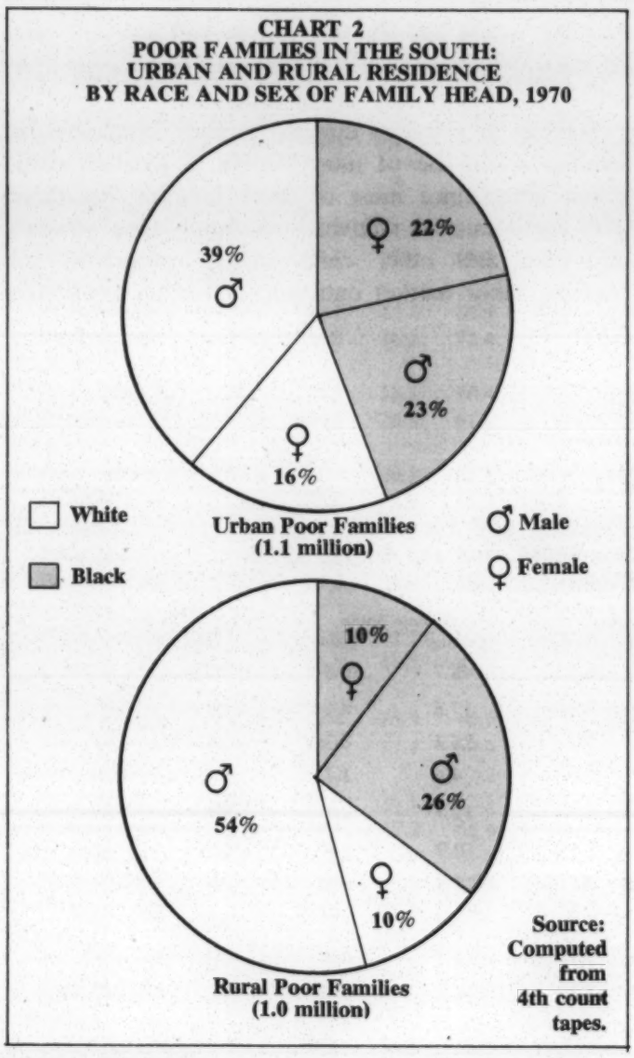
Poor families headed by females were more concentrated in urban areas than families headed by poor males. At least two-thirds of female-headed poor families lived in urban places compared to less than half of similar families headed by males.

Residence of Poor Families by Race and Sex in the South, 1970

| Family head | Urban | Rural |
|---|---|---|
| White male | 44% | 56% |
| White female | 64 | 36 |
| Black male | 48 | 52 |
| Black female | 70 | 30 |

Source: Table 9.

Over half of both white male and black male-headed poor families were rural residents. Seven out of ten poor families headed by black females and two out of three headed by white females were urban residents. Hence nearly opposite residence patterns exist for poor males and for poor females.




## Some Variations in Poverty Across the Southern States

In the preceding discussion and in the remainder of this report the emphasis is on poverty in the eleven Southern states considered together. The same data for each of the individual states is available in the tables which follow each section. By and large the observations about the region are applicable to the states, but readers are encouraged to use the tables to verify this for the states in which they have an interest. Some important differences between the states will be touched upon briefly here.

The variation in poverty between the states is considerable. The poverty incidence for families varied from a high in Mississippi of three out of every ten to a low in Florida and Virginia of 12-13 percent (Table 10). The numbers of poor, depending on the size of the total population, were as high as over two million in Texas and over one million in Florida, in spite of relatively low poverty incidences.

The states vary considerably according to the population's urban and rural residence. Although a greater proportion of the poor in every state were rural residents than the total population, the magnitude of the rural percent depended on how urban or rural the state was (Table 7). In the highly urban states, Florida and Texas, only about three out of ten poor were rural residents. In the most rural states, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Arkansas, nearly two-thirds of the poor were rural residents. In those states that were neither heavily urban nor rural, the poor were divided more or less evenly between urban and rural areas. There is more diversity between the states regarding the residence than other aspects of the poor population.

The poverty incidence for blacks across the Southern states was always much higher than that for whites. For the region, the black poverty incidence was 3.5 times as great as for whites (41 percent to 12 percent). Among the states there was a wide racial disparity[8] in terms of family poverty. For the individual states black family poverty incidence was 2.5 to 4.3 times as great as white families. The disparity was greatest within South Carolina where black families were 4.3 times more likely to be poor than white families (Table 10). Four other states with greater disparity than the region were Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi. The states with the lowest disparity between the races were Tennessee and Texas but blacks were still 2.5 times more likely to be poor than whites.

## Economic Development

These facts about location and the race and sex of the family head have implications for economic development activities. An overall economic improvement in the South is essential. Yet it will not necessarily change the relative poverty rates between the four family-head groups unless other types of activities are undertaken.[9] Economic development activity confined to specific areas will benefit groups selectively.

Rural development will have the most chance of affecting the economic future of male-headed families as opposed to female-headed ones. Whether the policies would favor one race over the other depends to a great degree on the particular areas chosen for development. If the areas were heavily white, benefits would cause a reduction in the white male-headed family poverty rate, the group already with the lowest rate. This would result in relatively worsening the comparison between white males and the three other family-head types. If the areas were heavily black, black male-headed

[8]Statistically, racial disparity is measured by computing the ratio of black values to white values. Thus the ratio of the black poverty rate to the white poverty rate indicates a disparity between the races in the impact of poverty. A ratio of 1.0 indicates equivalent poverty rates for blacks and whites; a ratio of 2.0 that the black rate is twice the white rate and so on. For other discussions and uses see: Jack L. Bullard and Robert J. Smith, *Community Conditions in Charlotte, 1970*, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Community Relations Committee, 1974, and Michael J. Flax, *Blacks and Whites, An Experiment in Racial Indicators*, The Urban Institute.

[9]The economic improvements in the decade of the sixties which resulted in the number of poor being reduced substantially, principally affected male-headed families. The number of families in poverty was reduced from 1959 to 1968 by over 50 percent for white male and black male-headed families, by 17 percent for white female-headed families, and was *increased bq 34 percent for black female-headed families*. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, "Poverty in the United States: 1959 to 1968," Series P-60, No. 68, 1969, page 3.

families' poverty rate would drop. This would improve the relative position of blacks vis-a-vis whites in the South. It would also improve the poverty comparison of black male-headed families in the South with counterparts in the non-South (the group which had the greatest regional differential in poverty rates).

Rural economic development in heavily black areas would also improve the earning potential of black women. This would primarily benefit husband-wife, that is by census definition male-headed, families. Whatever benefits accrued to rural black female-headed families would not change the overall poverty rates of black female-headed families very much since they are so overwhelmingly urban residents.

Services or activities directed to poor female-headed families would be of most benefit if located within urban areas since most of these families live there. This includes such activities as family-type services, day care and other child-centered programs, job training, labor market outreach, and other supportive services.

**TABLE 1**

**Poverty Status of Persons, Families, and Unrelated Individuals, the United States, the Non-South, and the South, 1970**
**(Numbers in millions)**

| | United States | | Non-South | | 11-State South | | % in South | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Poor | Total | Poor | Total | Poor | Total | Poor |
| All Persons | 198.1 | 27.1 | 149.4 | 16.7 | 48.7 | 10.3 | 25% | 38% |
| Children* | 69.9 | 10.4 | 52.3 | 6.1 | 17.6 | 4.2 | 25 | 41 |
| Less than 65 years | 108.9 | 11.6 | 82.5 | 7.2 | 26.4 | 4.3 | 24 | 37 |
| 65 years or older | 19.2 | 5.2 | 14.6 | 3.5 | 4.6 | 1.7 | 24 | 34 |
| All Families | 51.2 | 5.5 | 38.5 | 3.3 | 12.7 | 2.1 | 25 | 39 |
| Head less than 65 | 44.1 | 4.1 | 33.3 | 2.5 | 10.9 | 1.6 | 25 | 38 |
| Head 65 or older | 7.1 | 1.3 | 5.2 | 0.8 | 1.8 | 0.6 | 26 | 41 |
| Unrelated Individuals | 16.1 | 5.9 | 12.7 | 4.4 | 3.4 | 1.5 | 21 | 26 |
| Less than 65 years | 10.4 | 3.1 | 8.3 | 2.3 | 2.1 | 0.8 | 20 | 25 |
| 65 years or older | 5.7 | 2.9 | 4.4 | 2.1 | 1.2 | 0.8 | 22 | 27 |

*Related children, under 18 years, living at home.
Source: Computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, PC(1)-C1, Tables 159, 182.

**TABLE 2**

**Poverty Status of Family Heads by Race and Sex, the United States, the Non-South, and the South, 1970**
**(Numbers in millions)**

| | United States | | Non-South | | 11-state South | | % in South | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Poor | Total | Poor | Total | Poor | Total | Poor |
| All family heads | 51.2 | 5.5 | 38.5 | 3.3 | 12.7 | 2.1 | 25 | 38 |
| White | 45.8 | 3.9 | 35.2 | 2.7 | 10.5 | 1.3 | 23 | 33 |
| Black | 4.9 | 1.5 | 2.7 | 0.6 | 2.1 | 0.9 | 43 | 60 |
| Other races | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.5 | 0.1 | * | * | — | — |
| Male | 45.7 | 3.7 | 34.5 | 2.2 | 11.2 | 1.5 | 25 | 41 |
| Female | 5.5 | 1.8 | 4.0 | 1.1 | 1.5 | 0.6 | 27 | 33 |
| White male | 41.6 | 2.9 | 32.0 | 1.9 | 9.6 | 1.0 | 23 | 35 |
| White female | 4.1 | 1.1 | 3.2 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.3 | 22 | 27 |
| Black male | 3.5 | 0.7 | 2.0 | 0.2 | 1.6 | 0.5 | 46 | 71 |
| Black female | 1.3 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 39 | 43 |

*Less than 50,000.
Source: Computed from 1970 Census of Population, Fourth Count Summary Tapes and National Planning Data Corporation, *Demographics* USA, 1972.

## TABLE 3
### Families by Race and Sex of Family Head: Distribution of Poor Families and Poverty Rate, 1970

| | White Male % | White Female % | Black Male % | Black Female % | Total Percent* | Total Number (000) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 46.0 | 12.9 | 24.3 | 16.4 | 99.6 | 181 |
| Poverty rate | 11.9 | 32.1 | 38.4 | 68.9 | | |
| Arkansas | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 56.6 | 10.1 | 22.2 | 10.9 | 99.8 | 115 |
| Poverty rate | 16.4 | 34.0 | 46.5 | 72.4 | | |
| Florida | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 50.1 | 14.9 | 18.1 | 16.4 | 99.5 | 229 |
| Poverty rate | 7.9 | 24.6 | 26.5 | 61.2 | | |
| Georgia | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 37.6 | 11.5 | 29.3 | 21.5 | 99.9 | 192 |
| Poverty rate | 8.8 | 27.4 | 31.9 | 59.7 | | |
| Louisiana | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 34.0 | 9.4 | 34.0 | 22.4 | 99.8 | 188 |
| Poverty rate | 10.8 | 30.8 | 38.9 | 70.2 | | |
| Mississippi | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 31.7 | 6.9 | 41.1 | 20.0 | 99.7 | 154 |
| Poverty rate | 14.3 | 33.7 | 53.2 | 77.2 | | |
| North Carolina | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 42.9 | 12.4 | 25.9 | 16.9 | 98.1 | 211 |
| Poverty rate | 9.5 | 28.1 | 31.4 | 60.4 | | |
| South Carolina | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 30.6 | 10.8 | 36.1 | 22.3 | 99.8 | 119 |
| Poverty rate | 8.5 | 29.3 | 37.2 | 66.4 | | |
| Tennessee | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 58.1 | 15.0 | 15.1 | 11.8 | 100.0 | 186 |
| Poverty rate | 13.4 | 33.1 | 29.5 | 60.2 | | |
| Texas | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 58.5 | 16.7 | 13.9 | 10.3 | 99.4 | 413 |
| Poverty rate | 10.6 | 32.3 | 24.5 | 59.0 | | |
| Virginia | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 44.8 | 16.8 | 21.8 | 16.1 | 99.5 | 143 |
| Poverty rate | 7.2 | 28.0 | 22.4 | 54.3 | | |
| 11-State South | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 46.0 | 12.9 | 24.3 | 16.4 | 99.6 | 2,132 |
| Poverty rate | 10.2 | 29.8 | 33.0 | 63.6 | | |

*The difference between the total percent and 100.0 represents other races (Orientals, Indians, etc.) excluded because of too few numbers.
Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 5
### Families by Race and Residence: Poverty Rates, 1970

| | URBAN Central Cities % | URBAN Urban Fringe % | URBAN 10,000-49,999 % | URBAN 2,500-9,999 % | RURAL % | TOTAL % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | | | | | | |
| White | 7.6 | 7.1 | 10.8 | 13.2 | 19.4 | 13.6 |
| Black | 38.7 | 36.9 | 43.0 | 48.3 | 58.2 | 46.7 |
| Arkansas | | | | | | |
| White | 8.8 | 9.0 | 11.7 | 15.9 | 23.4 | 17.7 |
| Black | 40.4 | 42.0 | 50.5 | 53.4 | 60.2 | 52.7 |
| Florida | | | | | | |
| White | 9.2 | 6.8 | 8.5 | 11.2 | 13.7 | 9.5 |
| Black | 33.5 | 27.5 | 40.3 | 42.1 | 47.4 | 36.3 |
| Georgia | | | | | | |
| White | 8.9 | 4.4 | 9.6 | 10.9 | 14.4 | 10.5 |
| Black | 31.0 | 24.8 | 41.4 | 45.0 | 51.5 | 39.7 |
| Louisiana | | | | | | |
| White | 8.5 | 6.4 | 12.7 | 13.4 | 18.9 | 12.6 |
| Black | 40.2 | 35.1 | 48.8 | 51.9 | 59.0 | 47.4 |
| Mississippi | | | | | | |
| White | 8.7 | 7.2 | 10.3 | 12.6 | 20.8 | 15.9 |
| Black | 40.4 | 44.9 | 50.7 | 54.8 | 66.7 | 59.2 |
| North Carolina | | | | | | |
| White | 6.4 | 7.5 | 8.4 | 10.1 | 13.6 | 11.1 |
| Black | 30.1 | 22.2 | 35.5 | 40.0 | 44.8 | 38.7 |
| South Carolina | | | | | | |
| White | 8.3 | 8.6 | 8.3 | 8.9 | 12.3 | 10.5 |
| Black | 40.2 | 31.3 | 36.6 | 40.5 | 50.0 | 44.7 |
| Tennessee | | | | | | |
| White | 7.6 | 4.9 | 12.2 | 15.1 | 21.7 | 15.3 |
| Black | 34.0 | 35.9 | 37.6 | 40.6 | 51.1 | 38.0 |
| Texas | | | | | | |
| White | 10.8 | 5.2 | 13.5 | 17.0 | 18.4 | 12.4 |
| Black | 27.2 | 26.6 | 35.7 | 44.6 | 50.2 | 32.7 |
| Virginia | | | | | | |
| White | 7.4 | 4.1 | 7.7 | 8.1 | 14.3 | 9.0 |
| Black | 27.0 | 20.6 | 23.4 | 31.1 | 36.4 | 29.9 |
| 11-State South | | | | | | |
| White | 9.2 | 5.8 | 10.7 | 13.0 | 17.0 | 12.0 |
| Black | 32.4 | 29.3 | 41.3 | 45.3 | 52.1 | 41.0 |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 4
### Families by Residence: Poverty Rates, 1970

| | URBAN Central Cities % | URBAN Urban Fringe % | URBAN 10,000-49,999 % | URBAN 2,500-9,999 % | RURAL % | TOTAL % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 16.3 | 13.8 | 17.4 | 19.2 | 26.4 | 20.7 |
| Arkansas | 14.7 | 12.9 | 17.4 | 22.2 | 27.9 | 22.8 |
| Florida | 13.4 | 8.4 | 13.8 | 14.8 | 17.1 | 12.7 |
| Georgia | 17.8 | 5.8 | 17.9 | 19.3 | 20.6 | 16.7 |
| Louisiana | 19.4 | 10.2 | 21.7 | 23.8 | 28.2 | 21.5 |
| Mississippi | 17.1 | 12.5 | 23.2 | 24.8 | 35.1 | 28.9 |
| N. Carolina | 12.6 | 8.8 | 13.8 | 15.5 | 18.9 | 16.3 |
| S. Carolina | 18.7 | 11.5 | 15.9 | 17.0 | 22.4 | 19.0 |
| Tennessee | 14.2 | 5.8 | 14.7 | 17.7 | 23.4 | 18.2 |
| Texas | 13.3 | 5.8 | 15.8 | 19.4 | 21.0 | 14.6 |
| Virginia | 13.2 | 5.2 | 9.4 | 10.7 | 17.8 | 12.3 |
| 11-State South | 14.5 | 7.7 | 16.2 | 18.3 | 22.5 | 16.8 |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 6
### Families by Race and Sex of Head and Residence: Poverty Rates, 1970

| | White Male % | White Female % | Black Male % | Black Female % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | | | | |
| Urban | 7.2 | 27.7 | 29.5 | 66.2 |
| Rural | 17.8 | 39.9 | 53.2 | 74.9 |
| Arkansas | | | | |
| Urban | 9.7 | 29.6 | 37.7 | 70.4 |
| Rural | 22.3 | 40.2 | 56.5 | 76.6 |
| Florida | | | | |
| Urban | 6.8 | 22.9 | 23.6 | 59.7 |
| Rural | 12.3 | 34.2 | 40.2 | 70.5 |
| Georgia | | | | |
| Urban | 5.6 | 24.6 | 24.3 | 56.9 |
| Rural | 13.0 | 32.5 | 46.6 | 68.3 |
| Louisiana | | | | |
| Urban | 7.3 | 26.8 | 31.4 | 68.4 |
| Rural | 17.2 | 41.4 | 54.6 | 76.3 |
| Mississippi | | | | |
| Urban | 8.2 | 28.1 | 38.2 | 73.9 |
| Rural | 19.3 | 39.8 | 63.0 | 80.9 |
| North Carolina | | | | |
| Urban | 5.8 | 24.8 | 22.1 | 57.7 |
| Rural | 12.1 | 31.3 | 39.7 | 64.5 |
| South Carolina | | | | |
| Urban | 6.1 | 29.0 | 27.4 | 61.5 |
| Rural | 10.7 | 29.7 | 43.9 | 71.3 |
| Tennessee | | | | |
| Urban | 7.6 | 27.7 | 24.8 | 59.2 |
| Rural | 20.0 | 41.7 | 47.3 | 67.5 |
| Texas | | | | |
| Urban | 8.7 | 31.2 | 20.4 | 57.4 |
| Rural | 17.2 | 38.5 | 45.4 | 70.4 |
| Virginia | | | | |
| Urban | 3.9 | 25.0 | 16.0 | 53.0 |
| Rural | 12.6 | 34.2 | 31.9 | 57.6 |
| 11-State South | | | | |
| Urban | 7.1 | 27.2 | 25.0 | 60.9 |
| Rural | 15.5 | 36.1 | 47.2 | 70.8 |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 7
### Families by Residence: Distribution of All and Poor Families, 1970

| | URBAN | | | | RURAL | TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Central Cities | Urban Fringe | 10,000-49,999 | 2,500-9,999 | | % | No. (000) |
| Alabama | | | | | | | |
| Total | 25.3% | 11.7 | 11.1 | 10.2 | 41.8% | 100.1% | 875 |
| Poor | 20.0 | 7.8 | 9.4 | 9.4 | 53.4 | 100.0 | 181 |
| Arkansas | | | | | | | |
| Total | 17.3 | 2.3 | 17.2 | 12.6 | 50.7 | 100.1 | 505 |
| Poor | 11.2 | 1.3 | 13.2 | 12.3 | 62.1 | 100.1 | 155 |
| Florida | | | | | | | |
| Total | 27.7 | 33.1 | 9.8 | 9.9 | 19.5 | 100.0 | 1,811 |
| Poor | 29.5 | 21.8 | 10.7 | 11.6 | 26.4 | 100.0 | 229 |
| Georgia | | | | | | | |
| Total | 21.9 | 19.2 | 9.5 | 9.2 | 40.2 | 100.0 | 1,150 |
| Poor | 23.2 | 6.6 | 10.1 | 10.6 | 49.5 | 100.1 | 192 |
| Louisiana | | | | | | | |
| Total | 31.8 | 15.9 | 9.0 | 9.6 | 33.7 | 100.0 | 873 |
| Poor | 28.7 | 7.5 | 9.1 | 10.6 | 44.1 | 100.0 | 188 |
| Mississippi | | | | | | | |
| Total | 10.9 | 3.6 | 19.8 | 10.7 | 55.1 | 100.1 | 534 |
| Poor | 6.5 | 1.5 | 15.9 | 9.2 | 66.9 | 100.0 | 154 |
| N. Carolina | | | | | | | |
| Total | 18.5 | 4.7 | 12.5 | 8.3 | 56.0 | 100.0 | 1,292 |
| Poor | 14.2 | 2.5 | 10.5 | 7.9 | 64.8 | 99.9 | 211 |
| S. Carolina | | | | | | | |
| Total | 8.2 | 16.1 | 10.9 | 12.3 | 52.6 | 100.1 | 629 |
| Poor | 8.1 | 9.8 | 9.1 | 11.0 | 62.1 | 100.1 | 119 |
| Tennessee | | | | | | | |
| Total | 33.1 | 3.6 | 12.1 | 8.8 | 42.4 | 100.0 | 1,024 |
| Poor | 25.9 | 1.1 | 9.7 | 8.6 | 54.6 | 99.9 | 186 |
| Texas | | | | | | | |
| Total | 47.4 | 13.8 | 9.0 | 8.8 | 21.0 | 100.0 | 2,818 |
| Poor | 43.0 | 5.5 | 9.7 | 11.6 | 30.1 | 99.9 | 413 |
| Virginia | | | | | | | |
| Total | 23.5 | 27.6 | 5.9 | 5.7 | 37.2 | 99.9 | 1,162 |
| Poor | 25.2 | 11.6 | 4.5 | 4.9 | 53.8 | 100.0 | 143 |
| 11-State South | | | | | | | |
| Total | 28.7 | 15.8 | 10.5 | 9.2 | 35.7 | 99.9 | 12,674 |
| Poor | 24.7 | 7.2 | 10.1 | 10.0 | 48.1 | 100.1 | 2,132 |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 8
### Families by Race and Residence: Distribution of Poor, 1970

| | URBAN | | | | RURAL | TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Central Cities | Urban Fringe | 10,000-49,999 | 2,500-9,999 | | % | No. (000) |
| Alabama | | | | | | | |
| White | 12.9% | 6.0 | 8.9 | 10.3 | 61.9% | 100.0% | 94 |
| Black | 27.6 | 9.8 | 9.9 | 8.4 | 44.3 | 100.0 | 87 |
| Arkansas | | | | | | | |
| White | 8.2 | 1.2 | 11.2 | 10.9 | 68.5 | 100.0 | 77 |
| Black | 17.2 | 1.5 | 17.1 | 15.0 | 49.2 | 100.0 | 38 |
| Florida | | | | | | | |
| White | 25.4 | 25.1 | 8.5 | 11.8 | 29.3 | 100.1 | 149 |
| Black | 37.0 | 15.6 | 14.9 | 11.2 | 21.2 | 99.9 | 79 |
| Georgia | | | | | | | |
| White | 14.3 | 9.7 | 8.2 | 9.1 | 58.7 | 100.0 | 94 |
| Black | 31.9 | 3.6 | 12.0 | 12.0 | 40.5 | 100.0 | 98 |
| Louisiana | | | | | | | |
| White | 18.9 | 9.5 | 9.2 | 10.1 | 52.4 | 100.1 | 81 |
| Black | 36.3 | 5.9 | 9.0 | 11.1 | 37.7 | 100.0 | 106 |
| Mississippi | | | | | | | |
| White | 6.3 | 2.0 | 12.5 | 8.5 | 70.8 | 100.1 | 60 |
| Black | 6.6 | 1.3 | 18.1 | 9.6 | 64.4 | 100.0 | 94 |
| N. Carolina | | | | | | | |
| White | 9.6 | 3.5 | 9.3 | 7.6 | 70.0 | 100.0 | 117 |
| Black | 20.7 | 1.2 | 12.4 | 8.6 | 57.1 | 100.0 | 91 |
| S. Carolina | | | | | | | |
| White | 5.8 | 15.3 | 8.5 | 10.4 | 60.0 | 100.0 | 49 |
| Black | 9.6 | 5.6 | 9.5 | 11.5 | 63.7 | 99.9 | 70 |
| Tennessee | | | | | | | |
| White | 14.2 | 1.3 | 10.0 | 9.0 | 65.6 | 100.1 | 136 |
| Black | 57.6 | .8 | 9.1 | 7.4 | 25.1 | 100.0 | 50 |
| Texas | | | | | | | |
| White | 39.2 | 6.3 | 9.8 | 12.3 | 32.4 | 100.0 | 310 |
| Black | 54.5 | 2.8 | 9.2 | 9.6 | 23.9 | 100.0 | 100 |
| Virginia | | | | | | | |
| White | 16.2 | 14.1 | 5.4 | 5.4 | 59.0 | 100.1 | 88 |
| Black | 39.3 | 7.4 | 3.3 | 4.2 | 45.9 | 100.1 | 54 |
| 11-State South | | | | | | | |
| White | 20.6 | 8.5 | 9.2 | 10.1 | 51.5 | 99.9 | 1,256 |
| Black | 30.7 | 5.2 | 11.4 | 9.9 | 42.9 | 100.1 | 866 |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 9
## Families by Race and Sex of Head: Percent of Poor Living in Urban Areas*, 1970

| | White Male % | White Female % | Black Male % | Black Female % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 33.8 | 55.0 | 48.1 | 67.2 |
| Arkansas | 28.0 | 51.0 | 43.6 | 65.2 |
| Florida | 68.2 | 79.3 | 73.9 | 84.2 |
| Georgia | 36.0 | 58.4 | 50.1 | 72.3 |
| Louisiana | 43.3 | 63.4 | 53.8 | 75.2 |
| Mississippi | 26.1 | 43.9 | 28.6 | 50.0 |
| North Carolina | 25.9 | 44.2 | 33.4 | 57.4 |
| South Carolina | 34.5 | 55.6 | 29.8 | 46.7 |
| Tennessee | 30.1 | 51.4 | 66.4 | 85.8 |
| Texas | 63.6 | 81.8 | 69.5 | 85.0 |
| Virginia | 33.8 | 60.2 | 42.6 | 69.8 |
| 11-State South | 44.1 | 64.0 | 48.4 | 69.9 |

*The percent living in rural areas is the difference between 100.0% and the percent urban.
Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 10
## Families by Race: Number of Poor and Poverty Rates and Ratio of Black to White Poverty Rate, 1970
(Numbers in thousands)

| | WHITE | | BLACK | | TOTAL* | | Ratio** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of Poor | Poverty Rate | Number of Poor | Poverty Rate | Number of Poor | Poverty Rate | Black/ White |
| Alabama | 94 | 13.6% | 87 | 46.7% | 181 | 20.7% | 3.4 |
| Arkansas | 77 | 17.7 | 38 | 52.7 | 115 | 22.8 | 3.0 |
| Florida | 149 | 9.5 | 79 | 36.3 | 229 | 12.7 | 3.8 |
| Georgia | 94 | 10.5 | 98 | 39.7 | 192 | 16.7 | 3.8 |
| Louisiana | 81 | 12.6 | 106 | 47.4 | 188 | 21.5 | 3.8 |
| Mississippi | 60 | 15.9 | 94 | 59.2 | 154 | 28.9 | 3.7 |
| North Carolina | 117 | 11.1 | 91 | 38.7 | 211 | 16.3 | 3.5 |
| South Carolina | 49 | 10.5 | 70 | 44.7 | 119 | 19.0 | 4.3 |
| Tennessee | 136 | 15.3 | 50 | 38.0 | 186 | 18.2 | 2.5 |
| Texas | 310 | 12.4 | 100 | 32.7 | 413 | 14.6 | 2.6 |
| Virginia | 88 | 9.0 | 54 | 29.9 | 143 | 12.3 | 3.3 |
| 11-State South | 1,256 | 11.9 | 866 | 41.0 | 2,132 | 16.8 | 3.5 |
| United States | 3,922 | 8.6 | 1,450 | 29.8 | 5,462 | 10.7 | 3.5 |

*The total number includes members of other races (Orientals, Indians, etc.) hence may be greater than the sum of whites and blacks.
**Ratio of black family poverty rate (column 4) to white family poverty rate (column 2).
Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, U. S. Summary, Table 95 and states, 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 11
## Unrelated Individuals Less than 65 Years by Race: Number of Poor and Poverty Rates, 1970
(Numbers in thousands)

| | WHITE | | BLACK | | TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. of Poor | Poverty Rate | No. of Poor | Poverty Rate | No. of Poor | Poverty Rate |
| Alabama | 31 | 37.2% | 21 | 59.4% | 52 | 44.0% |
| Arkansas | 21 | 39.3 | 9 | 64.5 | 30 | 44.7 |
| Florida | 84 | 28.6 | 30 | 44.7 | 115 | 31.7 |
| Georgia | 42 | 29.3 | 28 | 51.2 | 70 | 35.4 |
| Louisiana | 38 | 37.3 | 25 | 58.2 | 64 | 43.5 |
| Mississippi | 17 | 37.9 | 19 | 64.7 | 36 | 48.5 |
| North Carolina | 48 | 33.8 | 25 | 52.7 | 74 | 38.5 |
| South Carolina | 20 | 31.9 | 15 | 58.2 | 35 | 40.1 |
| Tennessee | 41 | 35.6 | 15 | 51.3 | 56 | 38.8 |
| Texas | 127 | 29.9 | 36 | 46.7 | 164 | 32.5 |
| Virginia | 44 | 24.8 | 21 | 47.0 | 65 | 29.2 |
| 11-State South | 512 | 31.2 | 245 | 52.2 | 762 | 35.9 |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

# CHAPTER II THE WORKING POOR

## SUMMARY

1. *In 1970 six out of ten poor family heads under age 65 in the South were working compared to five out of ten in the rest of the nation.*
2. *For all four race/sex groupings the percentage of poor who were working was greater in the South than in states outside the region. The greatest difference, however, was for poor black female family heads. Nearly twice as high a proportion of such women in the South were working as in the non-South.*
3. *Of Southern employed family heads, 54 percent of black females, 26 percent of black males, 18 percent of white females and six percent of white males did not earn enough to keep their families out of poverty.*
4. *In 1970 the industrial structure of the South was still more weighted toward low wage industries than the nation's. It had higher proportions of its labor force working in agriculture, mining, construction, nondurable manufacturing (especially in textiles), and personal services; and lower proportions in durable manufacturing, business services and other professional services.*
5. *Operatives in blue collar occupations formed the largest occupational group among the South's poor male family heads, nearly one-fourth. Together farmers and farm laborers accounted for one-fifth of poor male family-head employment.*
6. *Blue collar occupations together accounted for the employment of six out of ten of all poor male heads.*
7. *Almost half of Southern farm laborers and about one-quarter of Southern farm owners were in poverty. However, for blacks, the poverty rate of farm owners was nearly as high as for farm laborers, 58 percent compared to 65 percent.*
8. *Poor employed female family heads were more heavily concentrated in service occupations than in any other group. Fifty-eight percent worked either outside the home in such jobs as waitress, counter-worker, dishwasher, cleaner, nursing aide, maid, hairdresser, child care worker, and cook, or as private household workers. Seventy-one percent of poor black female heads were in such occupations.*
9. *One-fifth of employed poor female family heads worked in blue collar occupations, the same proportion as in white collar jobs.*
10. *Poverty rates for black female heads were double those for all women in sales and clerical and blue collar jobs, but more or less on a par for service type jobs.*
11. *Poverty rates for males in all occupational groups were higher in rural than urban areas, but for females there was very little difference by residence. One exception was female blue collar work in rural areas where poverty rates were lower than for similarly employed women in urban areas.*
12. *With the erosion of the farming population over the past two decades rural poverty is no longer confined to those involved in agriculture. The rural poor are very substantially working in blue collar jobs of various sorts.*
13. *As a factor in reduced earnings, part-time work among the working poor is not as important as a short work year. Only a little over half of the working poor in the South were employed a full year.*
14. *Southerners have received less formal education than the nation's population as a whole. Among the working-age family heads (25 to 64 years) in the South, slightly less than half have graduated from high school compared to 57 percent in the nation. As for the Southern poor, only one in five has finished high school and nearly half have not even attended high school.*
15. *By race and sex of family heads the education of the poor varies considerably. Over one-third of poor white women had high school education or more; of white males, over one-fifth; of black females over one-sixth; and of black males only one-tenth.*
16. *Of family heads who were high school graduates, a wide variation in poverty rates prevailed—over half of black females were poor compared with only four percent of white males. For those poor heads who were college graduates, poverty rates for males were quite low, but for females much higher, indicating the persistence of sex rather than race discrimination among college graduates.*
17. *Union membership in the eleven Southern states in 1970 numbered 2.4 million, or 15 percent of the non-agricultural work force, compared to 28 percent for the United States as a whole.*
18. *The earnings differential between unionized and non-unionized workers was greater in the South than in the rest of the nation, with unionized workers earning considerably more than their non-unionized counterparts.*

Of the heads of poor families in the South in 1970 who could reasonably be expected to work—those under 65 years—the large majority, six out of ten *were* working. Of the non-elderly family heads who were not employed some were disabled, in school, the unemployed seeking work, raising young children, or finally, either "discouraged" workers or otherwise disaffected from the labor market.

The South had a greater concentration of the nation's working poor[1] 44 percent, than it had of all poor persons, 38 percent. This resulted in higher proportions of working poor, among *all* poor in the South than in the non-South—61 percent compared to 50 percent. For all four race/sex groupings the percentage who were working poor was also greater in the South than in the non-South.

Working Poor as a Percent of Poor Family Heads Under 65 Years, 1970

| | Non-South | South |
|---|---|---|
| All family heads | 50% | 61% |
| White male | 66 | 67 |
| White female | 31 | 39 |
| Black male | 58 | 74 |
| Black female | 25 | 49 |

Source: Table 12.

The difference between the South and the non-South in the proportion of poor who were working was greatest for black female heads—nearly twice as great a proportion in the South as in the non-South. The lower proportion for female heads in the non-South was probably due in part to the more liberal public assistance eligibility requirements outside the South where female heads are less likely to have to resort to poorly paid work. The regional differentials also probably indicate less availability and less likelihood of coverage by other kinds of income assistance programs.

The situation of Southern poor family heads with respect to employment is more forcefully shown by their poverty rates. For employed family heads in the South over half of black women, about one-fourth of black men, about one-fifth of white women, and one-twentieth of white men did not earn enough to keep their families out of poverty. The higher incidence of poverty among employed blacks and particularly among black females—suggests the degree to which traditional employment patterns in the South have relegated blacks to the most menial and lowest paying jobs. These data also show that employed heads had proportionally lower poverty rates than all family heads. The proportional difference for the black female heads was the least. The persistence of poverty among this group in spite of employment indicates the degree to which their jobs paid sub-poverty wages.

Poverty Rates for Families with Heads Under 65 in the South, 1970

| | All Heads | Employed Heads |
|---|---|---|
| White males | 10% | 6% |
| White females | 30 | 18 |
| Black males | 33 | 26 |
| Black females | 64 | 54 |

Source: Tables 3 and 13.

In 1970 among poor families headed by males there were 139,000 with both husband and wife employed. Most of these were black—79,000—which was twenty-two percent of all poor black husband-wife families. In still another way this demonstrates the poorer position of blacks in the South. The 40,000 white families in similar circumstances accounted for fewer—nine percent—of poor white husband-wife families.[2]

Factors relevant to the poverty of the employed in the South include the nature of the industrial and wage structure in the region compared to the nation, the occupational distribution for poor family heads, and the persistence of underemployment.

## Industrial Structure of the South

The industrial structure of the South compared to the United States is characterized by higher proportions of industries which have lower earnings, seasonal and other irregular work periods, less capital investment, more intensive use of labor, and less technological innovation. The industries of which the South had higher proportions than the nation in 1970 included the primary sector—agriculture and mining, construction, nondurable manufacturing, and personal services. The South also had slightly higher proportions of federal public administration. The region's proportion of industries which are considered to have higher requirements for skilled and/or educated manpower are lower than the nation as a whole. These industries included durable manufacturing; finance, insurance, and real estate (F.I.R.E.); business services; and other professional services (see Table 14). The region also had a slightly lower proportion in state and local public administration.

With respect to manufacturing it is well known that the South has larger proportions of the textile and fabricated textile industries, and to a lesser extent the furniture and wood products industries. In the South over six percent of the labor force was in the textile industries compared to about three percent for the nation. Employment in the region in furniture and wood products industries was somewhat greater than in the nation, but in other durable manufacturing was much less than in the nation. Whereas the entire country had over 14 percent of employment in the durable sectors which include primary and fabricated metals, machinery, and motor vehicle manufacturing, the South had less than nine percent in these sectors.

[1]Working poor are those poor persons whose income in 1969 was below the poverty level and who were employed (full or part-time) at the time of the 1970 Census.
[2]Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, State volumes, Table 209.

In the service sector, the South, compared to the nation, had greater proportions of its labor force in household oriented services. Personal services (hotels and other lodging places, laundries, dry cleaners, barber and beauty shops, shoe repair) and private households employed relatively more persons in the South. The services which are primarily, but not exclusively, for businesses (F.I.R.E.; business services including advertising, research, management, and programming services; and other professional services, including legal, engineering, and accounting services) were less well represented in the region. The household-oriented services are usually performed by the least skilled of the labor force and the business-oriented services by highly trained personnel. But the business type services, also, have needs which include many white collar support personnel. These white collar workers are not particularly well-paid or highly skilled, but usually must be high school graduates. The white collar industries therefore, require both the highly paid professional and many less educated workers, but those with high school diplomas.

Relatively fewer persons are employed in the various sectors delivering health care in the South compared with the nation. The region also had a somewhat smaller percentage of its labor force in educational services than the nation.

The industrial mix in the South is more heavily influenced by low wage industries, and consequently earnings levels are lower than those in the nation. The data used in this report did not report the industry of poor employed persons. But examining the proportions of earners with incomes less than $4,000 annually, according to industry, indicates those industries where the officially classified poor would be concentrated. For men, higher proportions of low earners than of all earners were found in agriculture, wholesale and retail trade, construction, and personal services. For women the proportions of low earners were highest in personal service and wholesale and retail trade (see Table 15).

As the South has moved away from its former agricultural employment emphasis, the former agricultural workers have moved into other jobs. Manufacturing has been a major growth sector in the South, and its rate of growth has been higher in non-metropolitan than in metropolitan areas.[3] However, many of the manufacturing jobs have been low paying (the textile and apparel sectors, especially) and in sectors in which unionization is slight. Beyond the creation of more jobs in the goods producing sector are opportunities to create jobs in sectors which serve human needs. Unmet needs include a shortage of adequate housing, a shortage and maldistribution of health resources and facilities, and the still lower high school completion rate of black youths. Public commitment to meeting these needs could create jobs in the construction, health, and educational sectors for both higher skilled and/or educated workers and low skilled ones (such as service workers in hospitals) and also improve the circumstances of those who are served.

## Occupations of Poor Male Family Heads

Poor employed male family heads in the South were most likely to work either in farming or blue collar occupations. This is in contrast to all (i.e., including non-poor) employed male family heads who were employed mostly in white collar and blue collar occupations. Operatives (including transport operatives) formed the largest occupational group among the South's poor male family heads, nearly one-fourth. Together farmers and farm laborers accounted for one-fifth of poor male family head employment. Craftsmen accounted for 18 percent and non-farm laborers, 16 percent. Altogether the blue collar occupations accounted for six out of ten employed poor males in the South (See Tables 16, 17, and 18).

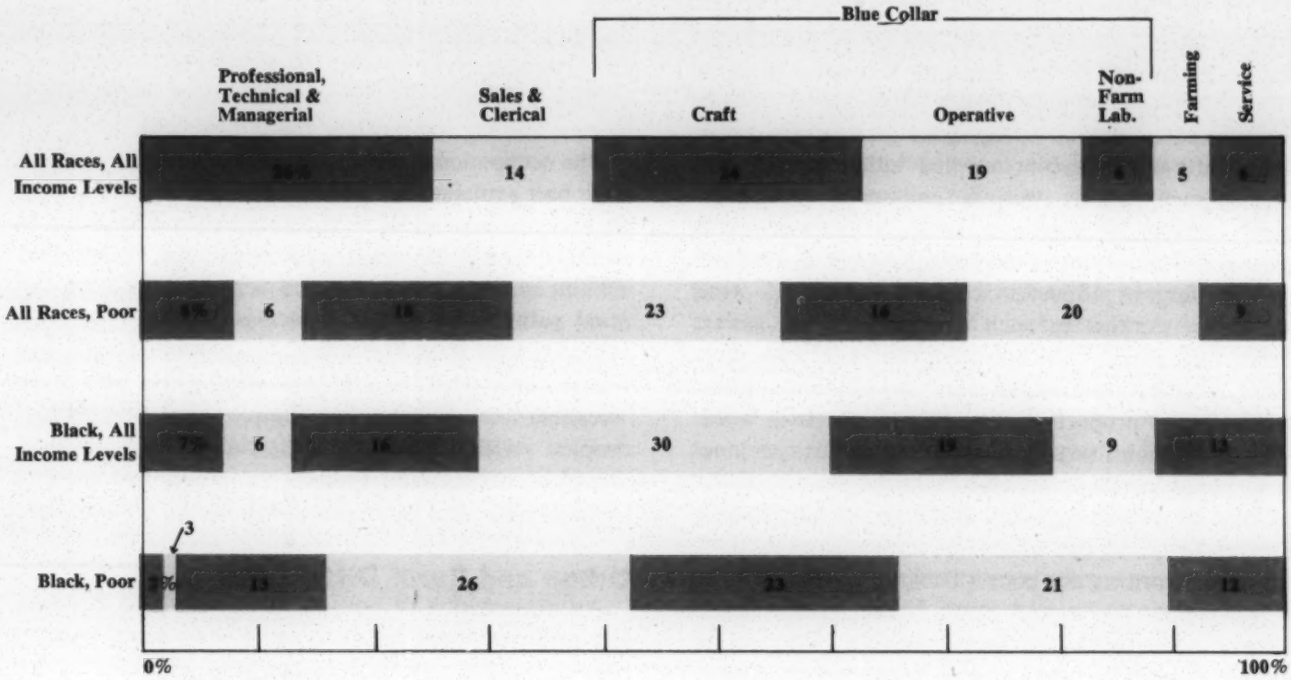
Black male family heads when compared with all male family heads were less likely to have had a white collar occupation (13 percent compared to 40 percent) and more likely to have had a laboring or operative occupation (49 percent compared to 25 percent). Fewer blacks, relatively, were employed in craft jobs and more in service jobs. The *poor* among black male family heads were even less likely to have had white collar jobs or craft jobs. They were most likely to have had laboring jobs. A higher percentage of poor black males (one-fifth), than of all black males were employed in farming (as owners or farm laborers).

Though farming occupations (which include both farm owners and farm laborers) employed relatively few male family heads, the poverty rates for these occupations were the highest. Almost half of farm laborers and about one-quarter of owners were in poverty. As for non-farm laborers, nearly one-quarter were poor. This occupational group, whose primary requirement is physical strength, worked in all industries and held such jobs as garbage collector, construction laborer, freight and material handler, lumberman, warehouseman, vehicle washer, stock handler. Otherwise, poverty rates in excess of 10 percent were registered for transport equipment operatives, service workers, and operatives. The professionals, technical and managerial, clerical and sales workers, and craftsmen groups had relatively low poverty rates.

Sixty-five percent of black male farm laborers were poor, the highest poverty rate for any male occupation group. Unlike the farmer poverty rate for all males, which was about half that of farm laborers, the farmer poverty rate for black males (58 percent) was close to that for farm laborers. Black male farm owners, then, were little better off than farm laborers. The

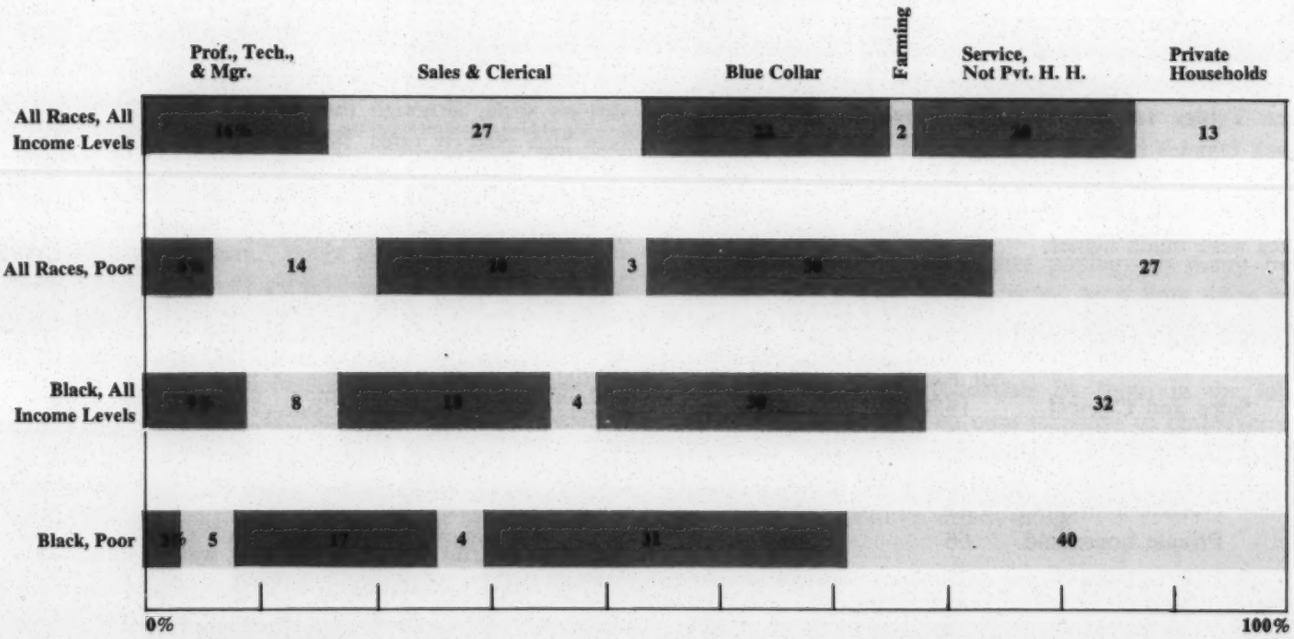
[3]Thomas E. Till, "Rural Industrialization and Southern Rural Poverty in the 1960's: Patterns of Labor Demand in Southern Non-Metropolitan Labor Markets and their Impact on Poverty" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1972).

**CHART 3**
**MALE FAMILY HEADS: OCCUPATIONS OF THE EMPLOYED IN THE SOUTH, 1970**




Source: Table 16.

**CHART 4**
**FEMALE FAMILY HEADS: OCCUPATIONS OF THE EMPLOYED IN THE SOUTH, 1970**




Source: Table 19.

next highest poverty rate for black males was among non-farm laborers, 32 percent. The poverty rates for the other blue collar and service occupations were at least one in five.

## Occupations of Poor Female Family Heads

Poor employed female heads were more heavily concentrated in service occupations than in any other group. Fifty-eight percent worked either outside the home in such jobs as waitress, counter worker, dishwasher, cleaner, nursing aide, maid, hairdresser, child care worker, and cook, or as private household workers. The next largest proportion of poor—one-fifth—were blue collar workers in such occupations as sewer, stitcher, spinner, textile operative, checker, examiner, packer, wrapper, and laundry and dry cleaning operative. A similar proportion (one-fifth) worked in white collar occupations, mostly as sales and clerical persons, but some as professional and technical managers. In contrast, of *all* female heads four out of ten were in white collar jobs; but about the same proportion in blue collar work as the poor (Tables 19, 20 and 21).

Employment among *all* black female family heads was predominantly in service occupations, 62 percent, split about evenly between private households and non-household employment. This was much greater than that for all female heads (33 percent). The percentage in white collar occupations for black females was 16 percent compared with 43 percent for all female heads. Among *poor* black female heads the proportion who had service jobs was still greater than among *all* black females, 71 percent, with 40 percent in households.

Poverty rates for women of all races were especially severe for service workers, both non-household and household (45 and 66 percent respectively), and also for blue collar occupations (27 percent). As with all comparisons made between the sexes, women had higher poverty rates than men for the same occupations (see Tables 16 and 19). The poverty rates among black females in service occupations were only slightly higher than those among all females. But for white collar and blue collar occupations black female poverty rates were much higher.

Poverty Rates for Female Family Heads, in Selected Occupational Groups in the South, 1970

| | All Races | Black |
|---|---|---|
| Sales and Clerical | 16% | 38% |
| Blue Collar | 27 | 55 |
| Service | | |
| Outside household | 45 | 56 |
| Private household | 66 | 68 |
| All Occupations | 31 | 54 |

Source: Table 19.

The similarity in poverty rates for black and all female heads in service occupations probably implies less disparity in wage treatment between the races. Since these jobs are low wage, whoever holds them, black or white, is probably poor. On the other hand, blue and white collar employment pay higher wages and have a wider range than service jobs. Therefore the dissimilarity in poverty rates in these occupations implies a greater dissimilarity in wages with black women holding more of the lower paid jobs.

The occupational segregation of blacks and women in large part explains their much higher poverty rates. Employment opportunities in the South should improve as a wider variety of industry locates in the region. But without an attack on race and sex discrimination the usual pattern of white men increasing their advantage will continue. It is not enough to provide blacks and women with what is left over after white men have "creamed" the job market. Employment stimulation, coupled with strong anti-discrimination measures should be undertaken. Various manpower and training programs are also appropriate for blacks and women.

## Urban and Rural Differences

An examination of poverty rates according to urban and rural residence for male and female heads showed once again that residence makes little difference in the poverty situation of the female head. Male rates for all occupational groups appear higher in rural than urban areas but females showed much smaller differences (Table 22). An exception to this were blue collar poverty rates for female heads which were lower in rural areas. This may be due to the prevalence of textile and apparel factories in rural areas compared to even lower-paid manufacturing jobs in urban areas.

Over the last two decades the farming population has been eroded drastically in every southern state (Table 23). Thus as Table 22 shows, rural poverty is not confined to the farming population. The rural poor are very substantially working in blue collar work of various sorts, although the farming occupations have very high poverty rates. For male heads in rural areas non-farm laborers had the second highest poverty rate, next to farm laborers, with farmers slightly less subject to poverty than non-farm laborers.

## Full-time and Full-year Employment

Since earnings are related to time worked as well as to rates of pay, underemployment, lack of full-time and/or full-year employment can seriously reduce workers' earnings. Three-quarters of poor employed family heads worked full-time, 35 hours or more a week. This varied according to the race and sex of the head, but only black women were significantly below the three-quarter figure, a fact that was no doubt due to their heavy concentration in service jobs where work weeks are short. (Nationally the work week for household domestic workers averaged 29 hours in 1974.[4])

[4] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, *Occupational Characteristics*, PC(2)-7A, Tables 45 and 46.

| Percent of Employed Poor Working Full-time (35-hours or more a week) in the South, 1970 | |
|---|---|
| White males | 79% |
| White females | 72 |
| Black males | 77 |
| Black females | 60 |

Source: Table 24

A short work-year, less than 50-52 weeks, accounted substantially for the reduced earnings of the employed poor. Slightly over half of the working poor in the South were employed a full year, with a higher percentage of males so employed. The rate for black males was similar to that for all males, but a higher percentage of black females than all females worked a full year.

| Percent of Employed Poor Working Full-Year (50-52 weeks in 1969) in the South, 1970 | |
|---|---|
| All males | 57% |
| Black males | 56 |
| All females | 47 |
| Black females | 50 |

Source: Table 25.

Reduced weeks of work experienced by the poor are related to the industries of their employment, such as farming, household service, construction and other outdoor laboring jobs, which employed many of the poor in these states. Among the total civilian labor force (poor and non-poor) in the nation who worked in 1970 nearly three-quarters of males and just over one-half of females worked the full year. Nationally, industries in which a smaller proportion of labor forces worked 50-52 weeks included construction, personal services (including private households), entertainment and recreation, professional and related services, retail trade, and agriculture.[5] These were the same industries, with the exception of professional and related services, that had higher than average proportions of low earners (see Table 15). Three of those industries (construction, personal service, and agriculture) employed relatively more of the South's labor force than of the nation's (Table 14). The standard eight-hour day, 52-week year is not a common feature of these industries—construction and recreation have seasonal fluctuation; in retailing, the longer day and seasonal fluctuations necessitate variable manning schedules; restaurant employment depends on serving schedules; and private household work is at the whim of employers who can cancel with no penalty to them.

In addition to the institutionalized irregular scheduling in some industries, workers are laid off in others when the work force exceeds the work load. This is particularly true for production workers in manufacturing. Voluntary resignations from jobs and subsequent unemployment are contributing factors to shorter work years, but irregularities in work schedules are more significant causes of poverty among the work force. Those with low-paying jobs are often employed in sectors where employment is not steady over the year.

Even working the full year, however, does not guarantee freedom from poverty. Six percent of all Southern males who were employed the full year were poor, 21 percent of all females, 21 percent of black males, and 47 percent of black females.[6] A minimum wage job ($1.60 per hour in 1969) would have earned a worker $3328 per year for 40 hours for 52 weeks, about $400 under the poverty line for a family of four. Any full-time, full-year job paying less than $1.80 per hour would have resulted in a poverty income for a family of four in 1969.

Since so many Southern working poor lack full-year work, income supplementation programs, if improved and extended, could keep more of these families out of poverty. The unemployment insurance programs need to be expanded in coverage and benefits. AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) programs for families with an unemployed father (AFDC-UF) as well as general assistance supplementation programs for low income working families, such as many Northern states have, are seriously needed in Southern states. None has an AFDC-UF program. A few have general assistance programs; all of them very modest.

Since jobs that pay wages above the poverty level are not universally available, investment in human resources (usually education and training) has been advocated as a way to improve the labor supply and therefore create the necessary human capital to upgrade employment opportunities. But education is not necessarily a panacea.

## Education and the Poor

In the quest for a higher paying job many have resorted to the credentials race. At a time when employers are raising hiring requirements, often to levels that are unnecessary for the performance of the work, the acquisition of credentials by those in the labor market is frequently an over-response to employer demands.[7] But in an atmosphere of rising educational requirements for jobs, those without credentials can suffer a competitive disadvantage.

[5] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, *Industrial Characteristics*, PC (2)-7B, Table 6.

[6] Computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, *Detailed Characteristics*, PC(1)-D Series, Table 210.

[7] An idea developed by Lester Thurow, "Education and Economic Equality" in *The Public Interest*, No. 28, Summer, 1972.

Southerners have received less formal education than the nation's population as a whole.[8] Among working-age family heads (25 to 64 years) in the South slightly less than half have graduated from high school compared with 57 percent in the nation. The Southern poor are particularly handicapped in terms of achieved education. Only one in five has finished high school and nearly half have not even attended high school.

Education Completed for Family Heads, 25-64 Years in the South, 1970

| | All Family Heads | Poor Family Heads |
|---|---|---|
| No high school | 21% | 46% |
| Attended high school | 30 | 34 |
| High school graduate | 36 | 18 |
| College graduate | 13 | 2 |
| Total | 100% | 100% |

Source: Computed from 4th Count Tapes.

According to race and sex of the family head, the education of the poor varies considerably. Over one-third of poor white women had high school diplomas or more education; of white males, over one-fifth; of black females, over one-sixth; and of black males, only one-tenth. Sixty percent of poor black males had not even attended high school and 46 percent of poor white males had not. While poor women of both races have higher rates of high school attendance than poor men, poor black females were exceeded in completion of high school by poor white males (Table 26).

Though a higher percentage of poor white women had completed more years of education, their poverty rates were worse than the poorest educated group (black males). And black females' poverty rates were high in spite of their having more education than black men (Table 27).

Of family heads who were high school graduates over half of black females were poor, compared with only four percent of white males. Black male graduates had substantially higher poverty rates than white males, and white women higher rates than black males. These poverty rate differences cannot be totally attributed to qualitative differences in education, since males and females of the same race were usually educated in the same schools.

Poverty Rates for Family Heads, 25-64 Years in the South, 1970

| | High school graduates | College graduates |
|---|---|---|
| White males | 4% | 2% |
| White females | 22 | 12 |
| Black males | 15 | 3 |
| Black females | 54 | 12 |

Source: Table 27.

Among college graduates, the poverty rates for both black and white male family heads were similar and low, and for both black and white women were also similar, but over four times higher than for males. Poverty rates for college graduates indicate less racial discrimination, but far more sex discrimination (Table 27).

Lack of education is frequently cited as a cause of rural poverty. In the South the rural poor population has completed less years of schooling than the urban poor. Over half—55 percent—of rural poor family heads 25-64 years old have never attended high school compared to 38 percent of urban poor heads; 14 percent of rural heads completed high school or more compared with 25 percent of urban poor heads (Table 28).

Poverty Rates for Family Heads, 25-64 Years in the South, 1970

| | Urban | Rural |
|---|---|---|
| No high school | 27% | 35% |
| Attended high school | 15 | 18 |
| High school graduate | 7 | 8 |
| College graduate | 2 | 4 |

Source: Table 29.

However, although rural poverty rates always exceeded urban poverty rates for the various completed education groups, the differences were not as great as between various race and sex groups. For those with no high school the comparison of poverty incidence betweeen rural and urban heads was 27 percent to 35 percent. The same comparison by race and sex of head show white males with a 21 percent poverty rate and black females, 70 percent. These relationships are also true for the other educational-group comparisons (Tables 27 and 29). In general race and sex of the head are more potent indicators of poverty than residence among the various achieved education groups.

Clearly just more education is not *enough* to combat poverty. Among the less well-educated are many who are not poor. For instance, 80 percent of white males who did *not* attend high school are *not* poor. The other demographic groups were not so fortunate, however. Educational credentials are useful where realistically applied and if they are not overlaid by race and sex discrimination. But as we have seen, the black, the female, and, most particularly, the black female receive heavy penalties, often in spite of having acquired the necessary credentials.

[8]The educational disparity between the South and the rest of the nation has been decreasing since younger Southerners have received more education than their elders. The distribution of years of school completed for the age group 25-29 in 1972, in contrast to that above for all working aged family heads, shows that the South compares much more favorably to the rest of the nation.

| | Non-South | South |
|---|---|---|
| No high school | 5% | 10% |
| Attended high school | 13 | 16 |
| High school graduate | 63 | 57 |
| College graduate | 20 | 17 |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 243, "Educational Attainment: March 1972," 1972, Table 8.

In addition to the problems of discrimination which interfere with the optimum allocation of jobs, the investment in human resources approach can create a supply of workers that exceeds demand. A more fundamental criticism, however, is that this approach rewards those with formal credentials—whether job related or not—at the expense of those without such credentials. A more humane allocation of wages recognizes the merit in the contribution of all jobs and puts a wage floor under them. This would have the virtue of not unrealistically raising job expectations when, in our economy, unpleasant or even demeaning jobs, with little advancement opportunity will certainly continue. In the absence of a governmental sponsored wage floor for *all* work, labor unions have been the best protection for those workers who are not in the professional and managerial classes.

## Union Membership in the South

Traditionally, those workers who neither seek nor are required to have educational credentials, use collective action to improve their economic position. While unions are increasingly common in white collar work, their impact historically has been among non-manufacturing crafts and manufacturing production workers. The South as a region has lagged behind the rest of the nation in union membership and consequently in collective bargaining. Ten Southern states have right-to-work laws (all except Louisiana). This climate against organizing and opposition from vested interests has inhibited many an organizing drive; and, as a result, the blue collar workers are deprived of what could be a potent protector against the poverty-producing circumstance of their work.

In the South the proportion of wage and salaried workers who are union members is a little over half that of the United States as a whole. Union membership in the 11 Southern states in 1970 numbered 2.4 million, or 15 percent of the non-agricultural work force, compared with 28 percent for the United States (Table 30). Even in those industries that traditionally are highly unionized, the South has a lower rate of union membership. The construction industry in the South is 22 percent unionized compared with 39 percent in the nation; durable manufacturing and nondurable manufacturing respectively are 25 percent and 17 percent unionized in the South, compared with 37 percent and 29 percent for the United States. The nondurable manufacturing unionization proportion is especially low in the South because the region has a disproportionately high share of the textile industry, which nationally is the least unionized of all manufacturing.

Even though the South is relatively less organized, the unionized employees have higher median earnings than their non-unionized counterparts. In fact, the earnings differential between union and non-union employees is greater in the South than in any other region for males and for females greater than the Northeast but slightly below the North Central and the West.

Median Earnings of Union and Non-union Workers and Ratio of Union to Non-union Workers' Earnings*

| | Union | Non-union | Ratio Union/ non-union |
|---|---|---|---|
| South | | | |
| Males | $8,053 | $5,839 | 1.38 |
| Females | 4,483 | 2,601 | 1.72 |
| Northeast | | | |
| Males | 8,385 | 7,353 | 1.14 |
| Females | 4,422 | 3,160 | 1.41 |

*U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Selected Earnings and Demographic Characteristics of Union Members, 1970*, Report 417, 1972, Table 9.

The Southern female differential between union and non-union earnings is greater than males. Since many females are in manufacturing, there is potential for altering their financial situation through unionization.

The data also show that for both males and females in the South who are unionized the median earnings are only slightly lower than their Northeast counterparts. Thus the Southern labor force stands to gain more from unionization than other regions of the nation.

## TABLE 12

### Poor Family Heads Less Than 65 Years by Race and Sex of Head: Number and Percent with Head Employed, 1970
(Numbers in thousands)

| | WHITE MALES | | WHITE FEMALES | | BLACK MALES | | BLACK FEMALES | | TOTAL* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. Employed | % Poor Employed | No. Employed | % Poor Employed | No. Employed | % Poor Employed | No. Employed | % Poor Employed | No. Employed | % Poor Employed |
| Alabama | 33 | 65.8 | 5 | 38.1 | 29 | 73.6 | 14 | 47.4 | 80 | 61.1 |
| Arkansas | 27 | 62.6 | 4 | 40.4 | 12 | 68.2 | 4 | 41.6 | 46 | 58.5 |
| Florida | 42 | 61.6 | 13 | 44.3 | 25 | 75.9 | 20 | 58.9 | 100 | 60.9 |
| Georgia | 32 | 66.5 | 7 | 40.3 | 34 | 76.5 | 18 | 51.2 | 91 | 62.7 |
| Louisiana | 29 | 63.6 | 5 | 36.4 | 35 | 69.8 | 15 | 41.4 | 85 | 57.6 |
| Mississippi | 20 | 63.6 | 3 | 40.7 | 34 | 72.4 | 12 | 46.2 | 69 | 61.7 |
| North Carolina | 41 | 66.6 | 8 | 37.2 | 33 | 76.4 | 13 | 44.8 | 97 | 61.3 |
| South Carolina | 16 | 64.4 | 4 | 34.0 | 27 | 76.6 | 10 | 48.7 | 57 | 61.9 |
| Tennessee | 47 | 64.5 | 7 | 35.1 | 15 | 72.2 | 9 | 46.4 | 78 | 58.5 |
| Texas | 132 | 74.1 | 25 | 43.6 | 31 | 73.7 | 21 | 57.8 | 211 | 66.6 |
| Virginia | 28 | 62.6 | 6 | 31.9 | 18 | 76.0 | 8 | 40.5 | 61 | 55.9 |
| 11-State South | 448 | 66.9 | 86 | 39.5 | 292 | 73.9 | 144 | 48.7 | 975 | 61.7 |
| Non-South | 835 | 65.6 | 213 | 31.3 | 103 | 57.5 | 84 | 24.8 | 1,267 | 49.7 |
| United States | 1,283 | 66.0 | 300 | 33.3 | 395 | 68.8 | 228 | 35.9 | 2,242 | 54.3 |

*Includes all races.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, U. S. Summary, Table 261 and state volumes, Table 209.

## TABLE 13

### Employed Family Heads Less Than 65 Years by Race and Sex of Head: Poverty Rates, 1970

| | White Males % | White Females % | Black Males % | Black Females % | Total % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 6.8 | 19.1 | 30.5 | 62.1 | 12.8 |
| Arkansas | 9.4 | 22.6 | 36.0 | 64.3 | 13.7 |
| Florida | 4.4 | 16.5 | 20.9 | 54.3 | 8.5 |
| Georgia | 4.9 | 16.2 | 25.3 | 50.4 | 10.5 |
| Louisiana | 6.3 | 18.5 | 30.9 | 61.2 | 13.4 |
| Mississippi | 7.8 | 21.4 | 43.8 | 70.6 | 18.9 |
| North Carolina | 5.4 | 15.4 | 25.8 | 49.6 | 10.0 |
| South Carolina | 4.8 | 15.7 | 30.5 | 57.6 | 12.1 |
| Tennessee | 7.5 | 18.3 | 21.3 | 48.8 | 10.3 |
| Texas | 7.4 | 21.2 | 17.8 | 51.9 | 9.9 |
| Virginia | 4.2 | 14.2 | 17.3 | 42.0 | 7.2 |
| 11-State South | 6.1 | 18.0 | 25.7 | 54.4 | 10.6 |
| Non-South | 3.3 | 13.0 | 6.8 | 23.2 | 4.3 |
| United States | 3.9 | 14.1 | 14.9 | 36.4 | 5.9 |

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, U.S. Summary, Table 261 and state volumes, Table 209.

## TABLE 14

### Industry of the Experienced Civilian Labor Force, the United States and the South, 1970

| | U. S. | 11-State South |
|---|---|---|
| Agriculture, forestry, fisheries | 3.6% | 4.6% |
| Mining | .8 | 1.2 |
| Construction | 6.3 | 7.7 |
| Manufacturing, durable | **15.8** | **10.8** |
| Wood products & furniture | 1.3 | 2.2 |
| Other durables | 14.5 | 8.6 |
| Manufacturing, nondurable | **10.6** | **13.5** |
| Textiles & apparel | 2.9 | 6.2 |
| Other nondurables | 7.7 | 7.3 |
| Transportation, communications & other public utilities | 6.8 | 6.8 |
| Wholesale & retail trade | 19.8 | 19.8 |
| Finance, insurance, & real estate | 5.0 | 4.5 |
| Business & repair services | 3.1 | 2.8 |
| Personal services | **4.5** | **6.1** |
| Outside household | 3.1 | 3.5 |
| Private household | 1.4 | 2.6 |
| Entertainment & recreation | .9 | .7 |
| Professional & related | **17.3** | **15.9** |
| Health | 5.4 | 4.8 |
| Education | 7.9 | 7.5 |
| Other professional services | 4.0 | 3.6 |
| Public administration | **5.5** | **5.5** |
| Federal | 2.0 | 2.6 |
| State & local | 2.3 | 2.1 |
| Other, including postal | 1.2 | .8 |
| Total | 100.0% | 99.9% |
| Number, millions | 76.8 | 18.0 |

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, U.S. Summary, Table 240 and 241 and state volumes, Tables 188 and 189.

## TABLE 15

### Industry of All and Low Earners in the Experienced Civilian Labor Force by Sex, the South, 1970

| | MALES | | FEMALES | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | All Earners | Low Earners* | All Earners | Low Earners* |
| Agriculture, forestry, fisheries | 6.6% | 14.6% | 1.4% | 2.0% |
| Mining | 1.8 | .9 | .3 | .1 |
| Construction | 11.8 | 12.4 | 1.0 | .7 |
| Manufacturing, durable | 13.7 | 11.1 | 5.8 | 4.7 |
| Manufacturing, nondurable | 12.4 | 9.1 | 15.4 | 15.4 |
| Transportation, communications and other public utilities | 8.7 | 6.2 | 3.7 | 2.5 |
| Wholesale & retail trade | 19.5 | 23.0 | 20.3 | 24.1 |
| Finance, insurance & real estate | 3.7 | 2.1 | 5.8 | 4.3 |
| Business & repair services | 3.5 | 3.7 | 1.8 | 1.7 |
| Personal services | 2.4 | 4.2 | 12.3 | 17.7 |
| Entertainment & recreation | .8 | 1.3 | .6 | .7 |
| Professional & related services, incl. education | 8.8 | 8.7 | 27.5 | 23.9 |
| Public administration | 6.3 | 2.7 | 4.3 | 2.2 |
| Total | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.2% | 100.0% |
| Number, thousands | 11,236 | 3,229 | 6,777 | 4,219 |

*Low earners had less than $4,000 in earnings in 1969. This is the nearest figure in these data to the 1969 poverty line for a family of four; however this table includes all earners not only family heads.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 210.

## TABLE 16

### Male Employed Family Heads, All and Black, by Poverty Status, the South: Occupation Distribution and Poverty Rates, 1970

| | MALES | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | All | Poor | Poverty Rate % |
| Professional, technical, & managerial | 25.9% | 8.0% | 2.8 |
| Sales & clerical | 13.7 | 5.6 | 3.7 |
| Craftsmen | 23.8 | 18.2 | 6.9 |
| Operatives, except transport | 12.9 | 14.3 | 10.0 |
| Transport equipment operatives | 6.4 | 9.1 | 12.8 |
| Laborers, except farm | 5.9 | 15.7 | 23.8 |
| Farmers & farm managers | 3.2 | 8.6 | 24.6 |
| Farm laborers & foremen | 2.2 | 11.7 | 47.6 |
| Service workers | 6.1 | 8.7 | 12.9 |
| Total | 100.1% | 99.9% | 9.0 |
| Number, thousands | 8,842 | 795 | |

| | BLACK MALES | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | All | Poor | Poverty Rate % |
| Professional, technical, & managerial | 7.2% | 2.4% | 8.7 |
| Sales & clerical | 5.8 | 2.6 | 12.0 |
| Craftsmen | 16.1 | 13.1 | 21.3 |
| Operatives, except transport | 18.1 | 14.8 | 21.3 |
| Transport equipment operatives | 12.1 | 11.1 | 24.1 |
| Laborers, except farm | 18.9 | 22.9 | 31.7 |
| Farmers & Farm managers | 2.1 | 4.7 | 58.2 |
| Farm laborers & foremen | 6.5 | 16.4 | 65.3 |
| Service workers | 13.3 | 11.9 | 23.5 |
| Total | 100.1% | 99.9% | 26.1 |
| Number, thousands | 1,194 | 311 | |

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 210.

## TABLE 17

### Poor Employed Male Family Heads: Percentage Occupational Distribution, 1970

| | Ala. | Ark. | Fla. | Ga. | La. | Miss. | N.C. | S.C. | Tenn. | Tex. | Va. | 11-State South |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| White Collar | **12.1%** | **13.3%** | **18.9%** | **12.5%** | **13.0%** | **9.7%** | **11.9%** | **11.3%** | **13.2%** | **15.3%** | **14.1%** | **13.6%** |
| Professional, technical, & managerial | 7.2 | 8.3 | 10.9 | 7.3 | 7.9 | 6.2 | 7.1 | 6.3 | 7.6 | 8.8 | 8.3 | 8.0 |
| Sales & clerical | 4.9 | 5.0 | 8.0 | 5.2 | 5.1 | 3.5 | 4.8 | 5.0 | 5.6 | 6.5 | 5.8 | 5.6 |
| Blue Collar | **63.9** | **53.0** | **56.1** | **58.5** | **59.0** | **55.4** | **55.3** | **60.6** | **57.1** | **55.8** | **59.7** | **57.3** |
| Craftsmen | 18.5 | 16.1 | 20.7 | 17.4 | 17.0 | 15.9 | 17.6 | 19.1 | 18.0 | 19.2 | 18.4 | 18.2 |
| Operatives | 16.7 | 15.4 | 9.9 | 15.0 | 12.8 | 14.8 | 16.3 | 16.5 | 16.4 | 12.9 | 14.6 | 14.3 |
| Transport equipment operatives | 10.6 | 8.2 | 8.5 | 9.7 | 10.8 | 9.4 | 7.5 | 8.3 | 8.6 | 9.2 | 9.7 | 9.1 |
| Laborers, except farm | 18.1 | 13.3 | 17.0 | 16.4 | 18.4 | 15.3 | 13.9 | 16.7 | 14.1 | 14.5 | 17.0 | 15.7 |
| Farming | **15.7** | **27.2** | **14.4** | **20.5** | **18.3** | **28.0** | **24.9** | **19.5** | **21.1** | **19.3** | **18.0** | **20.3** |
| Farmers & farm managers | 8.0 | 11.1 | 3.3 | 8.4 | 6.6 | 9.8 | 14.1 | 7.4 | 12.5 | 7.1 | 9.3 | 8.6 |
| Farm laborers & foremen | 7.7 | 16.1 | 11.1 | 12.1 | 11.7 | 18.2 | 10.8 | 12.1 | 8.6 | 12.2 | 8.7 | 11.7 |
| Service workers | 8.4 | 6.6 | 10.6 | 8.3 | 9.6 | 7.0 | 7.8 | 8.5 | 8.6 | 9.6 | 8.5 | 8.7 |
| Total | 100.1% | 100.1% | 100.0% | 99.8% | 99.9% | 100.1% | 99.9% | 99.9% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.3% | 99.9% |
| Number, thousands | 65.4 | 41.5 | 72.3 | 70.9 | 67.1 | 58.4 | 81.8 | 45.7 | 66.5 | 175.9 | 49.9 | 795.3 |

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes Table 210.

## TABLE 18
### Poor Employed Black Male Family Heads: Percentage Occupational Distribution, 1970

| | Ala. | Ark. | Fla. | Ga. | La. | Miss. | N.C. | S.C. | Tenn. | Tex. | Va. | 11-State South |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| White Collar | **4.8%** | **4.9%** | **5.8%** | **4.8%** | **5.0%** | **3.4%** | **4.5%** | **4.1%** | **6.5%** | **7.0%** | **5.5%** | **5.0%** |
| Professional, technical, & managerial | 2.3 | 2.5 | 3.2 | 2.4 | 2.3 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 1.6 | 2.8 | 3.3 | 2.3 | 2.4 |
| Sales & clerical | 2.5 | 2.4 | 2.6 | 2.4 | 2.7 | 1.5 | 2.6 | 2.5 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 3.2 | 2.6 |
| Blue Collar | **67.7** | **55.2** | **61.7** | **63.1** | **62.9** | **56.5** | **58.2** | **63.5** | **60.2** | **64.7** | **65.2** | **61.9** |
| Craftsmen | 12.3 | 10.0 | 13.7 | 12.4 | 13.5 | 12.2 | 13.2 | 15.1 | 12.6 | 14.3 | 13.8 | 13.1 |
| Operatives | 17.7 | 17.6 | 9.0 | 16.1 | 11.8 | 15.0 | 16.4 | 15.7 | 16.9 | 13.1 | 16.2 | 14.8 |
| Transport equipment operatives | 12.5 | 8.9 | 11.7 | 11.3 | 12.8 | 10.2 | 8.7 | 9.9 | 10.3 | 13.1 | 11.5 | 11.1 |
| Laborers, except farm | 25.2 | 18.7 | 27.3 | 23.3 | 24.8 | 19.1 | 19.9 | 22.8 | 20.4 | 24.2 | 23.7 | 22.9 |
| Farming | **15.7** | **29.5** | **20.1** | **20.7** | **20.2** | **31.6** | **25.9** | **22.0** | **17.3** | **12.2** | **16.6** | **21.1** |
| Farmers & farm managers | 5.5 | 4.3 | 1.8 | 3.3 | 3.4 | 6.9 | 8.5 | 5.4 | 5.2 | 1.9 | 5.6 | 4.7 |
| Farm laborers & foremen | 10.2 | 25.2 | 18.3 | 17.4 | 16.8 | 24.7 | 17.4 | 16.6 | 12.1 | 10.3 | 11.0 | 16.4 |
| Service workers | 11.8 | 10.2 | 12.4 | 11.3 | 11.8 | 8.4 | 11.4 | 10.2 | 16.1 | 16.1 | 12.7 | 11.9 |
| Total | 100.0% | 99.8% | 100.0% | 99.9% | 99.9% | 99.9% | 100.0% | 99.8% | 100.1% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 99.9% |
| Number, thousands | 30.3 | 12.8 | 26.8 | 35.9 | 36.5 | 36.3 | 35.7 | 28.1 | 15.8 | 33.8 | 19.4 | 311.5 |

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes Table 210.

## TABLE 19
### Female Employed Family Heads, All and Black, by Poverty Status, the South: Occupation Distribution and Poverty Rates, 1970

| | FEMALES | | | BLACK FEMALES | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | All | Poor | Poverty Rate % | All | Poor | Poverty Rate % |
| Professional, technical, & managerial | 16.1% | 5.6% | 10.6 | 8.7% | 3.1% | 19.3 |
| Sales & clerical | 27.2 | 13.9 | 15.5 | 7.6 | 5.3 | 38.0 |
| Blue collar* | 22.0 | 19.6 | 27.2 | 17.6 | 16.7 | 55.2 |
| Farm occupations** | 1.6 | 3.2 | 60.0 | 4.4 | 3.5 | 76.1 |
| Service workers, except private household | 20.3 | 30.3 | 45.4 | 30.0 | 31.1 | 55.8 |
| Private household workers | 12.6 | 27.4 | 66.4 | 31.8 | 40.3 | 68.2 |
| Total | 99.8% | 100.0% | 30.5 | 100.1% | 100.0% | 53.8 |
| Number, thousands | 783 | 239 | | 278 | 149 | |

*Includes craftsmen; operatives; laborers, except farm.
**Includes farmers, farm managers, farm laborers & farm foremen.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes Table 210.

## TABLE 20
### Poor Employed Female Family Heads: Percentage Occupational Distribution, 1970

| | Ala. | Ark. | Fla. | Ga. | La. | Miss. | N.C. | S.C. | Tenn. | Tex. | Va. | 11-State South |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Professional, technical & managerial | 4.1% | 6.1% | 5.4% | 4.6% | 4.8% | 7.0% | 4.9% | 4.5% | 6.3% | 6.7% | 6.6% | 5.6% |
| Sales & clerical | 10.8 | 13.1 | 17.2 | 11.9 | 12.9 | 8.0 | 11.5 | 8.9 | 13.4 | 17.8 | 18.5 | 13.9 |
| Blue collar* | 19.4 | 23.4 | 15.3 | 22.6 | 11.0 | 20.4 | 29.5 | 22.7 | 24.9 | 16.3 | 21.5 | 19.6 |
| Farm occupations** | 1.8 | 2.7 | 7.1 | 3.3 | 1.3 | 2.1 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 1.3 | 2.0 | 1.9 | 3.2 |
| Service workers | **64.0** | **54.6** | **55.1** | **57.5** | **70.1** | **62.6** | **48.6** | **59.3** | **54.0** | **57.3** | **51.4** | **57.7** |
| Outside household | 27.3 | 31.7 | 32.5 | 26.3 | 33.4 | 28.0 | 23.2 | 25.0 | 30.0 | 36.1 | 30.8 | 30.3 |
| Private household | 36.7 | 22.9 | 22.6 | 31.2 | 36.7 | 34.6 | 25.4 | 34.3 | 24.0 | 21.2 | 20.6 | 27.4 |
| Total | 100.1% | 99.9% | 100.1% | 99.9% | 100.1% | 100.1% | 99.9% | 100.0% | 99.9% | 100.1% | 99.9% | 100.0% |
| Number, thousands | 19.6 | 8.2 | 33.3 | 25.8 | 20.6 | 15.3 | 22.1 | 14.6 | 16.8 | 47.6 | 14.7 | 238.7 |

*Includes craftsmen; operatives; laborers, except farm.
**Includes farmers, farm managers, farm laborers & farm foremen.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes Table 210.

## TABLE 21

### Poor Employed Black Female Family Heads: Percentage Occupational Distribution, 1970

| | Ala. | Ark. | Fla. | Ga. | La. | Miss. | N.C. | S.C. | Tenn. | Tex. | Va. | 11-State South |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Professional, technical, & managerial | 2.7% | 2.6% | 2.1% | 2.7% | 2.6% | 5.7% | 3.0% | 2.6% | 3.5% | 3.8% | 2.9% | 3.1% |
| Sales & clerical | 4.4 | 4.0 | 5.9 | 5.2 | 5.8 | 3.6 | 4.5 | 3.0 | 7.1 | 7.0 | 6.9 | 5.3 |
| Blue collar* | 15.0 | 21.3 | 13.3 | 19.5 | 10.7 | 16.6 | 24.5 | 18.4 | 19.0 | 12.5 | 22.5 | 16.7 |
| Farm occupations** | 1.6 | 1.7 | 10.2 | 3.2 | 1.4 | 1.9 | 5.7 | 5.6 | .8 | .8 | 1.9 | 3.5 |
| Service workers | **76.3** | **70.3** | **68.4** | **69.5** | **79.5** | **72.2** | **62.3** | **70.4** | **69.6** | **75.9** | **65.9** | **71.4** |
| Outside household | 27.7 | 32.9 | 33.2 | 27.6 | 32.6 | 29.0 | 24.9 | 26.2 | 31.5 | 39.4 | 32.6 | 31.1 |
| Private households | 48.6 | 37.4 | 35.2 | 41.9 | 46.9 | 43.2 | 37.4 | 44.2 | 38.1 | 36.5 | 33.3 | 40.3 |
| Total | 100.0% | 99.9% | 99.9% | 100.1% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.1% | 100.0% |
| Number, thousands | 14.1 | 4.5 | 20.3 | 18.6 | 15.4 | 12.0 | 14.1 | 10.9 | 9.2 | 22.0 | 8.3 | 149.3 |

*Includes craftsmen; operatives; laborers, except farm.
**Includes farmers, farm managers, farm laborers & farm foremen.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes Table 210.

## TABLE 22

### Employed Family Heads by Sex, Residence, and Poverty Status, the South: Occupation Distribution and Poverty Rates, 1970

| | MALES | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | URBAN | | | RURAL | | |
| | All | Poor | Pov. Rate % | All | Poor | Pov. Rate % |
| Professional, technical, & managerial | 30.8% | 10.8% | 2.3 | 17.1% | 5.6% | 4.4 |
| Sales & clerical | 16.3 | 8.3 | 3.3 | 9.1 | 3.4 | 5.0 |
| Craftsmen | 22.7 | 20.9 | 5.9 | 25.8 | 16.0 | 8.4 |
| Operatives, except transport | 10.9 | 15.2 | 8.9 | 16.3 | 13.6 | 11.3 |
| Transport equipment operatives | 6.1 | 10.5 | 11.1 | 7.0 | 8.0 | 15.5 |
| Laborers, except farm | 5.4 | 17.3 | 20.8 | 6.9 | 14.3 | 28.0 |
| Farmers & farm managers | .4 | 1.1 | 17.4 | 8.0 | 15.0 | 25.3 |
| Farm laborers & foremen | .6 | 3.4 | 37.1 | 5.1 | 18.6 | 49.7 |
| Service workers | 6.7 | 12.5 | 11.9 | 4.9 | 5.6 | 15.5 |
| Total | 99.9% | 100.0% | 6.4 | 100.2% | 100.1% | 13.5 |
| Number, thousands | 5,651 | 364 | — | 3,191 | 432 | — |

| | FEMALES | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | URBAN | | | RURAL | | |
| | All | Poor | Pov. Rate % | All | Poor | Pov. Rate % |
| Professional, technical, & managerial | 16.8% | 5.7% | 10.1 | 13.8% | 5.1% | 12.5 |
| Sales & clerical | 30.4 | 15.6 | 15.1 | 16.9 | 9.0 | 18.7 |
| Blue collar* | 19.0 | 18.1 | 28.0 | 32.4 | 24.1 | 25.4 |
| Farm occupations** | .6 | 1.3 | 68.0 | 5.2 | 8.7 | 57.0 |
| Service workers, except private household | 21.1 | 32.6 | 45.3 | 17.7 | 23.6 | 45.5 |
| Private household workers | 12.1 | 26.6 | 64.6 | 14.1 | 29.5 | 71.5 |
| Total | 100.0% | 99.9% | 29.4 | 100.1% | 100.0% | 34.1 |
| Number, thousands | 603 | 177 | — | 181 | 61 | — |

*Includes craftsmen; operatives; laborers, except farm.
**Includes farmers, farm managers, farm laborers & farm foremen.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes Table 210.

## TABLE 23
### Farming Occupations* Employment, 1950, 1960, and 1970 and Percent Decrease 1950 - 1970
(Numbers in thousands)

| | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1950-1970 Percent Decrease |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 248 | 97 | 39 | −85 |
| Arkansas | 210 | 77 | 47 | −78 |
| Florida | 116 | 89 | 77 | −33 |
| Georgia | 261 | 113 | 62 | −76 |
| Louisiana | 147 | 62 | 37 | −75 |
| Mississippi | 296 | 137 | 46 | −84 |
| North Carolina | 357 | 198 | 92 | −74 |
| South Carolina | 195 | 92 | 34 | −83 |
| Tennessee | 244 | 126 | 55 | −78 |
| Texas | 427 | 260 | 164 | −62 |
| Virginia | 165 | 95 | 46 | −72 |
| 11-State South | 2,667 | 1,345 | 699 | −74 |
| United States | 6,706 | 3,950 | 2,380 | −65 |

*Farmers, farm managers, farm laborers, and farm foremen.
Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: *1950 General Characteristics*, P - B Series, Table 28; *1960 General Social and Economic Characteristics*, PC(1)-C Series, Table 57; *1970 General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary*, PC(1)-C1, Table 165.

## TABLE 24
### Poor Employed Family Heads Less Than 65 Years by Race and Sex of Head: Percent Employed Full-time*, 1970

| | White Males % | White Females % | Black Males % | Black Females % | Total** % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 77.5 | 73.0 | 78.2 | 59.2 | 74.4 |
| Arkansas | 74.4 | 75.3 | 69.3 | 57.7 | 71.6 |
| Florida | 80.8 | 70.2 | 78.4 | 59.0 | 74.6 |
| Georgia | 79.9 | 72.2 | 78.5 | 61.3 | 75.1 |
| Louisiana | 80.6 | 70.7 | 77.5 | 58.5 | 74.8 |
| Mississippi | 75.6 | 76.0 | 72.7 | 61.5 | 71.9 |
| North Carolina | 77.5 | 70.8 | 73.4 | 56.2 | 72.7 |
| South Carolina | 79.7 | 72.0 | 78.0 | 59.2 | 74.6 |
| Tennessee | 74.5 | 71.5 | 77.2 | 62.8 | 73.4 |
| Texas | 81.0 | 71.6 | 78.6 | 62.2 | 77.6 |
| Virginia | 79.3 | 68.4 | 76.7 | 60.9 | 75.0 |
| 11-State South | 78.8 | 71.5 | 76.5 | 60.0 | 74.7 |
| United States | 80.4 | 63.3 | 77.1 | 60.8 | 75.5 |

*35 hours or more per week.
**Includes all races.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, U.S. Summary, Table 261 and state volumes, Table 209.

## TABLE 25
### All Poor Employed Family Heads by Sex and for Blacks by Sex: Percent Employed Full-year*, 1970

| | All Males % | All Females % | Total % | Black Males % | Black Females % | Total % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 57.1 | 50.1 | 55.5 | 58.3 | 53.2 | 56.8 |
| Arkansas | 51.3 | 47.9 | 50.7 | 44.8 | 52.2 | 46.7 |
| Florida | 51.0 | 36.2 | 46.4 | 51.7 | 39.6 | 46.5 |
| Georgia | 62.3 | 49.1 | 59.0 | 62.4 | 51.9 | 58.9 |
| Louisiana | 56.8 | 53.4 | 56.0 | 55.7 | 55.8 | 55.7 |
| Mississippi | 51.1 | 51.7 | 51.2 | 49.0 | 52.6 | 49.9 |
| North Carolina | 57.5 | 42.9 | 54.5 | 56.7 | 45.0 | 53.5 |
| South Carolina | 62.6 | 51.0 | 59.9 | 62.5 | 53.6 | 60.1 |
| Tennessee | 53.9 | 46.1 | 52.4 | 55.2 | 52.3 | 54.2 |
| Texas | 60.2 | 46.8 | 57.5 | 57.3 | 50.9 | 54.8 |
| Virginia | 60.6 | 45.2 | 57.2 | 60.4 | 51.2 | 57.7 |
| 11-State South | 57.3 | 46.5 | 54.9 | 56.3 | 50.1 | 54.4 |
| United States | 58.4 | 40.1 | 54.4 | 55.1 | 46.6 | 52.1 |

*50-52 weeks per year.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, U.S. Summary, Table 262 and state volumes, Table 210.

## TABLE 26
### Poor Family Heads 25-64 Years by Race and Sex of Head: Percentage Distribution of Completed Education, 1970

| | No High School | Attended High School | High School Graduate | College Graduate | Total % | Total No. (000) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | | | | | | |
| White male | 46.3 | 32.6 | 18.3 | 2.8 | 100.0 | 43 |
| White female | 31.7 | 38.9 | 27.7 | 1.8 | 100.1 | 13 |
| Black male | 60.0 | 28.5 | 11.2 | .3 | 100.0 | 35 |
| Black female | 42.3 | 41.9 | 15.4 | .4 | 100.0 | 27 |
| Arkansas | | | | | | |
| White male | 40.2 | 37.9 | 19.6 | 2.2 | 99.9 | 37 |
| White female | 28.2 | 42.2 | 27.2 | 2.4 | 100.0 | 8 |
| Black male | 59.4 | 31.7 | 8.6 | .2 | 99.9 | 16 |
| Black female | 43.8 | 43.5 | 12.3 | .4 | 100.0 | 9 |
| Florida | | | | | | |
| White male | 28.4 | 35.2 | 29.9 | 6.5 | 100.0 | 58 |
| White female | 15.4 | 34.4 | 45.5 | 4.7 | 100.0 | 26 |
| Black male | 52.5 | 33.3 | 13.6 | .6 | 100.0 | 30 |
| Black female | 34.7 | 44.8 | 19.7 | .8 | 100.0 | 30 |
| Georgia | | | | | | |
| White male | 46.7 | 32.2 | 17.1 | 3.9 | 99.9 | 41 |
| White female | 28.9 | 39.5 | 28.4 | 3.1 | 99.9 | 16 |
| Black male | 68.1 | 23.8 | 7.6 | .5 | 100.0 | 40 |
| Black female | 46.6 | 40.8 | 12.1 | .5 | 100.0 | 31 |
| Louisiana | | | | | | |
| White male | 45.6 | 28.2 | 21.9 | 4.3 | 100.0 | 39 |
| White female | 29.4 | 35.5 | 32.3 | 2.9 | 100.1 | 13 |
| Black male | 61.4 | 28.1 | 10.0 | .5 | 100.0 | 45 |
| Black female | 43.5 | 41.7 | 14.2 | .6 | 100.0 | 33 |
| Mississippi | | | | | | |
| White male | 35.2 | 36.8 | 24.2 | 3.7 | 99.9 | 27 |
| White female | 22.4 | 39.0 | 35.6 | 3.0 | 100.0 | 7 |
| Black male | 67.0 | 26.6 | 6.0 | .4 | 100.0 | 43 |
| Black female | 48.4 | 41.6 | 9.7 | .3 | 100.0 | 23 |
| North Carolina | | | | | | |
| White male | 48.5 | 32.6 | 15.6 | 3.2 | 99.9 | 52 |
| White female | 29.8 | 39.3 | 28.0 | 2.8 | 99.9 | 18 |
| Black male | 61.0 | 29.0 | 9.5 | .5 | 100.0 | 40 |
| Black female | 41.3 | 43.9 | 14.3 | .5 | 100.0 | 28 |
| South Carolina | | | | | | |
| White male | 44.6 | 31.8 | 17.7 | 5.9 | 100.0 | 21 |
| White female | 27.3 | 36.8 | 32.7 | 3.3 | 100.1 | 9 |
| Black male | 67.9 | 25.5 | 6.4 | .2 | 100.0 | 32 |
| Black female | 54.4 | 36.5 | 8.5 | .6 | 100.0 | 20 |
| Tennessee | | | | | | |
| White male | 48.4 | 35.8 | 13.3 | 2.5 | 100.0 | 64 |
| White female | 34.7 | 39.6 | 23.8 | 1.9 | 100.0 | 19 |
| Black male | 52.3 | 35.4 | 11.5 | .7 | 99.9 | 18 |
| Black female | 31.3 | 50.0 | 18.1 | .5 | 99.9 | 17 |
| Texas | | | | | | |
| White male | 52.0 | 26.9 | 17.6 | 3.5 | 100.0 | 151 |
| White female | 42.7 | 29.5 | 25.1 | 2.7 | 100.0 | 51 |
| Black male | 43.4 | 38.7 | 17.1 | .8 | 100.0 | 37 |
| Black female | 25.5 | 49.4 | 24.2 | 1.0 | 100.1 | 33 |
| Virginia | | | | | | |
| White male | 52.3 | 26.9 | 15.3 | 5.5 | 100.0 | 38 |
| White female | 25.0 | 33.8 | 35.5 | 5.7 | 100.0 | 17 |
| Black male | 63.0 | 27.7 | 8.9 | .5 | 100.1 | 22 |
| Black female | 38.6 | 45.3 | 15.3 | .8 | 100.0 | 17 |
| 11-State South | | | | | | |
| White male | 45.8 | 31.5 | 18.8 | 3.8 | 99.9 | 574 |
| White female | 30.9 | 35.4 | 30.5 | 3.2 | 100.0 | 196 |
| Black male | 60.1 | 29.4 | 10.0 | .5 | 100.0 | 359 |
| Black female | 40.5 | 43.6 | 15.4 | .6 | 100.1 | 267 |

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 211.

## TABLE 27

### Poverty Rates for Family Heads 25-64 Years by Race, Sex and Completed Education, 1970

| | No High School % | Attended High Sch. % | High Sch. Graduate % | College Graduate % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | | | | |
| White male | 22.5 | 9.8 | 3.9 | 1.9 |
| White female | 48.3 | 34.9 | 20.9 | 9.0 |
| Black male | 45.1 | 32.3 | 19.9 | 3.0 |
| Black female | 74.3 | 75.3 | 62.1 | 8.9 |
| Arkansas | | | | |
| White male | 28.5 | 14.5 | 6.1 | 2.7 |
| White female | 53.9 | 38.1 | 23.0 | 13.9 |
| Black male | 53.9 | 38.9 | 22.2 | 2.2 |
| Black female | 81.2 | 75.2 | 60.3 | 14.0 |
| Florida | | | | |
| White male | 15.8 | 7.4 | 3.6 | 2.3 |
| White female | 41.4 | 30.5 | 20.5 | 12.6 |
| Black male | 30.2 | 24.2 | 14.4 | 3.4 |
| Black female | 66.2 | 64.8 | 54.5 | 12.8 |
| Georgia | | | | |
| White male | 16.0 | 6.7 | 2.9 | 1.7 |
| White female | 36.8 | 29.0 | 20.1 | 11.9 |
| Black male | 39.8 | 24.9 | 11.5 | 3.3 |
| Black female | 64.3 | 62.7 | 45.9 | 9.7 |
| Louisiana | | | | |
| White male | 20.2 | 9.3 | 4.4 | 2.4 |
| White female | 44.8 | 35.8 | 23.1 | 10.8 |
| Black male | 46.3 | 33.1 | 20.3 | 4.4 |
| Black female | 75.8 | 75.7 | 63.2 | 12.1 |
| Mississippi | | | | |
| White male | 28.2 | 13.0 | 5.6 | 2.8 |
| White female | 54.2 | 38.3 | 25.1 | 11.7 |
| Black male | 61.4 | 43.8 | 25.8 | 4.8 |
| Black female | 84.3 | 78.3 | 67.0 | 10.6 |
| North Carolina | | | | |
| White male | 15.4 | 6.7 | 3.2 | 1.8 |
| White female | 35.1 | 27.7 | 23.0 | 11.9 |
| Black male | 40.0 | 26.9 | 13.4 | 3.2 |
| Black female | 66.8 | 63.8 | 51.7 | 10.0 |
| South Carolina | | | | |
| White male | 14.3 | 5.9 | 3.1 | 2.7 |
| White female | 36.0 | 27.5 | 26.8 | 13.7 |
| Black male | 44.1 | 30.8 | 15.4 | 1.8 |
| Black female | 72.0 | 67.0 | 53.1 | 11.7 |
| Tennessee | | | | |
| White male | 26.6 | 11.3 | 3.6 | 2.1 |
| White female | 52.4 | 34.7 | 20.6 | 10.6 |
| Black male | 36.9 | 24.0 | 12.9 | 3.8 |
| Black female | 66.9 | 64.8 | 50.0 | 11.0 |
| Texas | | | | |
| White male | 25.9 | 8.2 | 3.7 | 1.8 |
| White female | 56.1 | 32.3 | 20.8 | 10.8 |
| Black male | 29.9 | 22.3 | 11.9 | 3.7 |
| Black female | 64.4 | 63.8 | 51.9 | 15.5 |
| Virginia | | | | |
| White male | 14.7 | 5.5 | 2.2 | 1.5 |
| White female | 37.2 | 31.0 | 22.6 | 18.2 |
| Black male | 28.1 | 17.3 | 8.4 | 2.3 |
| Black female | 58.4 | 61.3 | 44.9 | 12.3 |
| 11-State South | | | | |
| White male | 20.6 | 8.4 | 3.7 | 2.0 |
| White female | 46.3 | 31.9 | 21.6 | 12.2 |
| Black male | 40.6 | 27.4 | 14.5 | 3.4 |
| Black female | 69.8 | 67.5 | 53.8 | 11.8 |

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 211.

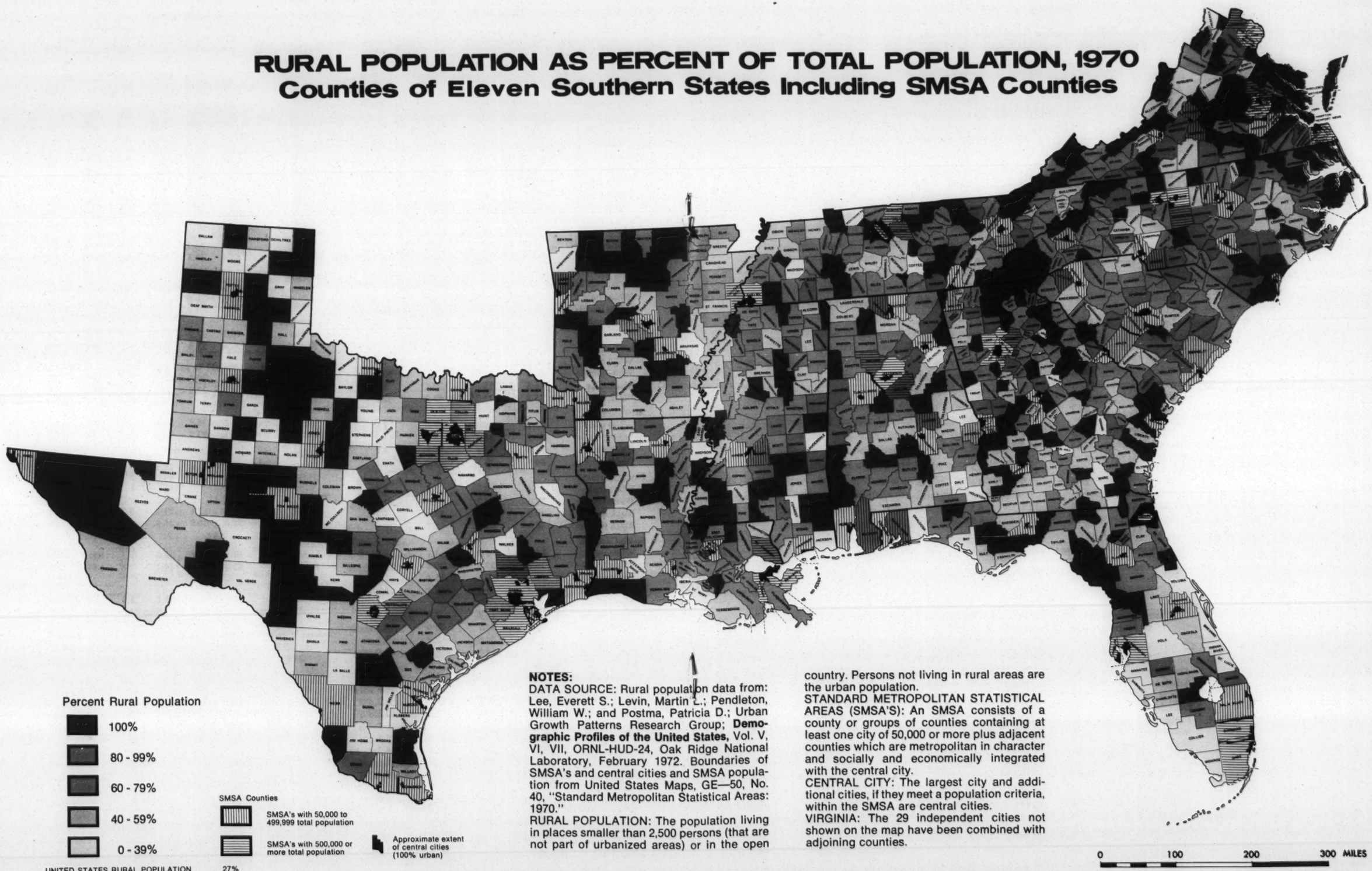
## TABLE 28

### Poor Family Heads 25-64 Years by Residence: Percentage Distribution of Completed Education, 1970

| | No High School | Attended High School | High School Graduate | College Graduate | Total % | Total No. (000) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | | | | | | |
| Urban | 38.0% | 38.2 | 21.6 | 2.2 | 100.0% | 57 |
| Rural | 57.0 | 30.4 | 11.9 | .7 | 100.0 | 62 |
| Arkansas | | | | | | |
| Urban | 37.0 | 38.1 | 22.2 | 2.7 | 100.0 | 26 |
| Rural | 47.5 | 37.5 | 14.1 | .9 | 100.0 | 45 |
| Florida | | | | | | |
| Urban | 29.8 | 36.7 | 29.2 | 4.3 | 100.0 | 106 |
| Rural | 39.6 | 36.3 | 21.8 | 2.3 | 100.0 | 38 |
| Georgia | | | | | | |
| Urban | 41.9 | 36.5 | 18.9 | 2.8 | 100.1 | 66 |
| Rural | 61.1 | 28.4 | 9.5 | 1.0 | 100.0 | 62 |
| Louisiana | | | | | | |
| Urban | 41.4 | 36.2 | 19.7 | 2.7 | 100.0 | 74 |
| Rural | 59.0 | 27.0 | 13.1 | 1.0 | 100.0 | 57 |
| Mississippi | | | | | | |
| Urban | 40.3 | 37.7 | 19.1 | 2.9 | 100.0 | 34 |
| Rural | 56.4 | 31.6 | 11.3 | .7 | 100.0 | 67 |
| North Carolina | | | | | | |
| Urban | 36.8 | 39.1 | 20.6 | 3.4 | 99.9 | 50 |
| Rural | 54.7 | 32.2 | 12.1 | 1.0 | 100.0 | 91 |
| South Carolina | | | | | | |
| Urban | 41.2 | 36.3 | 19.0 | 3.4 | 99.9 | 32 |
| Rural | 62.1 | 27.7 | 8.8 | 1.3 | 99.9 | 51 |
| Tennessee | | | | | | |
| Urban | 35.3 | 41.0 | 20.7 | 3.1 | 100.1 | 54 |
| Rural | 51.9 | 36.2 | 11.0 | .9 | 100.0 | 65 |
| Texas | | | | | | |
| Urban | 43.5 | 32.1 | 21.2 | 3.2 | 100.0 | 196 |
| Rural | 51.6 | 30.8 | 15.9 | 1.7 | 100.0 | 78 |
| Virginia | | | | | | |
| Urban | 30.1 | 38.2 | 26.0 | 5.7 | 100.0 | 45 |
| Rural | 62.4 | 25.9 | 10.1 | 1.6 | 100.0 | 50 |
| 11-State South | | | | | | |
| Urban | 38.4 | 36.2 | 22.1 | 3.3 | 100.0 | 739 |
| Rural | 55.2 | 31.2 | 12.5 | 1.2 | 100.1 | 665 |

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 211.

# RURAL POPULATION AS PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION, 1970
## Counties of Eleven Southern States Including SMSA Counties




UNITED STATES RURAL POPULATION 27%
ELEVEN-STATE RURAL POPULATION 36%
(Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.)

**NOTES:**

DATA SOURCE: Rural population data from: Lee, Everett S.; Levin, Martin L.; Pendleton, William W.; and Postma, Patricia D.; Urban Growth Patterns Research Group; **Demographic Profiles of the United States,** Vol. V, VI, VII, ORNL-HUD-24, Oak Ridge National Laboratory, February 1972. Boundaries of SMSA's and central cities and SMSA population from United States Maps, GE—50, No. 40, "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas: 1970."

RURAL POPULATION: The population living in places smaller than 2,500 persons (that are not part of urbanized areas) or in the open country. Persons not living in rural areas are the urban population.

STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS (SMSA'S): An SMSA consists of a county or groups of counties containing at least one city of 50,000 or more plus adjacent counties which are metropolitan in character and socially and economically integrated with the central city.

CENTRAL CITY: The largest city and additional cities, if they meet a population criteria, within the SMSA are central cities.

VIRGINIA: The 29 independent cities not shown on the map have been combined with adjoining counties.

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## TABLE 29

### Poverty Rates for Family Heads 25-64 Years by Residence and Completed Education, 1970

| | No High School % | Attended High Sch. % | High Sch. Graduate % | College Graduate % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | | | | |
| Urban | 30.6 | 19.4 | 7.6 | 2.1 |
| Rural | 39.3 | 20.2 | 8.6 | 3.8 |
| Arkansas | | | | |
| Urban | 34.0 | 18.7 | 7.1 | 2.7 |
| Rural | 41.5 | 23.4 | 11.2 | 5.0 |
| Florida | | | | |
| Urban | 23.8 | 13.6 | 6.4 | 2.9 |
| Rural | 30.6 | 16.8 | 8.2 | 4.0 |
| Georgia | | | | |
| Urban | 26.6 | 15.6 | 6.1 | 2.2 |
| Rural | 31.7 | 14.4 | 6.1 | 2.9 |
| Louisiana | | | | |
| Urban | 31.5 | 21.5 | 8.4 | 3.0 |
| Rural | 41.7 | 23.7 | 10.5 | 3.9 |
| Mississippi | | | | |
| Urban | 44.2 | 26.3 | 8.5 | 3.3 |
| Rural | 56.6 | 28.3 | 11.5 | 4.0 |
| North Carolina | | | | |
| Urban | 21.5 | 14.0 | 6.6 | 2.4 |
| Rural | 28.3 | 14.4 | 7.0 | 2.7 |
| South Carolina | | | | |
| Urban | 27.3 | 15.8 | 7.3 | 2.9 |
| Rural | 35.2 | 15.6 | 6.6 | 4.1 |
| Tennessee | | | | |
| Urban | 27.2 | 15.9 | 6.1 | 2.5 |
| Rural | 35.9 | 18.4 | 7.4 | 3.1 |
| Texas | | | | |
| Urban | 28.3 | 13.0 | 6.0 | 2.1 |
| Rural | 36.5 | 15.7 | 8.3 | 4.0 |
| Virginia | | | | |
| Urban | 16.0 | 11.2 | 5.1 | 2.0 |
| Rural | 25.3 | 13.0 | 5.6 | 3.0 |
| 11-State South | | | | |
| Urban | 27.0 | 15.1 | 6.5 | 2.4 |
| Rural | 35.0 | 17.5 | 8.0 | 3.5 |

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 211.

## TABLE 30

### Union Membership and as a Percent of Employees In Non-agricultural Establishments, 1970

| | Membership in thousands | As Percent of Employees |
|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 204 | 20.3 |
| Arkansas | 95 | 17.9 |
| Florida | 299 | 13.9 |
| Georgia | 251 | 16.2 |
| Louisiana | 193 | 18.4 |
| Mississippi | 76 | 13.2 |
| North Carolina | 137 | 7.8 |
| South Carolina | 81 | 9.6 |
| Tennessee | 274 | 20.6 |
| Texas | 523 | 14.4 |
| Virginia | 245 | 16.7 |
| 11-State South | 2,378 | 15.0 |
| United States | 19,757 | 27.9 |

Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Directory of National Unions and Employee Associations 1971*, Bulletin 1750, p. 84.

# CHAPTER III POOR SOUTHERN FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN

## SUMMARY


1. *Forty-one percent of all Southern poor were children compared to 36 percent in the rest of the nation. The poverty incidence for children in the eleven states was one in four.*
2. *Two-thirds of poor white children were living with both parents, but less than half of poor black children were similarly situated since female-headed families were more prevalent among blacks than whites.*
3. *The proportion of Southern poor black families with children in the home was over three-quarters; among whites, it was slightly more than one half.*
4. *White male-headed families with children had lower poverty rates than similarly headed families without children, a situation in direct contrast to that among female-headed families of both races and among black male-headed families. The poverty incidence for both white and black female-headed families increased almost two-fold with the presence of children.*
5. *Poverty incidence among male headed-families with children was nearly twice as high in rural areas as in urban areas. For female-headed families with children the difference by residence was not nearly so dramatic.*
6. *Only six percent of Southern families received public assistance in 1970, slightly over 750,000; the average annual benefit was $875 or one-quarter of the poverty level for a female-headed family of four.*
7. *Only one in seven poor families in the South were raised from poverty by public assistance.*
8. *The total income from public assistance received by families in the eleven state South was $669 million in 1969, 75 percent of which came from the federal government.*
9. *Of poor families with a female head and young children in the home (248,000), over half of the female heads were working in 1970 in the South. Yet the poverty incidence for these families was not substantially different from that for* all *welfare recipient families—51 percent compared to 55 percent.*
10. *For white female-headed families with young children the poverty incidence for those with an employed head was half that of those without an employed head; for blacks the reduction in poverty rate for working was much less—from 86 percent to 66 percent.*
11. *The income needed to fill the gap between the income of the poor and the poverty line was $4.1 billion before assistance in 1970. Federal and state payments together amounted to only 16.5 percent of this amount.*


Poverty bears particularly heavy on children of the region. Forty-one percent of all Southern poor persons were children compared to 36 percent in the rest of the nation. This amounted to 4.2 million children, 2.3. million black and 1.9 million white, living in poor Southern families. In two Southern states, South Carolina and Mississippi, the proportion of children of the state's poor was as high as 45 percent (Table 31). The poverty incidence for children in the Southern region was one in four—a rate higher than that for all Southern persons.

For the four race/sex family head groups, poor families with children had the same residential patterns as all poor families (Tables 9 and 32). The difference in poverty incidence between urban and rural areas was similar to that for all poor families as discussed in Chapter I. The male-headed family with children was about twice as likely to be poor if living in a rural area, but for the female-headed family with children the difference was much less.

Poverty Incidence for Families With Children by Residence in the South, 1970

| Family Head | Urban | Rural | Ratio Rural/ Urban |
|---|---|---|---|
| White male | 7% | 13% | 1.9 |
| White female | 35 | 42 | 1.2 |
| Black male | 27 | 49 | 1.8 |
| Black female | 68 | 76 | 1.1 |

Source: Table 33.

### Family Composition

Most of the poor white children—two-thirds—were living with both of their parents, but less than half of poor black children were similarly situated.

| Children Living in Poor Families in the South, 1970 | White | Black |
|---|---|---|
| With both parents | 68% | 47% |
| Without both | 32 | 53 |
| | 100% | 100% |
| Total, millions | 1.9 | 2.3 |

Source: Computed from 4th Count Tapes.

This difference between black and white children is consistent with the fact that among all poor families with children relatively more white than black families were headed by males (*e.g.*, were husband-wife families)—70 percent compared to 55 percent.[1] Still another difference between white and black families was in the proportion of all poor families who had children living in the home. Among blacks the figure was over three-quarters; among whites, slightly more than one half. Differences in the presence of children and differences in the sex of the family head resulted in the family composition below.

| Poor Families by Family Composition in the South, 1970 | White | Black |
|---|---|---|
| With Children | 54% | 77% |
| Male head | 38 | 43 |
| Female head | 16 | 35 |
| Without children | 46 | 23 |
| Male head | 40 | 17 |
| Female head | 6 | 6 |
| | 100% | 100% |

Source: Table 34.

Since the family without children was so much less prevalent among blacks than whites the foregoing figures suggest that many poor black adults (elderly and non-elderly) may be living in families where there also are young children rather than in separate families. These data indicate nothing about the presence of other relatives in the family but data from the nationwide Survey of Economic Opportunity about the poor[2] shed some light. Among male-headed poor families only 8 percent of white but 22 percent of black had children and other relatives (in addition to wives) living in the home. Among female-headed families the difference between the races was less but 20 percent of black families compared to 13 percent of white had both children and other relatives in the home. The survey also revealed that in female-headed families with children only 19 percent of white and 28 percent of black had persons other than children in the home.

The OEO family composition data highlight some problems in terms of aiding the poor. Since most poor black families contain children the work potential of mothers is reduced. Thus if mothers are to work, public child care programs must be expanded. Moreover, current public assistance programs are almost exclusively in aid to children. Therefore, *potentially* over three-quarters of black and over half of poor white families could be reached by this program alone if eligibility were liberalized and extended to male-headed families. Most of the male heads were working poor (Chapter II) and their poverty was usually due to low wages and/or underemployment.

## Poverty Incidence and Family Composition

As between families with children and those without, the incidence of poverty was higher for those with children in three of the four race/sex groups of family heads. White male-headed families with children had lower poverty rates than similarly headed families without children, a situation in direct contrast to that among female-headed families of both races and among black male-headed families.

| Poverty Incidence for Family Types in the South, 1970 | White | Black |
|---|---|---|
| Male head | | |
| No children | 12% | 28% |
| With children | 9 | 35 |
| Female head | | |
| No children | 19 | 40 |
| With children | 37 | 70 |

Source: Table 34.

The reasons for this can partly be inferred from the family composition and labor market activity of the groups. Male-headed families without children include a large proportion of elderly whose incomes are relatively low. Male-headed families with children are overwhelmingly non-elderly, employed, and have wives present who are potential workers. White male-headed families in this situation have the best chances for high income. The white male can earn more than black men and all women and his chance for job and earnings mobility over his working life is greater. The black male-headed family has less chance for earning as much as his white counterpart; the male is more subject to underemployment, unemployment, a lower-paid job, and less lifetime job mobility. His wife, if she works, cannot expect earnings as high as any of the other groups. More of these black male-headed families also have other relatives in the family to support than do white families

The poverty incidence for both white and black female-headed families increased *nearly two-fold* with the presence of children. Since these families usually have no other adults present, the brunt of the financial responsibility falls on the mother alone. Four out of

[1]Computed from Table 34.
[2]Gladys K. Bowles, A. Lloyd Bacon, and P. Neal Ritchey, *Poverty Dimensions of Rural-to-Urban Migration: A Statistical Report.* Economic Research Service, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1973, Table 9.

ten black female heads *without* children in the home are poor. The comparable families with children are even more subject to poverty—seven out of ten. White female heads *without* children are less often poor than their black counterparts, but one-fifth of them are poor. The employment of all women is largely in occupations and industries which are relatively low wage and therefore not adequate to the task of supporting a family. Many of the "female-type" jobs cannot support one person, much less a family. The continued occupational discrimination against women, and especially black women, is a barrier which must be overcome if poverty among female-headed families is to be substantially reduced.

## Working Mothers with Young Children

Too often those who are anxious to reduce welfare rolls stress the potential employability of the family heads. Since most of these families are poor, putting the family head to work is frequently claimed to improve their economic circumstances.

In 1970, of the 395,000 female-headed families with children under six years, nearly six out of ten were working and of the 248,000 poor families, nearly five out of ten.[3] Thus, this group, far from being unemployable, was already substantially employed. Their problem is the inadequacy of the level and duration of the jobs. Perhaps too frequently strict criteria for acceptance for welfare keeps benefits from those who should have them.

Since these data do not distinguish between those mothers who were working and receiving welfare and those who were only working the extent of combinations of work and welfare are not available. As already noted, however, work is no guarantee that one will not be poor. Among all female-headed families with young children, the poverty incidence for those with an employed head was not substantially different from that for all welfare recipients. Over half of these families with an employed head were poor compared to 55 percent[4] of public assistance recipient families. This is also true for whites and blacks — for whites 35 percent of these families with an employed mother were poor compared to 43 percent of all white welfare families; for blacks the comparison was 66 percent for employed and 69 percent for welfare families.[5]

Poverty Incidence for Female-Headed Families With Young Children by Race, in the South, 1970

| | White | Black |
|---|---|---|
| Working head | 35% | 66% |
| Head not working | 71 | 86 |

Source: Table 35.

For those not in the labor force (which includes welfare recipients as well as those neither receiving welfare nor working) poverty rates were even higher — 71 percent for white female heads and 86 percent for blacks.

Working does not reduce a black working mother's chances of getting out of poverty as much as it does a white's. For working white female heads with young children the chance of being poor is half that of those not in the labor force. For black female heads the difference in poverty rates between those in the labor force and those who are not is only one-third lower. As a matter of fact the black working mother has a poverty rate almost as high as the white non-working mother — 66 percent compared to 71 percent (Table 35).

The high poverty rates for the working mothers of young children suggests an inadequacy in the work incentive features of the AFDC program. The program allows recipients to keep $30.00 from their earnings, work-related expenses, and one-third of the rest of their earnings per month. Since the employment of poor women is practically always in low-wage jobs and industries, especially service type, the "$30.00 plus one-third" does not yield a great amount. This, coupled with an already low grant relative to need, often results in a *sub-poverty* level income. Alteration of the program to allow a higher proportion of earnings to be retained or to provide a sliding scale percentage of earnings to be retained would obviously be a more viable incentive.[6]

Most female-headed families with young children, whatever their labor force status or race were poor.[7] Neither present public assistance programs nor earnings were sufficient to prevent this. If an objective of public policy really is to reduce poverty among female-headed families, more vigorous and better financed income maintenance programs will be needed for a long time. For the truth is, despite pious rhetoric about the work ethic, neither the society nor the economy is changing fast enough to permit economic self-sufficiency for this group in the foreseeable future.

## Public Assistance to Families with Children

Most public assistance is for children under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program (other assistance is given the elderly, blind, and disabled). In the discussion of data which follows it was not possible to disaggregate the various programs, but of the total, the aid to children represents the largest part — about 70 percent of the total aid.

Relatively few Southern families — six percent — received public assistance in 1969, or in absolute numbers, slightly over three-quarters of a million. Of this

[3]Computed from 4th Count Tapes.
[4]Table 38.
[5]*Ibid.*
[6]Other inequities of the program are that the states determine the allowable work related expenses (the South has a history of toughness in interpretations of other features) but more importantly the one-third retention of earnings amounts to a 67 percent tax rate, a rate equivalent to that for other taxpayers earning above $140,000. Sar Levitan, Martin Rein, and David Marwick, *Work and Welfare Go Together*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1972, p. 80.
[7]4th Count Tapes.

total more were whites than blacks and more were urban dwellers than rural dwellers. The rate of receipt, however, was higher for blacks — 17 percent compared to four percent and for rural families — seven percent compared to five percent (Table 36). It should be remembered, of course, that the poverty rate among black families was 41 percent compared to 12 percent among whites and uniformly higher in rural areas than in urban areas. Thus a minority of the poor receive aid. Of those families who were poor before the receipt of the aid, less than one-third, 31 percent, received public assistance. For poor black families the proportion receiving aid was 37 percent, yet of the main eligible group — female-headed families with children — 70 percent were poor. For poor white families 27 percent received aid yet 37 percent of white female-headed families with children were poor (Table 37).

Of these families who *received aid* more remained poor than were raised out of poverty as a result of the aid. Of all recipient families in the region, 55 percent were still below the poverty line. This proportion for black families was 69 percent, and for whites, 43 percent. The difference between rural and urban families still in poverty was less extreme, 61 percent as compared with 51 percent (Table 38).

The meagerness of benefits guarantees such results. The Southern average annual income received from public assistance in 1969 was $875 per recipient family or *one-quarter* of the poverty level for a female headed family of four. The average benefit for Southern whites was $845, and for blacks $908. The urban average was $878 and the rural, $870 (Table 39).

Of *all of the before-aid-poor* only one in seven were raised out of poverty by public assistance. White families were more often benefited than black families, 15 percent compared with 12 percent; and a higher percentage of urban families than rural, 16 percent compared with 12 percent (Table 40). The relative benefit to whites and urban dwellers was due not to the size of the benefit as shown by the above averages, but rather to the greater reliability of other income sources.

The welfare system of the South, of course, does not even pretend to eliminate poverty. State defined "need levels" are all lower than poverty levels and in most states maximum payments are far lower than need levels.[8]

## The Dollars and Cents of Poverty

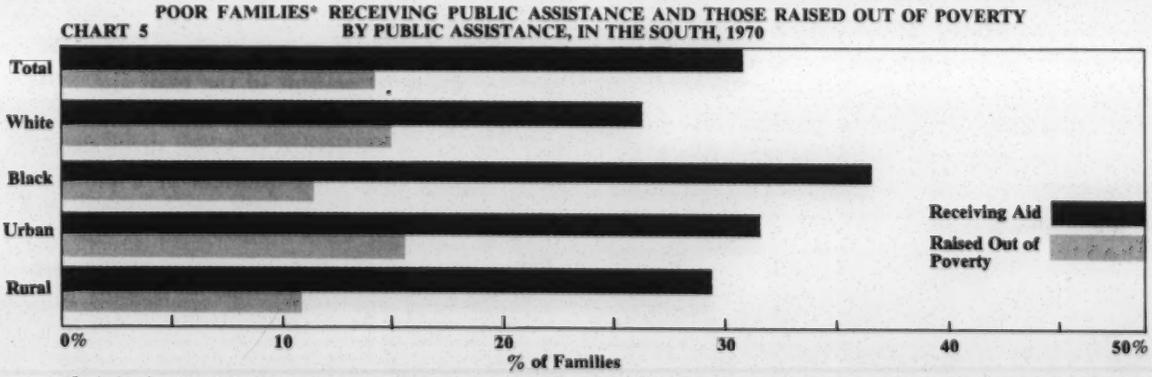
The Southern states pay out of their own revenue relatively small amounts for public assistance. Under matching provisions, the federal government's share is about three-quarters of the total public assistance bill.[9] The federal government's share is greater for low per capita income states; hence it pays a higher share of Southern states' welfare budgets than those of other states. The total income from public assistance received by families in the 11 states was $669 million in 1969. Thus the states, from state revenue sources, paid approximately $167 million and the federal government, the remaining three-quarters. Not unexpectedly among Southern states the federal government paid the highest share in Mississippi and the lowest in Virginia.[10]

The total contribution of public assistance toward relieving family poverty is meager. In the 11 states in 1969 the aggregate income deficit of before-aid-poor families, the income needed to fill the gap between the income of the poor and the poverty line, was $4.1 billion. Federal and states' payments of $669 million amounted to only 16.5 percent of the pre-aid gap. For families, public assistance filled the smallest gap in South Carolina, less than 10 percent of the aggregate need (see Table 41). The states that did the most, in combination with the federal government, (though still very little) were Georgia and Louisiana, where aggregate aid represented one-fifth of the aggregate income need.

The aggregate income deficit after aid for both families *and* for individuals for the South amounted to $4.9 billion in 1969. The total unmet family needs (to get up to the poverty level) were $3.4 billion ($4.1 billion less $669 million from public assistance) and individual needs were $1.5 billion (see Table 42). For the 10.3 million poor Southerners this averages out to a deficit of $476 per poor person.

[8]See Chart in "Report of the Human Resources and Public Services Technical Committee to the Commission on the Future of the South," Southern Regional Council, mimeo, 1974.
[9]The Council of State Governments, *The Book of the States*, 1972-1973, Volume XIX, 1972, p. 384.
[10]*Ibid.*

**CHART 5 POOR FAMILIES* RECEIVING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND THOSE RAISED OUT OF POVERTY BY PUBLIC ASSISTANCE, IN THE SOUTH, 1970**




*Includes families below the poverty line and those who after receiving public assistance were raised above the poverty line. See Appendix B for definition of public assistance.
Source: Tables 37 and 40.

## TABLE 31

### Poor Persons by Age and Poverty Incidence for All Persons, 1970
**(Numbers in thousands)**

| | Related Children under 18 years | | Persons less than 65 years | | Persons 65 years and over | | Total poor persons | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | Poverty rate |
| Alabama | 356 | 41.5 | 360 | 42.0 | 141 | 16.5 | 857 | 100.0 | 25.4% |
| Arkansas | 202 | 38.6 | 213 | 40.7 | 108 | 20.7 | 523 | 100.0 | 27.8 |
| Florida | 397 | 36.5 | 456 | 41.9 | 235 | 21.6 | 1,088 | 100.0 | 16.4 |
| Georgia | 389 | 42.1 | 390 | 42.2 | 145 | 15.7 | 924 | 100.0 | 20.7 |
| Louisiana | 410 | 43.9 | 395 | 42.3 | 128 | 13.7 | 933 | 99.9 | 26.3 |
| Mississippi | 344 | 44.9 | 305 | 39.8 | 118 | 15.4 | 767 | 100.1 | 35.4 |
| North Carolina | 406 | 40.8 | 434 | 43.6 | 156 | 15.7 | 996 | 100.1 | 20.3 |
| South Carolina | 269 | 45.2 | 247 | 41.5 | 79 | 13.3 | 595 | 100.0 | 23.9 |
| Tennessee | 321 | 38.4 | 358 | 42.8 | 157 | 18.8 | 836 | 100.0 | 21.8 |
| Texas | 858 | 41.9 | 862 | 42.1 | 327 | 16.0 | 2,047 | 100.0 | 18.8 |
| Virginia | 281 | 40.7 | 300 | 43.4 | 110 | 15.9 | 691 | 100.0 | 15.5 |
| 11-State South | 4,233 | 41.3 | 4,320 | 42.1 | 1,704 | 16.6 | 10,257 | 100.0 | 21.1 |
| United States | 10,359 | 38.2 | 11,558 | 42.6 | 5,208 | 19.2 | 27,125 | 100.0 | 13.7 |

Source: Computed from the U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population; 1970, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, PC(1)-C1, Table 182.

## TABLE 32

### Families with Children* by Race and Sex of Head: Percent of Poor Living in Urban Areas**, 1970

| | White Male % | White Female % | Black Male % | Black Female % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 33.8 | 57.9 | 47.6 | 67.6 |
| Arkansas | 26.4 | 54.3 | 42.8 | 66.2 |
| Florida | 66.1 | 78.9 | 73.5 | 84.6 |
| Georgia | 37.2 | 63.2 | 48.5 | 72.6 |
| Louisiana | 43.5 | 65.0 | 52.7 | 75.8 |
| Mississippi | 27.4 | 47.6 | 27.8 | 50.5 |
| North Carolina | 27.6 | 48.1 | 31.8 | 57.7 |
| South Carolina | 36.2 | 60.2 | 28.5 | 46.9 |
| Tennessee | 29.4 | 54.0 | 66.1 | 86.8 |
| Texas | 68.2 | 84.7 | 71.1 | 86.3 |
| Virginia | 35.2 | 66.5 | 40.9 | 71.1 |
| 11-State South | 46.1 | 67.8 | 47.4 | 70.7 |

*Under 18 years living at home.
**The percent living in rural areas is the difference between 100.0% and the percent urban.
Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 33

### Families with Children* by Race and Sex of Head and Residence: Poverty Rates, 1970

| | White Male % | White Female % | Black Male % | Black Female % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | | | | |
| Urban | 5.8 | 35.2 | 32.4 | 74.0 |
| Rural | 14.2 | 45.7 | 56.2 | 80.1 |
| Arkansas | | | | |
| Urban | 7.6 | 38.3 | 39.7 | 77.6 |
| Rural | 19.1 | 47.2 | 59.3 | 83.6 |
| Florida | | | | |
| Urban | 5.5 | 30.3 | 25.7 | 66.1 |
| Rural | 10.4 | 42.3 | 42.3 | 75.3 |
| Georgia | | | | |
| Urban | 4.6 | 32.2 | 25.6 | 63.6 |
| Rural | 10.1 | 37.4 | 48.2 | 72.9 |
| Louisiana | | | | |
| Urban | 6.2 | 35.6 | 34.0 | 76.0 |
| Rural | 14.1 | 47.9 | 57.9 | 82.3 |
| Mississippi | | | | |
| Urban | 6.6 | 35.0 | 40.4 | 80.2 |
| Rural | 14.9 | 46.3 | 65.5 | 84.8 |
| North Carolina | | | | |
| Urban | 5.1 | 31.8 | 24.3 | 64.8 |
| Rural | 9.5 | 35.8 | 42.0 | 70.1 |
| South Carolina | | | | |
| Urban | 5.3 | 38.6 | 29.2 | 68.1 |
| Rural | 8.4 | 34.6 | 45.9 | 75.9 |
| Tennessee | | | | |
| Urban | 6.4 | 35.0 | 26.0 | 66.2 |
| Rural | 17.1 | 48.0 | 48.4 | 74.1 |
| Texas | | | | |
| Urban | 9.0 | 39.0 | 21.6 | 64.2 |
| Rural | 16.3 | 46.0 | 47.3 | 78.5 |
| Virginia | | | | |
| Urban | 3.6 | 34.1 | 17.4 | 61.2 |
| Rural | 10.9 | 39.9 | 34.0 | 65.0 |
| 11-State South | | | | |
| Urban | 6.5 | 35.2 | 26.9 | 68.0 |
| Rural | 12.9 | 42.1 | 49.4 | 76.4 |

*Under 18 years living at home.
Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 34

### Families by Race, Presence of Children, and Sex of Family Head: Distribution of Poor and Poverty Rates, 1970

| | WHITE FAMILIES | | | | | | BLACK FAMILIES | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | With Children | | No Children | | Total | | With Children | | No Children | | Total | |
| | Male % | Female % | Male % | Female % | % | (000) | Male % | Female % | Male % | Female % | % | (000) |
| Alabama | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 36.9 | 13.5 | 43.1 | 6.6 | 100.1 | 94 | 42.8 | 33.7 | 17.2 | 6.3 | 100.0 | 87 |
| Poverty rate | 9.5 | 39.0 | 15.2 | 23.6 | | | 41.6 | 75.9 | 32.2 | 46.0 | | |
| Arkansas | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 37.8 | 10.7 | 47.1 | 4.4 | 100.0 | 77 | 44.2 | 28.3 | 22.8 | 4.8 | 100.1 | 38 |
| Poverty rate | 13.7 | 41.9 | 19.4 | 23.4 | | | 48.9 | 79.5 | 42.3 | 47.3 | | |
| Florida | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 30.0 | 17.5 | 47.1 | 5.4 | 100.0 | 149 | 38.7 | 42.8 | 13.8 | 4.7 | 100.0 | 79 |
| Poverty rate | 6.6 | 32.2 | 9.1 | 13.9 | | | 28.7 | 67.3 | 21.9 | 33.4 | | |
| Georgia | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 36.1 | 16.9 | 40.4 | 6.6 | 100.0 | 94 | 40.8 | 36.1 | 16.9 | 6.2 | 100.0 | 98 |
| Poverty rate | 7.0 | 33.9 | 11.4 | 18.3 | | | 33.8 | 65.9 | 28.1 | 38.4 | | |
| Louisiana | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 39.8 | 15.7 | 38.6 | 5.9 | 100.0 | 81 | 44.5 | 34.3 | 15.8 | 5.4 | 100.0 | 106 |
| Poverty rate | 9.1 | 39.3 | 13.4 | 19.6 | | | 42.1 | 77.4 | 32.2 | 44.0 | | |
| Mississippi | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 36.5 | 11.9 | 45.6 | 6.0 | 100.0 | 60 | 47.8 | 27.9 | 19.5 | 4.9 | 100.1 | 94 |
| Poverty rate | 11.1 | 40.1 | 18.5 | 25.5 | | | 55.9 | 82.4 | 47.5 | 56.7 | | |
| North Carolina | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 36.3 | 15.3 | 41.2 | 7.2 | 100.0 | 117 | 45.0 | 33.6 | 15.5 | 5.9 | 100.0 | 91 |
| Poverty rate | 7.6 | 33.8 | 12.1 | 20.6 | | | 34.1 | 66.9 | 25.5 | 38.8 | | |
| South Carolina | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 36.1 | 19.4 | 37.9 | 6.6 | 100.0 | 49 | 47.4 | 32.7 | 14.5 | 5.4 | 100.0 | 70 |
| Poverty rate | 6.9 | 36.9 | 10.9 | 18.3 | | | 39.5 | 72.0 | 31.3 | 45.0 | | |
| Tennessee | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 38.5 | 13.7 | 41.1 | 6.8 | 100.1 | 136 | 36.5 | 37.3 | 19.7 | 6.5 | 100.0 | 50 |
| Poverty rate | 11.4 | 40.0 | 16.0 | 24.6 | | | 30.8 | 67.2 | 27.4 | 37.7 | | |
| Texas | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 45.0 | 17.4 | 32.8 | 4.8 | 100.0 | 310 | 38.5 | 37.1 | 18.9 | 5.5 | 100.0 | 100 |
| Poverty rate | 10.5 | 40.0 | 10.6 | 19.1 | | | 25.6 | 65.9 | 22.6 | 34.7 | | |
| Virginia | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 38.0 | 20.5 | 34.6 | 6.9 | 100.0 | 88 | 41.4 | 36.3 | 16.1 | 6.3 | 100.1 | 54 |
| Poverty rate | 6.4 | 35.8 | 8.3 | 16.9 | | | 24.5 | 62.3 | 18.5 | 31.3 | | |
| 11-State South | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Poor families | 38.4 | 16.0 | 39.7 | 5.9 | 100.0 | 1,256 | 42.7 | 34.7 | 17.0 | 5.6 | 100.0 | 866 |
| Poverty rate | 8.9 | 37.1 | 11.9 | 19.4 | | | 35.4 | 70.3 | 28.4 | 40.1 | | |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 35

### Female-Headed Families with Young Children*: Total Number and Poverty Incidence, 1970

| | WHITE | | | | BLACK | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | In Labor Force | | Not in Force | | In Labor Force | | Not in Force | |
| | Tot. No. | % Poor | Tot. No. | % Poor | Tot. No. | % Poor | Tot. No. | % Poor |
| Alabama | 5.9 | 38.1 | 4.3 | 68.2 | 9.6 | 76.2 | 9.2 | 85.2 |
| Arkansas | 3.9 | 39.8 | 2.5 | 72.3 | 3.4 | 76.7 | 3.7 | 87.6 |
| Florida | 16.2 | 33.0 | 8.9 | 65.2 | 16.6 | 66.8 | 8.6 | 83.4 |
| Georgia | 10.4 | 31.2 | 5.7 | 67.2 | 15.2 | 63.4 | 11.2 | 83.0 |
| Louisiana | 6.0 | 35.1 | 4.4 | 71.4 | 10.7 | 73.7 | 12.9 | 87.9 |
| Mississippi | 3.3 | 38.6 | 2.4 | 63.6 | 8.9 | 79.8 | 8.1 | 88.4 |
| North Carolina | 11.0 | 29.5 | 6.3 | 64.8 | 11.2 | 60.9 | 10.2 | 82.0 |
| South Carolina | 5.4 | 30.6 | 4.6 | 75.7 | 8.0 | 70.0 | 7.0 | 83.7 |
| Tennessee | 8.7 | 35.4 | 6.5 | 69.8 | 7.6 | 60.5 | 6.3 | 84.5 |
| Texas | 30.2 | 39.0 | 17.6 | 75.5 | 18.3 | 64.3 | 9.9 | 83.1 |
| Virginia | 9.6 | 27.6 | 7.9 | 72.4 | 7.3 | 55.8 | 7.9 | 78.6 |
| 11-State South | 110.7 | 34.5 | 71.0 | 70.5 | 116.6 | 66.2 | 95.1 | 85.5 |

*Related children under 6 years.
Source: Computed from 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 36

### Families by Race and Residence: Number and Percent Receiving Public Assistance, 1969
(Numbers in thousands)

| | Total | | White | | Black | | Urban | | Rural | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Alabama | 71 | 8.1 | 34 | 5.0 | 36 | 19.6 | 33 | 6.4 | 38 | 10.5 |
| Arkansas | 39 | 7.7 | 23 | 5.3 | 16 | 21.6 | 16 | 6.3 | 23 | 9.0 |
| Florida | 86 | 4.8 | 49 | 3.1 | 37 | 16.7 | 68 | 4.7 | 18 | 5.1 |
| Georgia | 91 | 7.9 | 40 | 4.5 | 51 | 20.7 | 49 | 7.1 | 42 | 9.1 |
| Louisiana | 92 | 10.6 | 38 | 5.9 | 54 | 24.2 | 53 | 9.1 | 40 | 13.4 |
| Mississippi | 59 | 11.1 | 20 | 5.2 | 40 | 24.8 | 19 | 7.8 | 40 | 13.8 |
| North Carolina | 60 | 4.6 | 29 | 2.7 | 30 | 13.1 | 26 | 4.6 | 34 | 4.7 |
| South Carolina | 27 | 4.3 | 10 | 2.2 | 17 | 10.9 | 10 | 3.3 | 17 | 5.2 |
| Tennessee | 60 | 5.9 | 37 | 4.2 | 23 | 17.5 | 33 | 5.6 | 27 | 6.3 |
| Texas | 142 | 5.0 | 102 | 4.1 | 40 | 13.0 | 101 | 4.5 | 41 | 6.9 |
| Virginia | 35 | 3.0 | 17 | 1.8 | 17 | 9.6 | 22 | 3.0 | 13 | 3.0 |
| 11-State South | 764 | 6.0 | 400 | 3.8 | 361 | 17.1 | 429 | 5.3 | 334 | 7.4 |
| United States | 2,719 | 5.3 | 1,817 | 4.0 | 854 | 17.6 | 2,011 | 5.4 | 708 | 5.2 |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 37

### Families Receiving Public Assistance as a Percent of All Before-Aid-Poor,* by Race and by Residence, 1969

| | Total % | White % | Black % | Urban % | Rural % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 33.7 | 30.5 | 37.4 | 33.0 | 34.3 |
| Arkansas | 29.6 | 26.2 | 36.6 | 31.2 | 28.6 |
| Florida | 31.2 | 27.0 | 39.5 | 32.8 | 26.4 |
| Georgia | 39.3 | 34.4 | 44.3 | 40.8 | 37.6 |
| Louisiana | 40.9 | 36.9 | 44.4 | 41.1 | 40.7 |
| Mississippi | 34.7 | 28.5 | 38.9 | 32.7 | 35.6 |
| North Carolina | 25.2 | 21.6 | 30.2 | 30.1 | 22.4 |
| South Carolina | 20.9 | 18.5 | 22.8 | 20.0 | 21.5 |
| Tennessee | 28.7 | 24.4 | 40.1 | 33.3 | 24.6 |
| Texas | 29.1 | 27.4 | 34.4 | 29.4 | 28.4 |
| Virginia | 21.7 | 17.5 | 28.7 | 28.2 | 15.6 |
| 11-State South | 30.9 | 27.0 | 36.8 | 32.5 | 29.0 |

*Before-Aid-Poor includes families below the poverty line and those who after receiving public assistance were raised above the poverty line.
Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 38

### Poverty Rates of Families Receiving Public Assistance by Race and by Residence, 1969

| | Total % | White % | Black % | Urban % | Rural % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 58.0 | 44.4 | 70.8 | 54.7 | 60.8 |
| Arkansas | 59.5 | 51.6 | 71.1 | 57.4 | 60.9 |
| Florida | 45.0 | 31.2 | 63.7 | 42.5 | 54.1 |
| Georgia | 55.9 | 42.6 | 66.6 | 53.2 | 59.2 |
| Louisiana | 58.7 | 42.0 | 70.6 | 55.1 | 63.6 |
| Mississippi | 71.5 | 52.4 | 80.9 | 65.4 | 74.3 |
| North Carolina | 55.7 | 44.4 | 66.0 | 52.9 | 57.9 |
| South Carolina | 61.8 | 42.3 | 73.5 | 57.6 | 64.1 |
| Tennessee | 60.4 | 56.2 | 67.3 | 56.9 | 64.6 |
| Texas | 46.3 | 40.6 | 60.8 | 44.3 | 51.3 |
| Virginia | 50.3 | 37.4 | 63.2 | 49.1 | 52.3 |
| 11-State South | 55.1 | 42.9 | 68.6 | 50.6 | 60.9 |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 39

### For Families, Average Annual Payments from Public Assistance, in Dollars, by Race and by Residence, 1969

| | Total | White | Black | Urban | Rural |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | $798 | $780 | $815 | $755 | $834 |
| Arkansas | 833 | 857 | 923 | 852 | 905 |
| Florida | 823 | 809 | 841 | 826 | 810 |
| Georgia | 899 | 827 | 957 | 895 | 903 |
| Louisiana | 925 | 872 | 964 | 888 | 976 |
| Mississippi | 669 | 651 | 677 | 632 | 686 |
| North Carolina | 921 | 850 | 986 | 972 | 882 |
| South Carolina | 719 | 704 | 729 | 724 | 716 |
| Tennessee | 940 | 893 | 1017 | 967 | 908 |
| Texas | 887 | 877 | 913 | 863 | 946 |
| Virginia | 1179 | 1040 | 1316 | 1289 | 994 |
| 11-State South | 875 | 845 | 908 | 878 | 870 |
| United States | 1298 | 1237 | 1423 | 1387 | 1047 |

Source: *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, U.S. Summary, Table 94 and states, 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 40

### Before-Aid-Poor* Families, Number, in Thousands, and Percent Raised Out of Poverty by Public Assistance, 1969

| | Total | | White | | Black | | Urban | | Rural | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Alabama | 210 | 14.2 | 113 | 17.0 | 97 | 10.9 | 99 | 15.0 | 112 | 13.5 |
| Arkansas | 131 | 12.0 | 88 | 12.7 | 43 | 10.6 | 50 | 13.3 | 80 | 11.2 |
| Florida | 277 | 17.2 | 183 | 18.6 | 92 | 14.4 | 208 | 18.8 | 69 | 12.1 |
| Georgia | 233 | 17.3 | 118 | 19.7 | 115 | 14.8 | 120 | 19.1 | 112 | 15.3 |
| Louisiana | 226 | 16.9 | 104 | 21.4 | 122 | 13.0 | 129 | 18.4 | 97 | 14.8 |
| Mississippi | 171 | 9.9 | 69 | 13.5 | 102 | 7.4 | 58 | 11.3 | 114 | 9.2 |
| North Carolina | 238 | 11.2 | 133 | 12.0 | 101 | 10.3 | 87 | 14.2 | 151 | 9.5 |
| South Carolina | 130 | 8.0 | 55 | 10.7 | 74 | 6.1 | 49 | 8.5 | 80 | 7.7 |
| Tennessee | 210 | 11.4 | 152 | 10.7 | 58 | 13.1 | 99 | 14.4 | 112 | 8.7 |
| Texas | 489 | 15.6 | 371 | 16.3 | 116 | 13.5 | 344 | 16.4 | 145 | 13.8 |
| Virginia | 160 | 10.8 | 99 | 11.0 | 61 | 10.5 | 77 | 14.4 | 83 | 7.4 |
| 11-State South | 2,475 | 13.9 | 1,484 | 15.4 | 980 | 11.6 | 1,320 | 16.1 | 1,155 | 11.3 |

*Before-Aid-Poor includes families below the poverty line and those who after receiving public assistance were raised above the poverty line.
Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 41

### For Families, Pre- and Post-Aid Aggregate Income Deficits and Public Assistance in Millions of Dollars, and Public Assistance as Percent of Pre-Aid Income Deficit, 1969

| | Pre-Aid Income Deficit | Public Assistance | Post-Aid Income Deficit | Public Assistance as % Pre-Aid Deficit |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | $352 | $ 57 | $295 | 16.2% |
| Arkansas | 203 | 34 | 169 | 16.7 |
| Florida | 413 | 71 | 342 | 17.2 |
| Georgia | 383 | 82 | 301 | 21.4 |
| Louisiana | 414 | 86 | 328 | 20.8 |
| Mississippi | 313 | 40 | 273 | 12.8 |
| North Carolina | 378 | 55 | 323 | 14.6 |
| South Carolina | 227 | 20 | 207 | 8.8 |
| Tennessee | 333 | 57 | 276 | 17.1 |
| Texas | 775 | 126 | 649 | 16.3 |
| Virginia | 262 | 41 | 221 | 15.6 |
| 11-State South | 4,053 | 669 | 3,385 | 16.5 |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 42

### Aggregate Income Deficits After Aid, in Millions of Dollars, for Families and Unrelated Individuals Below the Poverty Line, 1969

| | Families | Unrelated Individuals | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | $295 | $109 | $404 |
| Arkansas | 169 | 70 | 239 |
| Florida | 342 | 226 | 568 |
| Georgia | 301 | 133 | 434 |
| Louisiana | 328 | 122 | 450 |
| Mississippi | 273 | 82 | 355 |
| North Carolina | 323 | 141 | 464 |
| South Carolina | 207 | 71 | 278 |
| Tennessee | 276 | 119 | 395 |
| Texas | 649 | 310 | 959 |
| Virginia | 221 | 118 | 339 |
| 11-State South | 3,385 | 1,500 | 4,885 |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

# Chapter IV The Elderly Poor in the South

## SUMMARY


1. *One-quarter of white families headed by an elderly person were poor and over half of similar black families. Of the elderly unattached to families, 50 percent of whites and 70 percent of blacks were poor. Thus while the South has less of an elderly poor population relative to other age groups, the poverty rates for the elderly are especially high.*
2. *A higher proportion of the aged population lived in rural areas than was true of the population as a whole. This is so because rural out-migration has been much more pronounced among younger people. Of poor families headed by an older person six out of ten white, compared to five out of ten black, lived in rural areas. On the other hand, the poor elderly person unattached to a family is much more likely to be an urban resident than is an elderly family head. Of elderly poor white individuals living outside the family, six out of ten were urban residents, and of blacks, two out of three.*
3. *Seventy-two percent of the South's aged received Social Security payments compared to 76 percent nationwide in 1969. In the South 75 percent of elderly whites were on Social Security; 64 percent of elderly blacks. A major reason for the difference between the races is that elderly blacks were so heavily concentrated in jobs that only over the past two decades have come under the Social Security Act — domestic work and farm labor.*
4. *Florida is the only Southern state that had a higher proportion of elderly receiving Social Security than the national average, a fact that can probably be credited to that state's unique position as a haven for retired, mostly non-poor whites from outside the South. Elderly blacks in Florida, for example, do not fare nearly so well. They receive benefits lower than the regional average.*
5. *Not only do fewer of the South's elderly persons receive benefits, but the average benefit is lower than the nation's since Southerners on the average have earned less.*
6. *Over one-third of Southern Social Security recipients remained poor. Black recipients were especially impoverished in Mississippi, Arkansas, and South Carolina where at least two-thirds were poor.*
7. *Nine percent of the white elderly and 23 percent of the black elderly in the South were poor and yet did not receive Social Security benefits. However, improvement in this situation should come if Supplemental Security Income programs are properly implemented.*


Elderly[1] poor persons make up a smaller proportion of the South's poor than of the non-South's poor. Data in Chapter I show that of the South's poor, 17 percent are elderly and of the non-South's poor, 22 percent. The percentage of elderly poor living in families is about the same for the South and the non-South (8-9 percent), but the South has relatively fewer of elderly unattached to families.

Within the South there were differences between the races in terms of family attachment of the poor elderly. More whites than blacks, relatively, were unattached to families.

Poor Elderly Persons and Family Attachment in the South, 1970

| | White | Black |
|---|---|---|
| Not in families | 47% | 40% |
| In families | 53 | 60 |
| | 100% | 100% |
| Total, thousands | 1,213 | 488 |

Source: U. S. Bureau of tre Census, Census of Population: 1970, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, PC(1)-C Series, Computed from Table 58 for each of the eleven Southern states.

Since relatively fewer of Southern elderly poor live alone and even fewer blacks they are less physically isolated than in other regions. This has an advantage in that the day-to-day needs, especially related to health, can be

Age of Poor Family Heads and Unrelated Individuals by Race in the South, 1970

| | White | Black |
|---|---|---|
| Family heads | | |
| Less than 65 years | 70% | 79% |
| 65 years or more | 30 | 21 |
| | 100% | 100% |
| Total, thousands | 1,256 | 866 |
| Unrelated Individuals | | |
| Less than 65 years | 47% | 56% |
| 65 years or more | 53 | 44 |
| | 100% | 100% |
| Total, thousands | 1,082 | 441 |

Source: Computed from 4th Count Tapes.

[1]Persons 65 years or older.

monitored by the other family members. This kind of care is left to the occasional social worker or other agency person for those elderly who are unattached to families and frequently living in isolation.

While the elderly black poor are less likely to live in isolation, there is yet a greater problem among blacks—that they live less long than whites. The shorter life span of blacks is reflected in distributions of the poor population by age. Equally relevant to these data which show a greater proportion of white elderly than black elderly among the poor, is that for the most part whites do not experience poverty until reaching old age. Blacks have higher susceptibility to poverty at all ages, but the difference in poverty incidence between the non-elderly and the elderly is not as great as for whites, since so many blacks have been poor throughout their lifetime.

Poverty Rates for Families by Race and Age of Head in the South, 1970

| | White | Black |
|---|---|---|
| Less than 65 years | 10% | 39% |
| 65 years or more | 25 | 55 |
| Ratio for less than 65 to 65 or more | 2.5 | 1.4 |

Source: Computed from 4th Count Tapes.

One-quarter of white families headed by an elderly person were poor and over half of similar black families (Table 43), The poverty incidence among those elderly unattached to families was even more severe (Table 44). Half of white and over seven out of ten black elderly unrelated individuals were poor. So while the South has less of an elderly poor population relative to other age groups among the poor the poverty rates for the elderly are especially high. Compared to the non-South the Southern poverty rates for families headed by an elderly person were twice as high (see Chapter I, page 5).

## Residence of the Elderly Poor

The residence of the elderly poor population varies from that of the total elderly population and the total poor population. Among the aged population, both poor and non-poor, a higher proportion lived in rural areas than the total (elderly and non-elderly) population — 41 percent compared to 36 percent. Since rural outmigration has been more pronounced among the non-elderly, a relatively older population has been left behind. Also, as shown previously, poor families are more likely to be rural residents than the total population.

Previously it was shown that relatively more whites than blacks were rural residents. This was also true among the elderly. Of poor families headed by an older person nearly six out of ten white compared to five out of ten black lived in rural areas (Table 45).

Poor elderly persons unattached to a family are much more likely to be urban residents than elderly family heads. Of elderly poor whites unattached to families, over six out of ten were urban residents and of blacks, two out of three. This group also had higher proportions in smaller urban places 2,500-49,999 population.

The white elderly were more likely to be rural residents than the black. However, the black had higher incidence of poverty than the white in all residential places.

Poverty Rates for Families with Head 65 Years or Older by Race and Residence in the South, 1970

| | White | Black |
|---|---|---|
| Central cities | 16% | 43% |
| Urban fringe | 12 | 45 |
| Places 10,000-49,999 | 22 | 52 |
| Places 2,500-9,999 | 25 | 57 |
| Rural | 36 | 64 |

Source: Table 47.

As the preceding breakdown shows, in rural areas about two out of three black elderly families were poor compared to over one-third of whites. In the central cities, (the place where elderly black poverty rates were lowest) 43 percent of blacks and 16 percent of whites were poor—a nearly three-fold difference. The white rates varied more by place of residence than the black rates.

The poverty rates for elderly not living in families were the most severe of all groups (Table 49). The white poverty incidence for rural residents was seven out of ten and for urbanized areas nearly five out of ten. The corresponding comparisons for blacks were 87 percent in rural areas and 78 percent in urbanized areas. In general, the white elderly had greater variation in their poverty incidence depending on residence than did the black, both for those elderly living in families and those not.

The data regarding the residential patterns of the elderly have implications for outreach activity, implications that could be lost unless elderly families and unrelated individuals are considered separately. Public and private programs for the elderly living in families need to have strong *rural* directions. Programs specifically designed to reach the elderly who live alone need a strong urban focus. The enrollment of the elderly onto SSI (Supplemental Security Income) needs especially strong outreach into rural areas. A special regional commitment to aiding the *rural black elderly* is needed since poverty incidence was as high as seven out of ten families headed by an elderly person in Mississippi and about nine out of ten elderly unattached to families in Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Arkansas, Georgia, and Louisiana.

General economic development of rural areas offer-

ing a wider range of better paying jobs obviously will help the elderly who live in families with working age adults, while the elderly who live alone will be little benefitted. Increasing the income of the latter group must to a greater extent depend on improvements in public programs—the increase of benefits and/or extension of coverage for both SSI and Social Security.

## The Elderly and Social Security

The primary source of income for those 65 years or older is Social Security. As with most comparisons, the South is poorer than the United States in terms of Social Security payments[2]. A slightly smaller proportion of the South's aged persons (72 percent) than the nation's aged (76 percent) received payments. Somewhat fewer Southerners of both races benefitted than their counterparts in the nation.

More importantly, however, many fewer blacks than whites, both in the South and the nation, received benefits. Whereas three-quarters of elderly whites were recipients, less than two-thirds of blacks were.

Percent of Aged Persons Receiving Social Security Payments, 1970

| | U.S. | South |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 76% | 72% |
| Whites | 77 | 75 |
| Blacks | 65 | 64 |

Source: Table 48.

Since receipt of Social Security payments is dependent upon the person's having had "covered employment," those whose working years were spent in employment excluded from the system do not benefit. Most employment is *now* included under Social Security or in a federal government retirement system, but many of today's elderly persons spent their working years in employment that was not covered at the time. The lower rates of receipt for blacks can partly be explained by their occupations. As we have seen, a high percentage of black women have been employed in domestic service which came under the Social Security system only in 1955. Even so, their participation, though required by law, depends on the cooperation of their household employer who as an individual can more easily ignore the law than a business. Similarly the past concentration of black males in farming occupations would partially account for their low rate of receipt. Social Security was extended to agricultural labor in 1951 and to farm self-employment in 1955.

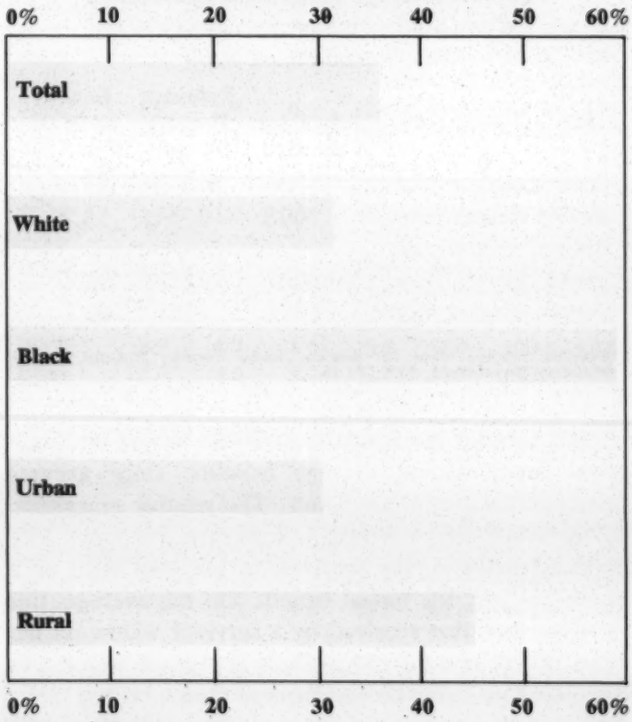
In addition to having employment in "covered" sectors, a worker must have accumulated forty quarters (i.e., ten years) in "covered" work to receive the full benefit; otherwise, a reduced benefit is paid. Workers employed in the marginal sectors of the economy, such as day laborers, by-the-day domestics, or those working for small employers who, in an effort to save costs, however illegally, did not deduct and pay Social Security contributions, are likely to be excluded from the benefits of the system in their old age. Blacks are most affected by these factors.

Only one Southern state had a higher proportion of all elderly receiving Social Security benefits than the national average—Florida (Table 48). This can doubtless be credited to Florida's unique position as a haven for retired, mostly non-poor whites from outside the South. Elderly blacks in Florida do not fare nearly so well—their percentage receiving benefits was lower than the regional average.

Not only do fewer of the South's elderly receive benefits, but the average benefit is lower than the nation's (Table 50). Since the benefit is determined by the earnings on which contributions were paid, lower-paid Southern workers face a lower retirement income than their national counterparts. The U. S. average benefit for retired workers in 1969 was $1205 compared with the Southern average of $1080; yet the individual maximum benefit permitted under the Act in 1969 was $2616 and for a family was $5213[3] Thus the actual nationwide average benefit was 46 percent of the maximum for an individual and the South's, 41 percent.

**CHART 6**

**POVERTY INCIDENCE: SOCIAL SECURITY RECIPIENTS 65 YEARS OR OLDER IN THE SOUTH, 1970**




**Source: Table 51.**

The lower benefits in the South resulted in a higher poverty incidence among the aged recipients in the South—over one-third—compared to the nation, over one-quarter. The South's higher rate of poverty among

[2]The term, Social Security, as used here also includes railroad retirement.
[3]*Social Security Bulletin*, Annual Statistical Supplement, 1971, pp. 19 and 133.

elderly Social Security recipients was more acute for blacks and, secondarily, for rural residents. Well over half (59 percent) of recipient blacks in the South and nearly half (45 percent) of recipient rural residents were poor. Almost one-third of whites and urban dwellers were similarly affected.

All Southern states, except Florida, had higher poverty rates among elderly Social Security beneficiaries than the national average. Black recipients were especially impoverished in Mississippi, Arkansas, and South Carolina where at least two-thirds were poor. Among the rural beneficiaries the proportions of poor were particularly high in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Arkansas (Table 51).

## Social Security and Sex Discrimination

The Social Security beneficiary and benefit data from the Census did not include any information according to sex, but the following data from the Social Security Administration are suggestive of regional patterns. The individual recipient, whether a retired worker or surviving spouse, fares worse than a retired male worker and spouse in terms of approaching a non-poverty level income.

Annual Average Social Security Benefit*
Compared with Poverty Lines, 1969,
the United States, 1969

| | Average Benefit | Relevant Poverty Line | Benefit as % of Pov. Line |
|---|---|---|---|
| Retired male worker | $1308 | $1773 | 73.8% |
| Retired female worker | 1028 | 1751 | 58.7 |
| Retired male worker and wife | 2027 | 2217 | 91.4 |
| Surviving aged widow | 1054 | 1751 | 60.2 |

*Monthly average times 12. Source: *Social Security Bulletin*, Annual Statistical Supplement, 1971, p. 48.

The data for the South, if available, would no doubt show lower annual average benefits, since average wages in the region are lower. The relative magnitude of the relationships would probably be the same. The retired female worker receives, in her own right as a retired earner, the lowest benefit. On the average, this is lower than that received by a survivor widow on the basis of her marital status. Both groups of women, in any case, are living on less income than a retired male. The law, however, has been most favorable to the retired worker and spouse in terms of a non-poverty income. And the law does discriminate with respect to working couples — the benefit for husband-wife couples who were both earners is *not* twice that for a single beneficiary. Furthermore, the benefit for a male retiree and non-earner wife may be greater than that for husband and wife earners.[4]

## The Elderly and Other Income Services

A few especially fortunate among the elderly also have private pensions but most have no income other than Social Security. In 1970 only about one in four newly entitled Social Security beneficiaries also were receiving a private pension.[5] Most of these people constituted the group of elderly who were not poor. On the other hand, there is a substantial group—in the South 16 percent of all aged—who did not receive Social Security and were not poor. They were either supported by other family members such as their children, had continuing income from earnings or other non-earned income (securities, rents, etc.), or received pensions but no Social Security (probably not a large group). The poor who received Social Security amounted to nearly one-fourth of white Southern aged, but nearly 40 percent of poor aged blacks.

Poverty Status and Receipt of
Social Security Among the Aged in the South, 1970

| | White | Black |
|---|---|---|
| Not poor, received social security | 51% | 26% |
| Not poor, no social security | 17 | 13 |
| Poor, received social security | 23 | 38 |
| Poor, no social security | 9 | 23 |
| | 100% | 100% |

Source: Tables 53 and 54.

The group that did not receive Social Security and was poor amounted to nearly 9 percent of the white elderly and one-quarter of black elderly. Many of this group would have received Old Age Assistance (OAA), though many elderly with no chance of receiving any kind of retirement continued to work well into their years. Table 52 shows the proportion of the aged who received OAA in the Southern states and the average benefit. In general, the percentage of the state's elderly receiving OAA has an inverse relationship to that state's Social Security recipient rate and a direct relationship to its poverty rate for the elderly. Louisiana had the highest rate of OAA recipients, followed by Alabama and Mississippi. Florida and Virginia had low percentages of elderly on OAA; their Social Security benefits are relatively high, and their elderly poverty rates, relatively low. The average monthly payments, even in the states with less poverty among the elderly were quite low, ranging from $45 per month to $73.

The extreme poverty experienced by over one-third of Southern elderly may be alleviated by the new federal program, Supplemental Security Income (SSI) which replaced OAA on January 1, 1974. However, it is critical that eligibles be enrolled. This program guarantees a minimum income floor for the elderly. This

[4]The reader who is interested in the sex discrimination aspects of Social Security is referred to *Economic Problems of Women*, Hearings Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, Part 2, 1973.
[5]Lenore E. Bixby and Virginia Reno, "Second Pensions Among Newly Entitled Workers," *Social Security Bulletin*, Nov. 1971.

monthly minimum was as of July 1, 1974, $146 for an elderly individual and $219 for an elderly couple.[6] Considering that the *average* Social Security benefits in the South (1969) were below this, as were average OAA payments, this program could undoubtedly be a boon to the region. The minimum benefits under SSI are still below the current poverty lines, but for many elderly poor this will represent a considerable improvement.

States which could potentially gain the most under SSI are those with low proportions of the elderly on Social Security — Louisiana, and to a lesser extent Mississippi and Georgia; those with low average Social Security benefits—Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, and North Carolina; and those with low average OAA benefits—Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia. However, none of these benefits will accrue automatically. Only a vigorous effort to enroll the eligible population will ensure that the intent of the law is carried out.

The annual maximum benefits under SSI are below the poverty line by a small amount for couples but more for individuals. Thus, raising them to the poverty levels would be relatively cheap compared to the total cost of the program. The annual maximum for an elderly individual is $1752 compared to a 1973 poverty level of $2119 and fcr a couple is $2628 compared to a 1973 poverty level of $2662.

An automatic cost-of-living clause, similar to the Social Security improvements in 1972, is needed for SSI to adequately take inflation rates into account. However, states should assist their elderly poor by supplementing SSI.

[6] *Federal Register*, June 26, 1974, p. 23054.

## TABLE 43

**Families with Heads 65 Years or Older by Race: Number of Poor Families and Poverty Rates, 1970**
**(Numbers in thousands)**

| | WHITE | | BLACK | | TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. of Poor | Poverty Rate | No. of Poor | Poverty Rate | No. of Poor* | Poverty Rate |
| Alabama | 30 | 32.6% | 20 | 55.9% | 50 | 39.0% |
| Arkansas | 25 | 34.6 | 11 | 61.7 | 36 | 39.7 |
| Florida | 53 | 14.7 | 12 | 49.0 | 65 | 17.0 |
| Georgia | 29 | 28.5 | 19 | 55.7 | 48 | 35.4 |
| Louisiana | 22 | 27.8 | 20 | 56.5 | 42 | 36.6 |
| Mississippi | 20 | 37.3 | 23 | 69.8 | 43 | 49.5 |
| North Carolina | 36 | 28.6 | 17 | 51.3 | 54 | 33.5 |
| South Carolina | 14 | 27.9 | 14 | 61.5 | 28 | 38.3 |
| Tennessee | 43 | 34.1 | 11 | 50.7 | 54 | 36.5 |
| Texas | 76 | 23.7 | 21 | 48.5 | 97 | 26.7 |
| Virginia | 24 | 21.8 | 11 | 42.5 | 35 | 25.7 |
| 11-State South | 372 | 25.0 | 178 | 54.7 | 551 | 30.3 |

*The total includes members of other races (Orientals, Indians, etc.) hence may be greater than the sum of whites and blacks.
Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 44

**Unrelated Individuals 65 Years or Older by Race: Number of Poor and Poverty Rates, 1970**
**(Numbers in thousands)**

| | WHITE | | BLACK | | TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. of Poor | Poverty Rate | No. of Poor | Poverty Rate | No. of Poor* | Poverty Rate |
| Alabama | 38 | 65.7% | 20 | 85.5% | 59 | 71.5% |
| Arkansas | 35 | 68.3 | 11 | 86.2 | 47 | 71.9 |
| Florida | 102 | 45.3 | 18 | 78.4 | 121 | 48.5 |
| Georgia | 42 | 60.8 | 22 | 83.8 | 64 | 67.0 |
| Louisiana | 36 | 61.6 | 23 | 83.0 | 60 | 68.4 |
| Mississippi | 24 | 67.9 | 19 | 89.1 | 43 | 76.0 |
| North Carolina | 49 | 61.5 | 15 | 79.7 | 64 | 65.1 |
| South Carolina | 21 | 60.7 | 12 | 86.7 | 33 | 68.2 |
| Tennessee | 51 | 65.3 | 13 | 80.0 | 64 | 67.8 |
| Texas | 134 | 56.3 | 29 | 80.8 | 164 | 59.5 |
| Virginia | 37 | 51.2 | 13 | 76.9 | 50 | 56.0 |
| 11-State South | 570 | 56.9 | 196 | 82.6 | 768 | 61.9 |

*The total includes members of other races (Orientals, Indians, etc.) hence may be greater than the sum of whites and blacks.
Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 45

**Families with Head 65 Years or Older by Race and Residence: Distribution of Poor, 1970**

| | URBAN | | | | RURAL | TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Central Cities | Urban Fringe | 10,000-49,999 | 2,500-9,999 | | % | No. (000) |
| Alabama | | | | | | | |
| White | 9.9% | 5.3 | 7.2 | 10.6 | 67.0% | 100.0% | 30 |
| Black | 21.2 | 10.3 | 8.8 | 8.4 | 51.3 | 100.0 | 20 |
| Arkansas | | | | | | | |
| White | 6.8 | 0.8 | 10.3 | 12.4 | 69.7 | 100.0 | 25 |
| Black | 15.6 | 1.4 | 16.4 | 16.0 | 50.5 | 99.9 | 11 |
| Florida | | | | | | | |
| White | 22.7 | 26.0 | 8.9 | 13.8 | 28.6 | 100.0 | 53 |
| Black | 35.2 | 11.0 | 14.5 | 10.9 | 28.4 | 100.0 | 12 |
| Georgia | | | | | | | |
| White | 11.2 | 6.0 | 6.8 | 10.0 | 66.0 | 100.0 | 29 |
| Black | 24.9 | 3.2 | 12.0 | 13.0 | 47.0 | 100.1 | 19 |
| Louisiana | | | | | | | |
| White | 16.9 | 6.7 | 8.0 | 10.6 | 57.9 | 100.1 | 22 |
| Black | 28.0 | 4.6 | 9.7 | 12.7 | 44.9 | 99.9 | 20 |
| Mississippi | | | | | | | |
| White | 4.0 | 0.9 | 10.0 | 8.8 | 76.2 | 99.9 | 20 |
| Black | 4.0 | 0.7 | 15.6 | 10.9 | 68.7 | 99.9 | 23 |
| North Carolina | | | | | | | |
| White | 7.7 | 1.8 | 8.4 | 7.2 | 75.0 | 100.1 | 36 |
| Black | 17.1 | 0.8 | 12.2 | 8.9 | 61.0 | 100.0 | 17 |
| South Carolina | | | | | | | |
| White | 4.7 | 7.0 | 9.4 | 10.3 | 68.7 | 100.1 | 14 |
| Black | 7.8 | 3.3 | 9.0 | 11.5 | 68.4 | 100.0 | 14 |
| Tennessee | | | | | | | |
| White | 11.8 | 1.2 | 9.0 | 9.6 | 68.5 | 100.1 | 43 |
| Black | 48.7 | 1.5 | 8.9 | 9.7 | 31.1 | 99.9 | 11 |
| Texas | | | | | | | |
| White | 28.8 | 4.3 | 9.7 | 14.4 | 42.9 | 100.1 | 76 |
| Black | 37.6 | 2.5 | 10.5 | 11.9 | 37.6 | 100.1 | 21 |
| Virginia | | | | | | | |
| White | 10.0 | 7.0 | 5.8 | 5.7 | 71.5 | 100.0 | 24 |
| Black | 27.4 | 6.5 | 4.2 | 4.6 | 57.4 | 100.1 | 11 |
| 11-State South | | | | | | | |
| White | 15.3 | 7.0 | 8.6 | 11.0 | 58.0 | 99.9 | 372 |
| Black | 23.3 | 4.0 | 11.2 | 10.9 | 50.6 | 100.0 | 178 |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 46

### Unrelated Individuals 65 Years or Older by Race and Residence: Distribution of Poor, 1970

| | Urbanized Area | Other Urban | Rural | Total % | Total No. (000) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | | | | | |
| White | 28.5% | 25.2 | 46.3 | 100.0% | 38 |
| Black | 42.3 | 23.2 | 34.4 | 99.9 | 20 |
| Arkansas | | | | | |
| White | 15.2 | 35.3 | 49.6 | 100.1 | 35 |
| Black | 21.3 | 37.9 | 40.8 | 100.0 | 11 |
| Florida | | | | | |
| White | 62.6 | 20.4 | 17.1 | 100.1 | 102 |
| Black | 51.1 | 28.4 | 20.4 | 99.9 | 18 |
| Georgia | | | | | |
| White | 29.2 | 27.6 | 43.3 | 100.1 | 42 |
| Black | 41.0 | 30.2 | 28.9 | 100.1 | 22 |
| Louisiana | | | | | |
| White | 39.4 | 23.1 | 37.6 | 100.1 | 36 |
| Black | 43.8 | 24.6 | 31.7 | 100.1 | 23 |
| Mississippi | | | | | |
| White | 9.8 | 32.7 | 57.6 | 100.1 | 24 |
| Black | 7.3 | 40.4 | 52.3 | 100.0 | 19 |
| North Carolina | | | | | |
| White | 18.3 | 24.7 | 57.0 | 100.0 | 49 |
| Black | 30.2 | 29.9 | 39.9 | 100.0 | 15 |
| South Carolina | | | | | |
| White | 21.0 | 28.6 | 50.4 | 100.0 | 21 |
| Black | 17.8 | 33.5 | 48.7 | 100.0 | 12 |
| Tennessee | | | | | |
| White | 27.2 | 27.9 | 44.9 | 100.0 | 51 |
| Black | 62.8 | 19.5 | 17.7 | 100.0 | 12 |
| Texas | | | | | |
| White | 43.6 | 27.6 | 28.9 | 100.1 | 134 |
| Black | 49.6 | 25.6 | 24.8 | 100.0 | 29 |
| Virginia | | | | | |
| White | 34.4 | 16.8 | 48.9 | 100.1 | 37 |
| Black | 52.5 | 10.8 | 36.8 | 100.1 | 13 |
| 11-State South | | | | | |
| White | 36.4 | 25.7 | 38.0 | 100.1 | 570 |
| Black | 39.2 | 27.6 | 33.3 | 100.1 | 196 |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 47

### Families with Heads 65 Years or Older by Race and Residence: Poverty Rates, 1970

| | URBAN | | | | RURAL | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Central Cities % | Urban Fringe % | 10,000-49,999 % | 2,500-9,999 % | % | % |
| Alabama | | | | | | |
| White | 15.6 | 18.9 | 25.3 | 30.7 | 43.9 | 32.6 |
| Black | 43.5 | 48.1 | 52.0 | 55.0 | 67.0 | 55.9 |
| Arkansas | | | | | | |
| White | 18.3 | 23.4 | 25.2 | 31.2 | 41.5 | 34.6 |
| Black | 53.3 | 50.3 | 61.7 | 60.8 | 65.6 | 61.7 |
| Florida | | | | | | |
| White | 14.2 | 10.6 | 14.5 | 17.6 | 21.6 | 14.7 |
| Black | 44.4 | 38.6 | 49.0 | 52.6 | 60.1 | 48.7 |
| Georgia | | | | | | |
| White | 16.7 | 14.1 | 21.5 | 27.8 | 38.0 | 28.5 |
| Black | 43.8 | 47.4 | 53.5 | 57.4 | 66.2 | 55.7 |
| Louisiana | | | | | | |
| White | 14.7 | 18.5 | 25.3 | 29.9 | 41.1 | 27.8 |
| Black | 45.1 | 47.2 | 57.2 | 60.5 | 66.8 | 56.5 |
| Mississippi | | | | | | |
| White | 18.1 | 21.8 | 22.9 | 28.8 | 45.5 | 37.3 |
| Black | 49.2 | 50.7 | 58.9 | 67.5 | 75.5 | 69.8 |
| N. Carolina | | | | | | |
| White | 14.0 | 21.9 | 20.5 | 22.7 | 35.0 | 28.6 |
| Black | 39.7 | 34.3 | 45.8 | 50.9 | 57.8 | 51.3 |
| S. Carolina | | | | | | |
| White | 13.6 | 19.4 | 21.1 | 21.2 | 35.1 | 27.9 |
| Black | 53.6 | 45.8 | 51.6 | 53.9 | 67.1 | 61.5 |
| Tennessee | | | | | | |
| White | 16.2 | 18.9 | 28.1 | 33.2 | 44.6 | 34.1 |
| Black | 45.7 | 63.1 | 45.9 | 53.5 | 61.4 | 50.7 |
| Texas | | | | | | |
| White | 17.6 | 14.3 | 23.4 | 27.8 | 31.7 | 23.7 |
| Black | 39.0 | 43.3 | 48.7 | 55.1 | 61.3 | 48.5 |
| Virginia | | | | | | |
| White | 10.4 | 8.8 | 18.8 | 19.2 | 32.2 | 21.8 |
| Black | 33.9 | 40.9 | 34.7 | 39.9 | 49.8 | 42.5 |
| 11-State South | | | | | | |
| White | 15.6 | 12.2 | 21.5 | 25.1 | 36.0 | 25.0 |
| Black | 42.6 | 44.6 | 52.1 | 56.5 | 64.4 | 54.6 |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 48

### Social Security Recipients 65 Years or Older by Race and Residence: Number and as Percent of All Persons 65 Years or Older, 1970

**(Numbers in thousands)**

| | Total | | White | | Black | | Urban | | Rural | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Alabama | 221 | 70.1 | 166 | 72.5 | 54 | 63.8 | 128 | 73.1 | 93 | 66.5 |
| Arkansas | 165 | 72.7 | 138 | 74.5 | 27 | 64.6 | 80 | 73.0 | 86 | 72.4 |
| Florida | 755 | 78.0 | 711 | 79.1 | 43 | 63.6 | 623 | 78.1 | 132 | 77.3 |
| Georgia | 243 | 68.9 | 191 | 72.0 | 52 | 59.4 | 143 | 69.9 | 100 | 67.5 |
| Louisiana | 183 | 61.7 | 133 | 64.3 | 49 | 55.6 | 124 | 64.6 | 59 | 56.4 |
| Mississippi | 147 | 67.8 | 98 | 71.4 | 48 | 61.5 | 61 | 68.8 | 86 | 67.0 |
| North Carolina | 305 | 76.3 | 249 | 77.9 | 55 | 70.0 | 133 | 75.8 | 172 | 76.6 |
| South Carolina | 131 | 71.2 | 99 | 74.7 | 33 | 62.2 | 61 | 70.7 | 70 | 71.6 |
| Tennessee | 273 | 73.3 | 235 | 74.6 | 37 | 66.4 | 153 | 73.1 | 120 | 73.6 |
| Texas | 673 | 71.5 | 600 | 72.4 | 71 | 64.6 | 481 | 71.7 | 191 | 71.0 |
| Virginia | 266 | 75.6 | 221 | 76.3 | 46 | 72.7 | 146 | 74.0 | 120 | 77.7 |
| 11-State South | 3,362 | 72.7 | 2,842 | 74.6 | 514 | 63.7 | 2,132 | 73.4 | 1,230 | 71.5 |
| United States | 14,582 | 75.9 | 13,372 | 77.0 | 993 | 64.7 | 10,580 | 75.9 | 3,969 | 76.0 |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 49

### Unrelated Individuals 65 Years or Older by Race and Residence: Poverty Rates, 1970

| | Urbanized Area % | Other Urban % | Rural % | Total % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | | | | |
| White | 52.1 | 66.0 | 78.1 | 65.7 |
| Black | 81.1 | 87.8 | 90.0 | 85.5 |
| Arkansas | | | | |
| White | 56.4 | 65.8 | 75.2 | 68.3 |
| Black | 81.4 | 86.0 | 89.1 | 86.2 |
| Florida | | | | |
| White | 43.3 | 45.5 | 54.5 | 45.3 |
| Black | 76.4 | 79.8 | 81.7 | 78.4 |
| Georgia | | | | |
| White | 47.2 | 63.3 | 73.1 | 60.8 |
| Black | 79.3 | 85.6 | 88.8 | 83.8 |
| Louisiana | | | | |
| White | 50.6 | 64.8 | 76.8 | 61.6 |
| Black | 77.9 | 85.9 | 88.5 | 83.0 |
| Mississippi | | | | |
| White | 53.2 | 59.6 | 77.7 | 67.9 |
| Black | 80.0 | 87.4 | 92.0 | 89.1 |
| North Carolina | | | | |
| White | 47.1 | 58.4 | 70.1 | 61.5 |
| Black | 74.6 | 80.4 | 83.4 | 79.7 |
| South Carolina | | | | |
| White | 51.3 | 55.1 | 70.3 | 60.7 |
| Black | 81.4 | 85.4 | 89.9 | 86.7 |
| Tennessee | | | | |
| White | 51.6 | 66.4 | 76.8 | 65.3 |
| Black | 78.6 | 80.4 | 84.9 | 80.0 |
| Texas | | | | |
| White | 48.6 | 62.2 | 66.2 | 56.3 |
| Black | 76.7 | 85.0 | 85.8 | 80.8 |
| Virginia | | | | |
| White | 38.3 | 50.9 | 67.2 | 51.2 |
| Black | 74.1 | 82.3 | 79.6 | 76.9 |
| 11-State South | | | | |
| White | 46.7 | 58.9 | 70.2 | 56.9 |
| Black | 77.7 | 84.6 | 87.3 | 82.6 |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 50

### Average Annual Social Security Benefits for Persons 65 Years or Older and as Percent of United States Average and Maximum Permitted, 1969

| | Average benefit* | Percent of U.S. Avg. % | Percent of maximum** % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | $1033 | 86 | 39 |
| Arkansas | 992 | 82 | 38 |
| Florida | 1214 | 101 | 46 |
| Georgia | 1022 | 85 | 39 |
| Louisiana | 1058 | 88 | 40 |
| Mississippi | 924 | 77 | 35 |
| North Carolina | 1036 | 86 | 40 |
| South Carolina | 1026 | 85 | 39 |
| Tennessee | 1019 | 85 | 39 |
| Texas | 1085 | 90 | 41 |
| Virginia | 1093 | 91 | 42 |
| 11-State South | 1080 | 90 | 41 |
| United States | 1205 | 100 | 46 |

*Derived by multiplying average monthly benefit by 12. Source: *Social Security Bulletin*, Annual Statistical Supplement, 1971, p. 133.
**Maximum benefit permitted for an individual in 1969: $2616, *Ibid*, p. 3.

## TABLE 51

### Social Security Recipients 65 Years or Older by Race and Residence: Poverty Rates, 1970

| | Total % | White % | Black % | Urban % | Rural % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 43.1 | 37.9 | 59.0 | 37.2 | 51.2 |
| Arkansas | 45.9 | 42.1 | 65.5 | 42.5 | 49.1 |
| Florida | 22.9 | 20.8 | 56.9 | 21.6 | 28.9 |
| Georgia | 40.2 | 34.7 | 60.5 | 35.6 | 46.7 |
| Louisiana | 40.3 | 33.7 | 58.3 | 35.9 | 49.5 |
| Mississippi | 53.0 | 43.6 | 72.2 | 44.8 | 58.8 |
| North Carolina | 38.9 | 35.1 | 55.8 | 33.0 | 43.6 |
| South Carolina | 42.7 | 35.1 | 65.5 | 36.2 | 48.4 |
| Tennessee | 42.0 | 39.7 | 56.6 | 36.3 | 49.2 |
| Texas | 34.2 | 31.7 | 55.7 | 31.6 | 40.9 |
| Virginia | 32.1 | 28.3 | 50.5 | 24.6 | 41.1 |
| 11-State South | 35.6 | 31.4 | 59.2 | 30.4 | 44.7 |
| United States | 26.8 | 25.4 | 48.8 | 23.9 | 34.9 |

Source: 4th Count Tapes.

## TABLE 52

### Old Age Assistance Recipients: Number, in Thousands, and as a Percent of All Persons 65 Years or Older, and Average Monthly Payments, 1969

| | RECIPIENTS | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | Monthly Payments* |
| Alabama | 115 | 36.6 | $ 66 |
| Arkansas | 61 | 26.9 | 57 |
| Florida | 70 | 7.2 | 49 |
| Georgia | 92 | 26.1 | 51 |
| Louisiana | 120 | 40.5 | 69 |
| Mississippi | 74 | 34.1 | 45 |
| North Carolina | 39 | 9.8 | 73 |
| South Carolina | 19 | 10.3 | 50 |
| Tennessee | 52 | 14.0 | 50 |
| Texas | 233 | 24.8 | 64 |
| Virginia | 12 | 3.4 | 63 |
| 11-State South | 887 | 19.0 | 59 |
| United States | 2,076 | 10.9 | 74 |

*Compared to poverty lines for a nonfarm male 65 years and over living alone, $1,974 or $165, monthly; a female, $1,826 or $153 monthly.
Source: Recipients and payments, U. S. Social and Rehabilitation Service as quoted in U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Pocket Data Book, USA 1971*, p. 191.

# CHAPTER V
# FAMILY INCOME AND THE POVERTY LINE

## SUMMARY


1. *Two-thirds of Southern white families had income at least twice that of poverty level income, yet three-quarters of black families had incomes less than twice the poverty line.*
2. *823,000 families in the region had incomes less than 50 percent of the poverty line. This figure represented four percent of all white Southern families and 17 percent of all black Southern families. Female-headed families of both races were disproportionally represented among this group.*
3. *About half of all poor families headed by females and one third of poor families headed by males live on less than 50 percent of the poverty level.*
4. *The figure of 823,000 families does not fully reflect the impact of this extreme poverty. Over 3.25 million family members lived in these families and of these 1.7 million were black and 1.6 million, white. Added to this were 772,000 poor unrelated individuals who lived at income below half the poverty line (243,000 black and 525,000 white). This meant that a total of 4,115,000 persons — 40 percent of the South's poor, were living on less than 50 percent of the poverty level income.*
5. *The Bureau of Labor Statistics' urban family budgets may be a more realistic approach to setting living standards than current poverty level guidelines. Three living standards are defined by the Bureau — low, moderate and higher — and are figured for a hypothetical urban family of four with a male head aged 38 and a wife who is not employed. The three living standards are defined by a mix of goods and services necessary for the specified level. Under the BLS budget in 1969, $6,544 was set for the lower level, $10,064 for the moderate, and $14,571 for the higher. The poverty line, however, for a comparable family was only $3,745.*
6. *Over two-thirds of white families in the South comparable to the BLS prototype family were above the moderate standard, but only one quarter of black families.*
7. *Applying ratios of the BLS standards and the poverty level to the income of all families indicates that as many as three-quarters of white, but only about one-third of black families lived in moderate or better circumstances in 1969.*


The bulk of this report has, by necessity, concentrated on the extent of poverty in the South and the characteristics of the poor population. Unintentionally, this has tended to imply that those above the poverty line are not in economic peril. The term "near-poor", used to describe those whose incomes are no more than 125 percent of the poverty line income, is recognition of their precarious status. Advancing above the poverty line takes only one dollar and those who are relatively close to the poverty standard are indeed little better off than the "official" poor. To reach even relatively comfortable economic circumstances one must advance considerably beyond the poverty line.

The interruption of earnings due to loss of a job, layoff, sickness, or other reasons; the loss of a secondary earner; the addition of new family members, a child born or an elderly person joining the family, are all events which can easily throw a near-poor family into the poor classification. Those whose incomes are above those of the near-poor, too, are not free from the possibility of falling into poverty. Accordingly, it is essential to analyze the distribution of families around the poverty line. In addition, the parsimony of the poverty index, requires a look at those above the poverty line.

### Family Income and the Poverty Line

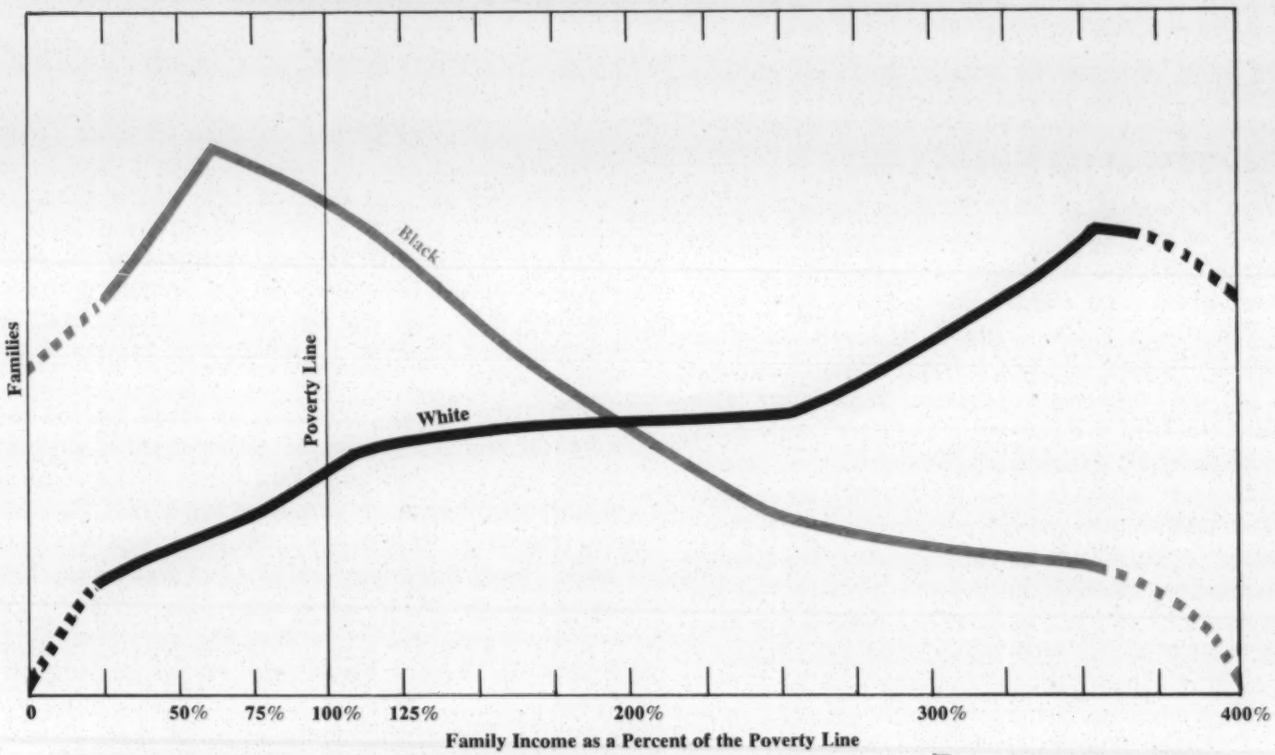
The method of analyzing family income compared with the poverty income is by expressing family income as a percent of poverty line income.

If family income is equivalent to income at the poverty line, the relationship is expressed as 100 percent; if double the poverty income, 200 percent; and if half, 50 percent; and so on. Hence the 17 percent of all Southern families below the poverty line had income of less than 100 percent of the poverty line. Seven percent of Southern families were 50 percent below the poverty line. About one-quarter of Southern families were above the poverty line but less than 200 percent of it; a slightly smaller proportion fell in the interval between 200 and 300 percent of the poverty line; and over one-third were above the 300 percent mark.

Data for the two races showed vastly different patterns. White families were highly clustered above 200

CHART 7

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY INCOME AND RACE IN THE SOUTH, 1970




**The curves were approximated by plotting the frequencies at the mid-points of the intervals. See Tables 53 and 54 for exact percentages of families falling into various intervals The final interval, 300% to 400%, is open ended, but here is shown with 400% as the upper boundary, for graphic convenience.**

percent and black families below that point. *Two-thirds of Southern white families had income at least twice that of poverty line income, yet three-quarters of black families had incomes less than twice poverty line income.*

The curve for black families is heavily weighted toward the low end. It peaks at the interval 50 to 75 percent of the poverty level, and remains high up to the point of income 125 percent of the poverty line. The curve then tapers off markedly. In contrast, the curve for white families begins low, rises steadily to the point 125 percent, and then remains constant up to the point 300 percent of the poverty line. A substantial proportion of white families are found above this point. The black and white curves cross at 200 percent of the poverty line, blacks having higher frequencies below that point and whites higher frequencies above it (see Tables 53 and 54 for state details).

Higher income families, on the average, had smaller families, and lower income ones, larger families. Thus 65 percent of white families, but only 62 percent of white family members, were above 200 percent of the poverty line. Similarly, 26 percent of black families, but only 20 percent of black family members were above 200 percent of the poverty line. Below the poverty line were 41 percent of black families, but 45 percent of black family members.

Family Income as a Percent of Poverty Line Income
for Families and Family Members by Race in the South, 1970

| Family income as a percent of poverty line | Whites | | Blacks | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Families | Family Members | Families | Family Members |
| Less than 100% | 12.0% | 12.5% | 41.1% | 45.2% |
| 100 to 199% | 22.7 | 25.2 | 33.1 | 34.1 |
| 200 to 299% | 23.9 | 25.2 | 15.0 | 12.9 |
| 300% or more | 41.4 | 37.1 | 10.8 | 7.8 |
| Total | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

Source: Tables 53 and 54.

A comparison of white and black family members shows the same preponderance of blacks at the bottom as whites at the top. Over 60 percent of whites were above 200 percent, but only 20 percent of blacks. A great many poor families were so far below the poverty line as to merit special examination.

## Below 50% of the Poverty Line

Four percent of *all* white Southern families and 17 percent of all black Southern families had incomes lower in 1969 than 50 percent of the poverty line. This poorest group of the region amounted to 823,000 families. Following are some examples by family size of the maximum income, in 1969, a family could receive and still fall below 50 percent of the line: $2,209 for a male-headed family of five persons or $442 per family member; $1,863 for a female-headed family of four persons or $466 per family member; and $1,197 for a male-headed family of two or $599 per family member. These incomes generated little purchasing power. The data on these families included breakdowns by race and sex though not by age, but many of the families doubtless were headed by the aged since, as we have seen, incomes of the elderly were notoriously inadequate.

Families Below 50 Percent of the Poverty Line and All Poor Families by Race and Sex of Head, in the South, 1970

| | Families Below 50% of the pov. line | | All poor families |
|---|---|---|---|
| | % | No. (000) | % |
| White* male | 38% | 316 | 46% |
| White* female | 17 | 140 | 13 |
| Black male | 22 | 177 | 24 |
| Black female | 23 | 190 | 17 |
| Total | 100% | 823 | 100% |

*Includes "other" races which are 0.4 percent of all poor in the region.
Source: Table 55.

Blacks were disproportionally represented in this group (incomes below 50 percent of the poverty line) —45 percent compared with 41 percent of all poor families (and 17 percent of the South's families). Female-headed families were even more prevalent among the group—40 percent compared with 30 percent among all poor and 12 percent of the South's families. Both black and white female-headed families were disproportionally represented among the very poorest.

Of poor female-headed families about half of both white and black had incomes below 50 percent of a poverty line income. Of poor male-headed families fewer, about one-third, of both white and black had similarly low incomes.

Percent of Poor Families with Income Below 50 Percent of Poverty Line Income, in the South, 1970

| | |
|---|---|
| White* male | 32% |
| White* female | 50 |
| Black male | 34 |
| Black female | 54 |

*Includes "Other" races.
Source: Table 55

The count of the number of families, 823,000, does not fully reflect the impact of this extreme poverty, for over three and one-third million people lived in these families. Of these, 1.7 million were black and 1.6 million, white.

Again the average larger size of black families resulted in their comprising a greater share of poorest family members than of poorest families. The number of unrelated individuals who were below half the poverty line was 772,000—243,000 black and 525,000 white. *Thus a staggering total of 4,115,000 persons, 40 percent of the South's poor, were living on less than half of the poverty level income.* This amounted to 43 percent of all poor blacks and 38 percent of poor whites.

It must be recognized that many of these poorest people were children. To a great extent, poor families headed by females have related children in the home, and to a greater extent than male-headed families. Since female-headed families were over-represented among the very poor, children also were. At the earliest stages of life when nutrition is critical, the income available for food from an income less than half of the poverty level is never enough. And the economy food plan, used as the basis for the poverty line, is already nutritionally inadequate. In practice, these poorest families would have to spend income on food that would normally go for other things.

## An Alternative to the Poverty Classification

A completely different approach to setting living standards is the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) urban family budgets.[1] These budgets are figured for hypothetical urban families of four persons with a male head aged 38 and a wife who is not employed. Three living standards—low, moderate, and higher—are defined by a mix of goods and services necessary for the specified level.

The costs of the goods and services are determined, and the total budget is calculated. The low budget level assumes that the family is a renter, performs many of its own services, uses free recreation, and either uses public transportation or has bought a six-year-old automobile. The moderate level includes a mix of homeowners and renters, and nearly all families have an automobile purchased when it was two years old.

[1]U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Three Standards of of Living*, Bulletin No. 1570-5, 1967.

Higher budget families have higher levels of home-ownership than the moderate level; automobile ownership is universal though second-hand purchases are made by a substantial segment; and the family has a major medical policy (all levels include hospital-surgical plans). Both the moderate and higher budgets include increasingly higher expenses for services, appliances, and automobiles. The at-home food budgets for the three levels are the Department of Agriculture's lower, moderate, and higher standards. All provide adequate nutrition. The percentage of meals away from home increases with each level. For the same period as the poverty data (1969) these three budgets were priced at: $6,544 for the lower level; $10,064, the moderate; and $14,571, the higher.[2] The poverty line for a comparable family, a nonfarm family of four with a male head, was $3,745.

Southern families' incomes can be compared to the BLS budgeted amounts to determine their adequacy with respect to low, moderate, and higher standards of living. Thus, the families above poverty can be more accurately differentiated.

The number of Southern families which exactly met the criteria of the hypothetical four-person family was over 600,000 in 1970. The income[3] of these families was compared to the BLS standards. Over two-thirds of white families were above the moderate standard, but only one-quarter of blacks.

Urban, Male-Headed 4-person Families Income Compared With BLS Standards by Race in the South, 1969

| | White | Black |
|---|---|---|
| Below low standard | 10% | 42% |
| Low to moderate | 22 | 33 |
| Moderate to high | 38 | 18 |
| Above high | 30 | 7 |
| Total | 100% | 100% |

Source: Tables 56 and 57.

In order to use the BLS living standards as benchmarks for gauging all families' incomes they were converted to percents of the poverty line, following the procedure used for all families' income (Chart 7 and Tables 53 and 54). The income standards are expressed as a ratio of the applicable poverty line for the hypothetical urban family ($3,745).

BLS Income Standards as a Percent of the Poverty Line for 4-person Urban Family, 1969

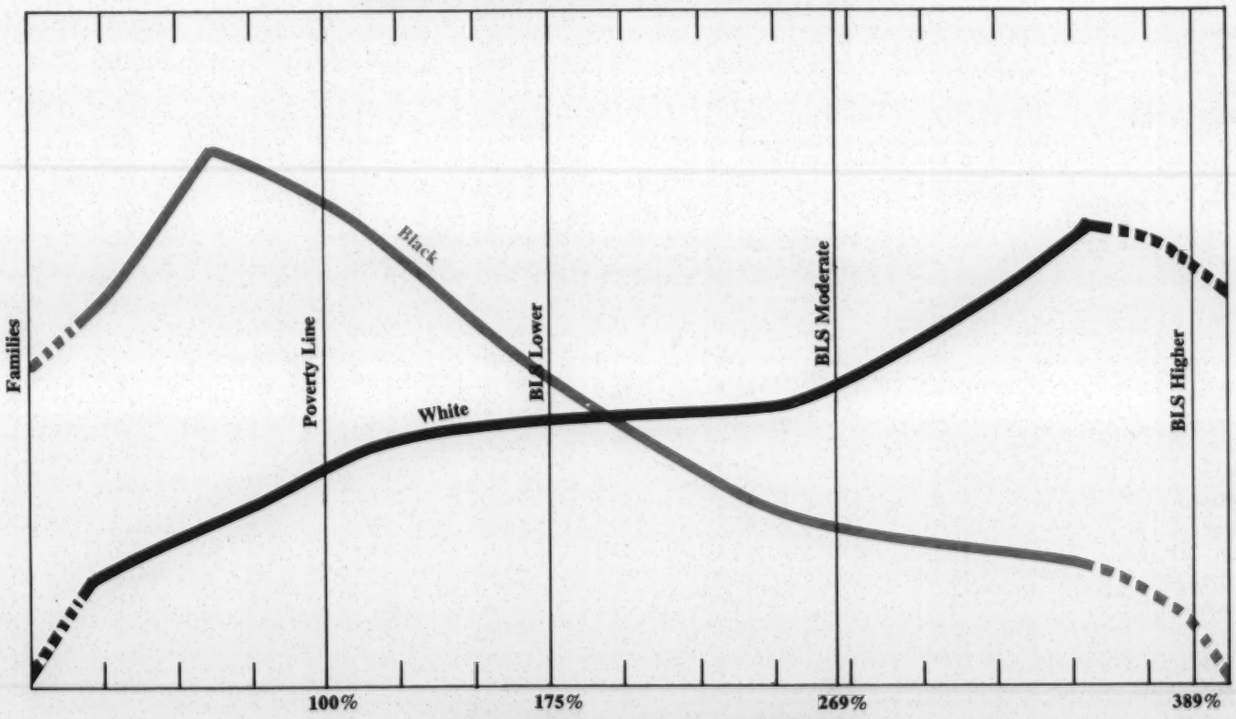
| | | BLS as % of Pov. Line ($3745) |
|---|---|---|
| Low | $ 6,544 | 175 |
| Moderate | 10,064 | 269 |
| Higher | 14,571 | 389 |

[2]U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Three Budgets for an Urban Family of Four Persons*, 1969-70, Supplement to Bulletin 1570-5, 1972, p. 16. The 1973 levels for the three budgets are low, $8,181; moderate, $12,623; and high, $18,201 according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

[3]Income in the Census was reported in intervals so the nearest interval was compared to the BLS standard: $6,500 for $6,544; $10,000 for $10,064; and $15,000 for $14,571.

**CHART 8**

**COMPARISON OF BLS BUDGETS TO THE DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY INCOME AND RACE IN THE SOUTH, 1970**




**Family Income as a Percent of the Poverty Line**

**The BLS Budgets expressed as a percent of the poverty line were superimposed on Chart 7.**

Therefore, about 200 percent of the poverty line would represent a low standard of living; less than 300 percent of the poverty line, a moderate standard; and close to 400 percent of the poverty line, a higher standard. While it would be inappropriate to ascribe these ratios strictly to all family types other than the BLS prototype, it is not inappropriate to use them as general guideline for income adequacy.

Chart 8 compares the ratios for low, moderate, and high standards with the data in Chart 7. Slightly over one-quarter of white families fell below the low standard of living mark, about one-quarter between the low and moderate standards, and nearly one-half above the moderate standard. Two-thirds of black families fell below the low standard of living, less than one-fifth between the low and moderate standards, and less than 15 percent above the high level. *While close to three-quarters of white families lived in moderate or better circumstances, only somewhat over one-third of blacks were so fortunate.* Clearly, not only is poverty a severe problem among the black population, but having an equitable share of income among those who are above poverty levels is equally as severe a problem.

The data in this chapter highlights the primary conclusion of previous chapters that in the South blacks are poorer than whites by any standard. In this chapter we have seen that blacks cluster below 200 percent of the poverty line and whites, above. Two-thirds of blacks live *below* "moderate" economic circumstances and three-quarters of whites, *above*. The agenda for the South's future, while necessarily concerned with white and black poverty, cannot ignore the continuing disparity in incomes between blacks and whites which has pushed blacks to the bottom and pulled whites to the top. The differences in economic position are so dramatically different that an immediate regional commitment to erasing them is essential. It is not enough to wait for the gradual equalizing effects of natural economic improvement. Our two societies cannot become one until we take affirmative action against the racial inequality in all institutions and aspects of Southern life.

**TABLE 53**
**Percentage Distribution of White Families by Ratio of Families' Income to Poverty Line, 1970**

| | Less than .50 | .50–.74 | .75–.99 | 1.00–1.24 | 1.25–1.99 | 2.00–2.99 | 3.00 & over | Total % | Total No. (000) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 5.0% | 3.9 | 4.9 | 5.5 | 18.9 | 24.4 | 37.5 | 100.1% | 688 |
| Arkansas | 5.7 | 5.2 | 6.9 | 7.4 | 21.9 | 23.7 | 29.2 | 100.0 | 432 |
| Florida | 3.4 | 2.5 | 3.5 | 4.6 | 17.2 | 23.8 | 44.9 | 99.9 | 1,588 |
| Georgia | 3.6 | 3.1 | 3.8 | 4.5 | 16.5 | 24.2 | 44.3 | 100.0 | 902 |
| Louisiana | 4.9 | 3.4 | 4.4 | 5.2 | 18.1 | 24.9 | 39.1 | 100.0 | 647 |
| Mississippi | 5.6 | 4.9 | 5.4 | 6.1 | 20.4 | 24.6 | 32.9 | 99.9 | 374 |
| North Carolina | 3.9 | 3.4 | 4.0 | 5.0 | 18.4 | 25.5 | 40.0 | 100.2 | 1,049 |
| South Carolina | 4.1 | 2.8 | 3.6 | 4.9 | 17.9 | 26.4 | 40.3 | 100.0 | 472 |
| Tennessee | 5.5 | 4.8 | 5.1 | 5.8 | 18.9 | 23.8 | 36.2 | 100.1 | 892 |
| Texas | 4.4 | 3.5 | 4.5 | 5.2 | 16.8 | 22.8 | 42.8 | 100.0 | 2,501 |
| Virginia | 3.4 | 2.5 | 3.1 | 4.0 | 15.3 | 23.0 | 48.7 | 100.0 | 977 |
| 11-State South | 4.3 | 3.4 | 4.3 | 5.1 | 17.6 | 23.9 | 41.4 | 100.0 | 10,521 |

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 207.

**TABLE 54**
**Percentage Distribution of Black Families by Ratio of Families' Income to Poverty Line, 1970**

| | Less than .50 | .50–.74 | .75–.99 | 1.00–1.24 | 1.25–1.99 | 2.00–2.99 | 3.00 & over | Total % | Total No. (000) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 20.8% | 13.5 | 12.5 | 10.9 | 21.3 | 12.3 | 8.6 | 99.9% | 186 |
| Arkansas | 22.8 | 15.8 | 14.4 | 12.1 | 19.5 | 9.9 | 5.6 | 100.1 | 72 |
| Florida | 14.7 | 10.7 | 10.9 | 10.8 | 24.4 | 16.8 | 11.5 | 99.8 | 218 |
| Georgia | 15.8 | 12.4 | 11.7 | 10.7 | 22.6 | 15.2 | 11.7 | 100.1 | 246 |
| Louisiana | 21.9 | 13.0 | 12.6 | 10.8 | 20.3 | 12.4 | 9.0 | 100.0 | 224 |
| Mississippi | 27.9 | 18.0 | 13.5 | 10.4 | 17.4 | 8.0 | 4.8 | 100.0 | 159 |
| North Carolina | 15.5 | 11.9 | 11.5 | 10.7 | 23.6 | 15.9 | 10.8 | 99.9 | 234 |
| South Carolina | 20.3 | 12.6 | 12.2 | 11.1 | 22.4 | 13.7 | 7.8 | 100.1 | 156 |
| Tennessee | 15.2 | 11.9 | 11.0 | 10.2 | 23.0 | 16.5 | 12.2 | 100.0 | 132 |
| Texas | 12.8 | 9.5 | 10.4 | 10.2 | 24.2 | 18.3 | 14.4 | 99.8 | 307 |
| Virginia | 10.9 | 9.5 | 9.6 | 10.0 | 24.4 | 19.3 | 16.3 | 100.0 | 181 |
| 11-State South | 17.3 | 12.2 | 11.6 | 10.6 | 22.4 | 15.0 | 10.8 | 99.9 | 2,114 |

Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 207.

## TABLE 55
**Poor Families with Income Less than Half the Poverty Level* by Race and Sex of Head: Number, in Thousands, and as Percent of All Poor, 1970**

| | White Males | | White Females | | Black Males | | Black Females | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Alabama | 25 | 33.0 | 9 | 49.7 | 18 | 34.6 | 21 | 59.4 | 73 | 40.3 |
| Arkansas | 19 | 29.2 | 6 | 47.8 | 9 | 35.6 | 7 | 58.0 | 41 | 35.6 |
| Florida | 36 | 31.1 | 18 | 52.0 | 13 | 30.5 | 19 | 51.5 | 86 | 37.5 |
| Georgia | 22 | 30.5 | 11 | 48.4 | 18 | 32.0 | 21 | 49.9 | 72 | 37.2 |
| Louisiana | 23 | 35.4 | 9 | 51.3 | 24 | 36.8 | 25 | 60.3 | 81 | 42.9 |
| Mississippi | 16 | 32.8 | 5 | 47.2 | 25 | 39.4 | 19 | 62.6 | 66 | 42.5 |
| North Carolina | 30 | 31.9 | 13 | 45.9 | 19 | 33.5 | 18 | 49.6 | 79 | 37.1 |
| South Carolina | 12 | 32.7 | 7 | 56.3 | 16 | 35.8 | 16 | 60.1 | 51 | 42.4 |
| Tennessee | 36 | 33.1 | 13 | 47.1 | 9 | 32.5 | 11 | 49.6 | 69 | 37.1 |
| Texas | 76 | 31.0 | 36 | 51.9 | 18 | 30.8 | 21 | 50.4 | 151 | 36.5 |
| Virginia | 21 | 32.2 | 13 | 54.0 | 9 | 29.5 | 11 | 45.7 | 54 | 37.5 |
| 11-State South | 316 | 31.9 | 140 | 50.4 | 177 | 34.1 | 190 | 54.2 | 823 | 38.4 |

*Half the poverty level for a nonfarm family of four: with a male head, $1873; with a female head, $1862.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state volumes, Table 207.

## TABLE 56
**Percentage Distribution of Income* of Urban Families with a Male Head 35-44 Years, Wife Not in the Labor Force, and Children Under 18 Years at Home, 1969**

| | Less than $6500 | $6500-9999 | $10,000-14,999 | $15,000 & over | Total % | Total No. (000) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 13.4% | 22.8 | 37.7 | 26.1 | 100.0% | 35 |
| Arkansas | 15.1 | 27.3 | 38.2 | 19.3 | 99.9 | 17 |
| Florida | 12.1 | 21.9 | 37.0 | 29.1 | 100.1 | 88 |
| Georgia | 17.5 | 23.7 | 29.5 | 29.3 | 100.0 | 55 |
| Louisiana | 20.6 | 27.7 | 31.1 | 20.6 | 100.0 | 56 |
| Mississippi | 17.7 | 24.8 | 38.3 | 19.2 | 100.0 | 18 |
| N. Carolina | 11.1 | 24.1 | 40.5 | 24.3 | 100.0 | 46 |
| S. Carolina | 13.0 | 25.2 | 39.4 | 22.3 | 99.9 | 24 |
| Tennessee | 20.3 | 27.8 | 29.3 | 22.6 | 100.0 | 48 |
| Texas | 10.8 | 21.2 | 37.9 | 30.2 | 100.1 | 156 |
| Virginia | 12.4 | 23.0 | 30.9 | 33.7 | 100.0 | 73 |
| 11-State South | 14.0 | 23.6 | 35.2 | 27.3 | 100.1 | 616 |

*Income intervals chosen to approximate the 1969 BLS standards of living—low, $6544; moderate, $10,064; and high, $14,571.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state voulmes, Table 198.

## TABLE 57
**Percentage Distribution of Income* of Urban Black Families with a Male Head 35-44 Years, Wife Not in the Labor Force, and Children Under 18 Years at Home, 1969**

| | Less than $6500 | $6500-9999 | $10,000-14,999 | $15,000 & over | Total % | Total No. (000) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 35.0% | 33.2 | 24.2 | 7.7 | 100.1% | 7 |
| Arkansas | 43.5 | 34.1 | 18.8 | 3.6 | 100.0 | 2 |
| Florida | 58.0 | 31.0 | 8.6 | 2.3 | 99.9 | 8 |
| Georgia | 28.5 | 32.7 | 27.1 | 11.8 | 100.1 | 12 |
| Louisiana | 35.6 | 29.7 | 23.7 | 11.1 | 100.1 | 10 |
| Mississippi | 42.9 | 34.4 | 18.3 | 4.4 | 100.0 | 4 |
| N. Carolina | 28.5 | 36.1 | 25.6 | 9.8 | 100.0 | 9 |
| S. Carolina | 66.0 | 27.0 | 5.8 | 1.1 | 99.9 | 2 |
| Tennessee | 60.9 | 27.3 | 8.8 | 3.0 | 100.0 | 4 |
| Texas | 49.6 | 34.7 | 12.4 | 3.3 | 100.0 | 15 |
| Virginia | 47.6 | 34.3 | 14.6 | 3.6 | 100.1 | 6 |
| 11-State South | 42.4 | 32.8 | 18.3 | 6.5 | 100.0 | 80 |

*Income intervals chosen to approximate the 1969 BLS standards of living—low, $6544; moderate, $10,064; and high, $14,571.
Source: Computed from *Detailed Characteristics*, state voulmes, Table 198.

# APPENDIX A

## The Spanish-American Poor Population in Florida and Texas: A Special Note[1]

The Spanish-American poor populations of Florida and Texas were the only ones in the South statistically large enough to make examination meaningful. In Texas there were over 700,000 and in Florida, nearly 70,000. Not only were there over ten times as many Spanish-Americans in Texas as in Florida, but their poverty rate was over twice as high—36 percent compared to 15 percent. The composition of the poor population in Texas was predominantly children (54 percent) and adults less than 65 years (40 percent) with the elderly, over 65 years, very few (6 percent). In Florida adults less than 65 years comprised 48 percent of the poor, a much higher proportion than among all poor persons in the 11-state South (42 percent); children, 39 percent; and the elderly, 13 percent, more than in Texas.

The number of poor Spanish-American families in Florida was 15,000 and their poverty rate was 14 percent; in Texas, 133,000 and a poverty rate of 31 percent. The poverty rate of Florida Spanish-American families was higher than the Florida white family rate (10 percent). The Texas Spanish-American poverty rate was well above the state white rate and virtually the same as the black family poverty rate (33 percent).

Female-headed families comprised a smaller proportion of poor Spanish-American families in both states, 23 percent, compared to the regional average for all families, 29 percent. Their poverty rates were severe—in Florida, 33 percent, which was above the rate for white female heads in Florida (25 percent); in Texas, 57 percent, which was nearly as high as the Texas black female-head poverty rate, 59 percent.

In terms of residence all Spanish-American families in Florida and Texas were more urbanized (central cities and urban fringe together) than the total families —in Florida 89 percent compared to 61 percent and in Texas, 66 percent compared to 61 percent. The poor Spanish-Americans, however, were less urbanized — 85 percent in Florida and 54 percent in Texas. In Florida a much smaller proportion of poor, only seven percent, were rural residents than of poor whites or blacks. In Texas approximately the same share of poor Spanish-Americans, 23 percent, as poor blacks lived in rural areas.

For male family heads the working poor percentages for Spanish-Americans in both states, 78 percent in Florida and 80 percent in Texas, exceeded those for poor whites and blacks in the same states. For poor female heads in Florida the proportion of working poor, 48 percent, was higher than for whites and much lower than for blacks. In Texas the percent of working poor among female heads was lower than for both whites and blacks.

In terms of education the poor Spanish-Americans in Florida were better educated than those in Texas. In Florida, of family heads 25-64 years, 25 percent of males and 34 percent of females completed high school or more education. They compared unfavorably to poor whites and somewhat more favorably to poor blacks in Florida. In Texas, however, only 9 percent of males and 8 percent of female heads completed high school—much lower completion rates than for either whites or blacks.

Fewer of all Spanish-American families in Florida than Texas were in the poorest classification—income less than 50 percent the poverty line—five percent compared to 11 percent. However, on the other hand, these poorest families as a proportion of Spanish-American poor families was less in Texas (36 percent) than in Florida (41 percent).

[1]See Appendix B for definition of Spanish-American. Data from 4th Count Tapes, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, and *Detailed Characteristics*.

# APPENDIX B

## Definitions

### Family Concepts

*Family:* Two or more persons living in the same household who are related by marriage, blood or adoption.

*Unrelated Individual:* A person living in a household alone or with one or more persons to whom unrelated, or living in group quarters. All poverty data on unrelated individuals exclude inmates of institutions, members of the Armed Forces living in barracks, college students living in dormitories (including fraternities and sororities), and unrelated individuals under 14 years old.

### Race and Related Concepts

*Race:* In the 1970 Census persons were asked to indicate their race by selecting White, Negro or Black, Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Korean, Other (specify).

* Black: In this report, includes persons who indicated their race as "Negro" or "Black" in the Census.
* Other Races: In this report, includes all persons who did not indicate their race as White, Negro or Black. Includes Indians, Japanese, etc. In the South in 1970, 39,000 of all family heads and 10,000 of poor heads were in this category. Their poverty rate was 26 percent.

*Spanish-Americans:* Persons who reported Spanish as their mother tongue, as well as persons in families in which the head or wife reported Spanish as his or her mother tongue. Also in Texas includes persons not of Spanish language but of Spanish surname. The Spanish-American classification is not a racial classification. In Texas and Florida, of Spanish-Americans, 99 percent and 97 percent respectively were classified as white racially. See also Appendix A for a description of the Spanish-American poor.

### Residence Concepts

*South:* The population of the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

*Census South:* The population of the 11 states classified as the South and the District of Columbia, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

*Urban:*

Urbanized Areas: These contain a city (or twin cities) of 50,000 or more plus the surrounding closely settled incorporated and unincorporated areas which meet certain criteria of size or density.

* Central cities: Population of cities of 50,000 or more in urbanized areas.
* Urban fringe: Population of the urbanized area outside the central city.

Other Urban:

* Places 10,000 to 49,999.
* Places of 2,500 to 9,999.

*Rural:*

Those remaining areas not included in any of the urban categories, including the areas outside urbanized areas and with fewer than 2,500 population.

## APPENDIX B–Continued

### Income Concepts

*Income:* Total income is the sum of the dollar amounts of money respondents reported receiving as earnings, Social Security, public assistance, interest, dividends, retirement pensions, and other regular payments. Nonmonetary payments, such as commodities and food stamps, are specifically excluded. Family income is the total combined incomes of all family members.

Earnings include wage and salary income and net self-employment income.

Social Security income includes U.S. Government payments to retired or disabled workers and to dependents of insured workers; also here includes railroad retirement; and excludes Medicare reimbursements.

Public assistance includes amounts from Federal, state, and local public programs such as aid to the blind, disabled, aged, and dependent children and excludes payments for hospital or other medical care.

*Poor Population:* Those families (and all family members) and unrelated individuals whose 1969 income fell below the 1969 poverty level relevant to their characteristics.

*Poverty Incidence or Poverty Rate:* The percent of a group who are poor—whose income falls below the poverty level appropriate to their characteristics. For example, the poverty rate for Southern female-headed families is the percent of all Southern female-headed families whose income falls below the poverty level for their family type.

*Poverty Level:* Using criteria and a methodology established by the Social Security Administration and modified by a Federal Interagency Committee, the Bureau of the Census constructed a series of poverty income levels for use with the 1970 Census. The sliding scale poverty levels take into account various factors such as family size (including number of children), sex of the family head, and whether farm or nonfarm residence. It does not include regional or other geographic area differentials. Examples of 1969 poverty levels are:

Nonfarm Residence:

- A male unrelated individual under 65 years: $1974.
- A female unrelated individual 65 years or older: $1751.
- A 3-person family with: a female head, $2830; a male head, $2937.
- A 4-person family with: a female head, $3725; a male head, $3745.
- A family with 7 or more persons and a male head: $6116.

Farm residence:

- A 4-person family with: a female head, $3159; a male head, $3197.
- A family with 7 or more persons and a male head: $5185.

*Income Deficit:* The difference (in dollars) between a family's or an unrelated individual's actual income and the applicable poverty level.

*Aggregate Income Deficit:* The sum of the income deficits for a group—for instance, the aggregate income deficit for families.

### Employment Concepts

*Working Poor:* Those poor persons who reported that they were at work or with a job but not at work (temporarily absent because of illness, vacation) during the week that the Census was taken. Excluded are the unemployed and those not in the labor force.

*Occupation:* The terms white collar, blue collar, farming, and service workers include the following major

Census Occupational Groups:

*White Collar:* Professional, technical, and kindred workers.
Managers and administrators, except farm.
Sales workers.
Clerical and kindred workers.

*Blue Collar:* Craftsmen and kindred workers.
Operatives, except transport.
Transport equipment operatives.
Laborers, except farm.

*Farming:* Farmers and farm managers.
Farm laborers and farm foremen.

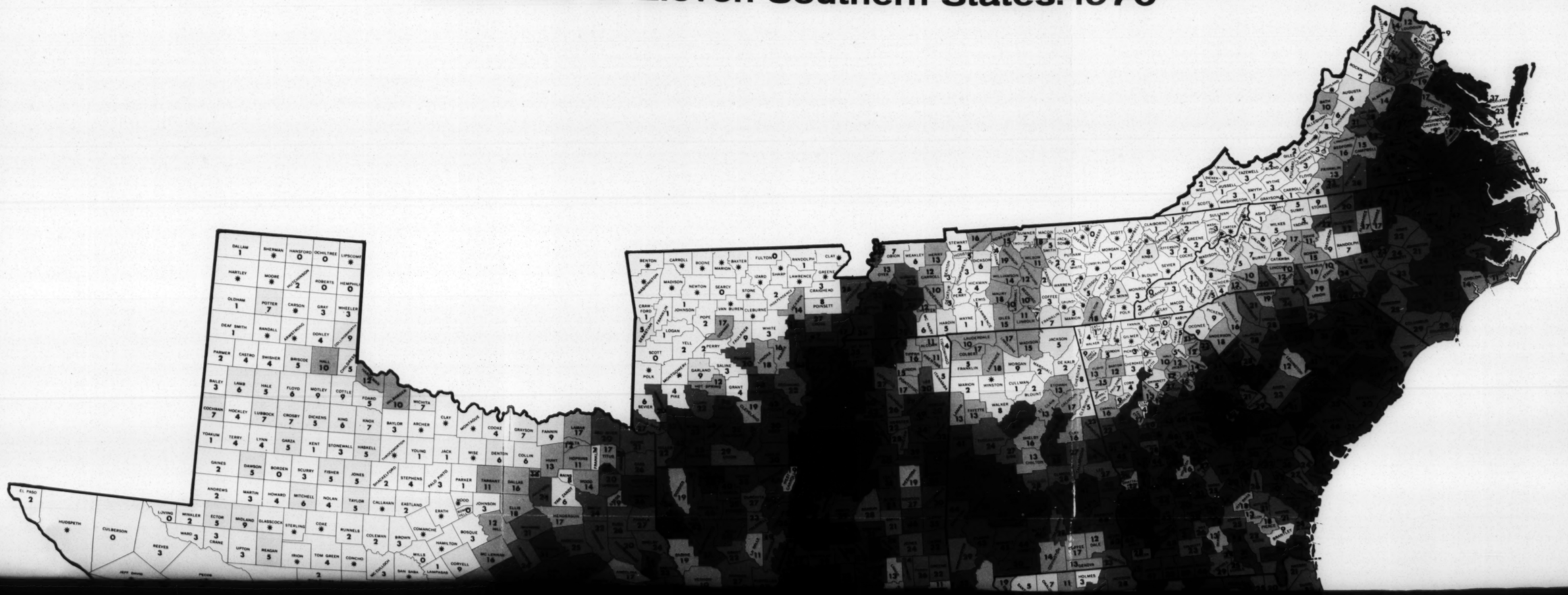
*Service Workers:* Service workers, except private household.
Private household workers.

*Labor Force:* Those who are in the labor force include the employed and the unemployed. (The unemployed include those looking for work within the past 60 days and those waiting to be called back to a job from which they are laid off.)

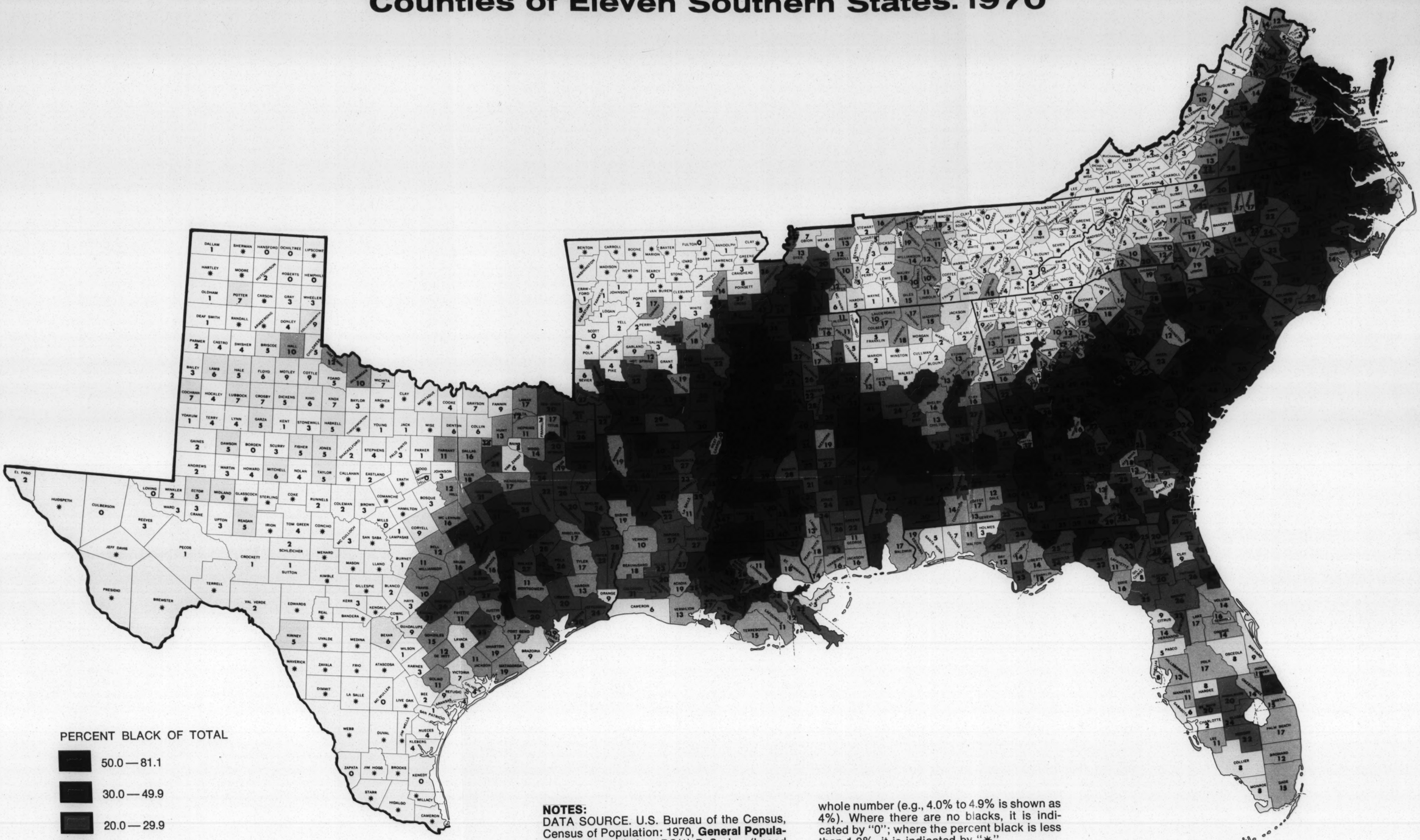
Reference: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census User's Guide,* Part 1, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1970.

# BLACK POPULATION AS PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION

## Counties of Eleven Southern States: 1970



# Counties of Eleven Southern States: 1970



PERCENT BLACK OF TOTAL

- 50.0 — 81.1
- 30.0 — 49.9
- 20.0 — 29.9
- 10.0 — 19.9
- 5.0 — 9.9
- Less than 5.0

U.S. TOTAL PERCENT BLACK 11.1%

ELEVEN STATE TOTAL PERCENT BLACK 20.4% (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.)

**NOTES:**

DATA SOURCE. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, **General Population Characteristics,** PC(1)-B Series (based on second count data).

BLACK. "Black" is synonomous on this map with the Census 1970 definition of "Negro."

NUMBERS ON COUNTIES. The numbers are the percent black population of the total population in each county. The percent was calculated to one decimal place. However, the decimal place was dropped to leave a whole number (e.g., 4.0% to 4.9% is shown as 4%). Where there are no blacks, it is indicated by "0"; where the percent black is less than 1.0%, it is indicated by "✱".

VIRGINIA. The percent black for nine independent cities is: Chesapeake 23%; Hampton 25%; Lynchburg 23%; Newport News 28%; Norfolk 28%; Portsmouth 39%; Richmond 42%; Roanoke 19%; Virginia Beach 9%. The remaining 29 independent cities have been combined by the Census with adjoining counties.

0 100 200 300 MILES

PUBLISHED BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, JULY, 1973

ON HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCILS

By J. Edwin Stanfield

A friend of mine used to say, "People do what they want to do and what they have to do -- usually in that order."

Proponents of the "Black Power" movement are now operating on the assumption that white Americans, generally speaking, will do justice only if they have to -- not because they want to. There still are voices -- that of Martin Luther King, for one -- which speak of the power of love to transform and hold out the hope of tapping some latent sense of justice in white America. "Do to us what you will and we will still love you," King wrote eight years ago, "...we will soon wear you down by our capacity to suffer." He says it still, but somehow with less conviction and with fewer responding "Amens."

Objective indications must not be encouraging to him. A recent Louis Harris poll shows that white prejudiced has slackened very little in three years. Sixty-three percent of white Americans now think all demonstrations are harmful -- compared to fifty percent three years ago.

In answer to the Black Power contention that white Americans will respond only to pressure and that communities will change discriminatory patterns only in preference to civil disorder or economic loss, Dr. King has said, "We should never forget that we are in the majority nowhere....It would be foolish to say we can win freedom by ourselves."

But, if I do not misunderstand, Black Power does not mean the power to win freedom for Negroes by majority vote. It means organization for the exercise of a sort of negative power, the power

to deny enjoyment of freedom to whites and to require black freedom of the white majority on pain of loss of their own. If it does not lie within the power of Negroes to achieve justice and freedom alone, neither does it lie within the power of the white majority to retain and enjoy affluence and privilege and freedom by themselves. By definition, justice and freedom are shared values and mutual goals. Even a small minority of Negro citizens, if determined, can use white bias as a judo wrestler uses his opponent's weight against him to force a narrowing and impoverishment of the public life as the penality for racial prejudice. More than a year before the "black power" slogan was coined, James Forman summed it up: "If we can't get a seat at the table, then we'll kick the legs off the ... table!"

Like it or not, Black Power is a reality to which response must be made. We must ask ourselves what is the most constructive course in the face of its challenge. The question of social justice now is whether we shall do real justice because we want to or that sorry sort of justice which otherwise we shall have to do. And that is the same as saying that white Americans have before them still more clearly the choice of allowing Negroes the same freedoms and privileges they enjoy -- or forfeiting these themselves. He cannot remain free who chooses to deny others their freedom.

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From its beginning the Civil Rights Movement has confronted us with a national crisis. The cry of Black Power only heightens it. I use the word crisis very carefully. It is a cognate of the Greek word for "judgment". It seems to me that the civil rights movement, like nothing before it -- with the possible exception of the Civil

War, has brought this nation to a testing, to a judgment. The questions are being weighed: Can American democracy be made to work? Can it provide an adequate basis for human community in the changed circumstances of this century? Can required changes be made within its normal processes? Is it possible for citizens of all races, creeds, colors and conditions to live and work in decency and dignity, in openness and availability toward on another? Is it possible, out of the incredibly complex interdependencies of industrial and metropolitan America, to create genuine community?

Incidentally, the problem is not, as I am sure you realize, one of race relations only. Perhaps it is not even a problem of race relations primarily. It is increasingly evident, for example, that the economic breach in community is wider than the ethnic or racial break.

Anton Boisen suggested many years ago that an emotional upheaval in an individual is basically a good and necessary attempt to reorganize one's psychic life in order to cope with new or newly-comprehended circumstances for which the old self is no longer adequate. If the psychic crisis is successfully weathered, he observed, people say the individual had a religious experience or "conversion." If it is not a successful attempt at reorganization, people say the person "cracked up" or became insane. I think it is just such an experience through which the corporate personality of America is passing. Perhaps we are to know in our lifetime whether, as a nation, we are to be converted or demented!

Our quest is for community. And our problem is to find patterns of community adequate to match the interdependencies of metropolitan society. Ours is a society which is fundamentally and qualitatively

different from that which existed when most of the patterns and institutions we now have were formed. The question whether we can adapt our institutions and ourselves to changed circumstances may in fact be a question of our survival -- collectively as a nation and individually as human beings.

For interdependency without community is hell! I can think of no more apt portrait of hell than that fanciful one provided by C. S. Lewis in his little book, The Great Divorce. He described hell as a great, sprawling city in which one could build himself a new house simply by wishing for it. The city was expanding by geometric progression, and it was full of empty houses, because citizens kept moving away from one another. It was so much easier to move than to bother with other people!

His description of hell sounds distressingly like New York, of course, or Chicago or Los Angeles or Detroit or Cleveland or Baltimore or Atlanta or Birmingham or Houston or New Orleans. The travails that all of these places have experienced are object lessons in the hell that is interdependency without community.

But the hell of it is no less real -- for the interdependency is no less real -- in the countryside; it is only more diffused. A little community like Selma, for all of its complaints about "outside agitators," was happily agitated by the news that an outside company like Hammermill Paper was going to locate a plant there. And Hammermill, up in Erie, Pennsylvania, found itself negotiating with some outsiders who have a secondary interest in what goes on in Selma, Alabama. There are no "outsiders" anymore, for our interdependency knows no geographic boundaries. Clearly there can no longer be geographic boundaries on community, either. The flight to the suburbs is pitiable temporizing, -- an attempt to

re-create artificially the homogeneous community our grandfathers knew. We can no longer draw a line and declare that we have no obligation of openness and availability and responsibility beyond that.

At least not if we want to remain human. Human-ness means community. To the extent that we insist that we are to be left alone, or that others should be content to be left strictly alone -- to that extent we forfeit our full humanity. The ancient question of Job, "What is man...?," stripped of all incidentals and accidents of possession and station, "What is man?" remains for each to answer. But there is a dreadful answer implicit in behaviour which assumes that <u>some</u> lives matter little or not at all. One who thus refuses community carries within himself the hidden seed of damnation -- the conviction that the value of his own life is relative and not absolute, which gives him a vested interest in the misfortune or incapacity of others.

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In such a day as this, what is to be the role of councils on human relations?

It seems to me that human relations councils must play a dual role. They must oppose, to put the matter negatively, both the separatism of traditional segregationists and the separatism of Black Power. To put it positively, they must struggle both for the <u>justice</u> that is more than Black Power can effectively force and the <u>mercy</u> that is more than prejudiced and oppressive whites deserve. There can be no viable community at this point in history without both justice and mercy. But to insist on both is to live in tension.

Yet it is a creative tension to which human relations councils must call both whites and blacks, asking both to accept scorn and rejection from two sides.

One thrust of human relations councils, I have said, must be the thrust toward justice for the oppressed. There can be no compromise, no half-heartedness on the matter of justice. Civil rights are not negotiable. Economic justice is not debatable. We dare not temporize on these issues, for community in our time is not possible, except on a foundation of profound justice.

There was a time, not so long ago -- when this was a rural country, when a community could be held together, however inadequately, on the basis of personal relationships and honest charitableness. It was in those days that most of the institutions of our society took on their definitive forms. Relationships were primary. People knew one another -- knew practically everyone upon whom they depended in their daily lives. Those were the days of pietism in religion, of neighborhood schools, of intensely local government, of personalized industry and labor relations, of courts informed by the bowels of human mercy, and of welfare informed by human charity.

Those days have forever passed. We have poignant reminders of them, still, in the southern phenomenon of genuine kindness and courtesy in all personal and individual relationships of whites with Negroes -- but simultaneous refusal to lift a finger, or even an eyebrow, against those conditions which leave fellow citizens constantly in need of charity. Many a white southerner is living between two worlds and so justifies the characterization of a friend of mine: "They are the kindest, most generous, most hospitable people in the world -- only they'll kill you, if they don;t like you."

Gone are the days when personal industry and edification could gain acceptance. How often one hears the wistful argument, "Education is the answer. Negroes must earn acceptance!" No. Case study after case study has found whites in integrated neighborhoods keeping their distance from Negroes somewhat better educated than themselves. And I could cite examples of Negro Americans turned away from public facilities by people who, by any unit of measure except racial characteristics, were inferior to them.

Gone are the days when churches could, without apostasy, "stick to the business of religion," when righteousness could be considered a personal characteristic. Churches can no more avoid getting deeply involved in social issues (that is, if they are to make any pretense of relevance) than their members can drive their automobiles only on the highways they personally own!

Gone are the days when prattling about "states' rights" and "local control" made sense. When I can fly from Atlanta to New Orleans in one hour flat, don't talk to me about "states' rights" or try to justify myopic "local control."

Gone are the days when a business enterprise could be dealt with by the same rules that govern any other good citizen of a community. For industry in our day is, quite literally, nobody's business -- impersonal, amoral, and preoccupied.

Gone are the days when social welfare agencies could be responsibly satisfied with individual-oriented or family-oriented case work. Neither are the old assumptions about "deserving" and "undeserving" persons acceptable any longer. In our day most hapless individuals are victims of corporate problems, and welfare assistance is a matter of the person's rights and the society's responsibilities.

In short -- and to repeat -- justice, not charity, is the foundation of community and of good human relations in our industrial and metropolitan society. The first order of business for human relations councils is engagement, in the public arena, in what must be characterized as a struggle to make all institutions in society serve and nurture persons as ends in themselves -- never using them as means to other ends or units with widely varying degrees of value.

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The other thrust of a human relations council is the thrust toward mercy. If there can be no compromise in the matter of justice toward the oppressed minorities neither should we neglect the offer of mercy, brooding and patient, to the offending majority.

The reason for this seems obvious to me, but I find a great number of people concerned with human relations who do not see it. The problem of race relations in the South and in America, as well as the problem of poverty in our affluent society, is white men's problem. It has been all along. We hear people talk about "the Negro problem." Nonsense. It is the white problem.

To speak of "mercy" in this context seems awkward -- even inappropriate -- and a bit of explanation is in order. The term implies that white people, insofar as they are prejudiced or bigoted, are essentially in a pathetic condition. I firmly believe that to be so.

But it is not easy to discern pathetic need when it is clothed in arrogance. For the most part, human relations councils in the South have not done so. Generally speaking, the state councils and their local affiliates have identified themselves as civil rights groups and have confined their ministration, understandably, and

often of necessity, to the oppressed minority. The councils have been dealt with harshly. The reaction of the white public has ranged from violence to indifference. In relation to the hostile or indifferent white majority, councils have normally sought only to avoid or outwit -- sometimes to confront and condemn -- but rarely have they sought a therapeutic relationship. To the hatred and venom directed toward them, human relations council folks have most often reacted -- human-like -- with bitterness and disgust. It is not easy to add a dash of pity.

I have used the phrase "therapeutic relationship" and have done so advisedly. The white people of the South may be thought of as criminals or psychotics or sinners or ignoramuses -- but, view them as you will, we ought to address ourselves to the real needs of such people. We recognize that it is in the interest of society to rehabilitate criminals, to provide therapy for psychotics, to redeem sinners, and to educate the ignorant. By the same token, we need to do more for bigots than damn them.

Let us like white southerners collectively to a man who is a drunken wife-beater. Human relations councils should relate to him as his analyst, not as his mother-in-law. The civil rights groups have spoken and are speaking to the South. The federal government has spoken and is speaking to the South. Rights have been affirmed. Laws have been passed. The boundaries of decency and acceptable behaviour have been officially marked, if not effectively so. Nevertheless, the ravages of bigotry continue. If we are to avoid a terrible narrowing of the public life in the South, something more must be done for and with white southerners than civil rights groups

or government can do. There is need of a group of people who will patiently "hear out" the foolishness of white moderates, as a psychotherapist listens to the delusional utterances of the mentally ill.

We must go beyond confrontation, for the problem of the white southerner is not lack of moral knowledge. For all his protestations of being sinned against, he knowshis own guilt damned well. He knows it so well that he cannot stand to look at himself as he really is. That is why confrontation is not enough. Few people, if any, can acknowledge guilt until they can see a way out, until they can find an individual or a group of people who, without approving or participating in their unacceptable behaviour, nevertheless continue to care about them and accept them as persons of some worth.

Therefore, simply on pragmatic grounds, on the basis of what is effective for amelioration of the society and the condition of the minority groups in it, human relations councils should fight off the temptation to justifiable scorn and bitterness toward white moderates and, to the extent possible, devise techniques and programs to reach them and teach them. Justice in the South will be barren, and brotherhood rare, unless more whites can be led to change than are now in prospect.

But this should be done on humanitarian grounds, too. After all, what is the business of a human relations council? It is to remove or remedy all that dehumanizes. That includes relief of the oppressed and redress of their grievances, for oppression does dehumanize its victims. But it includes more than that. We speak of

southern whites as "brutalizing" Negroes. One is not of necessity dehumanized, however, by his being oppressed and exploited. But one is of necessity dehumanized when he oppresses and exploits, or acquiesces in oppression and exploitation.

It cannot be said that it is the duty of any person to enter into such therapeutic efforts. It is not a requirement of justice; it is a work of mercy. Certainly any Negro is readily to be excused, if he wishes. One can only sympathize with the weariness that Sammy Davis, Jr., expressed when he said that white folks would just have to find some other Negro to practice on!

It does seem to me that white liberals come nearer to having an obligation to worry about white men's souls and psyches. We whites who have seen the light might be instructed by Jesus' parable about the Pharisee who prayed, "O Lord, I thank thee that I am not as other men are...!"

White liberals tend to be a little like Charlie Brown's sister, Sally, who was terrified of going to kindergarten. She suffered weeks of agony as the time drew near for her to start to school. She even went to Lucy, the psychiatrist on the block.

She discovered, of course, that kindergarten was not bad at all -- indeed it was great fun. Here is what she said to Charlie Brown after her first day in attendance:

> "Some children just don't know their own minds! If a child is reluctant to go to kindergarten, the parents shouldn't fool around...just whisk him off! Make him go! It's ridiculous for a child to have this fear of kindergarten! I think we pamper kids too much these days anyway....Don't fiddle around with 'em! That's my motto! Send 'em off!"

Ask yourself what is the job that is uniquely that of a human relations council. It is not the securing of civil rights. Councils can and should help to secure them, to be sure, but there are agencies to secure them with or without human relations councils.

If the human relations council idea has any genius and destiny, it lies not in leadership of the oppressed but in potential for mission to the oppressing majority. There is a movement among the oppressed. To be sure it needs and deserves all possible aid, and those who are not themselves victims can provide technical assistance as neededand called for. But the movement is there, whereas there is as yet no significant movement among the oppressing or acquiescing majority. The dissatisfaction of the minorities is or will be aroused; what is needed is an answering dissatisfaction from those who sleep in the presence of moral -- and possibly mortal -- peril.

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A member of the staff of the Southern Reginnal Council told about his efforts to secure help for people who were living in unheated slum housing in the midst of a severe cold snap in Atlanta in the winter of 1966. "We had some middle class white folks down there," he said, "but the emotion they felt was pity for these poor persons. As long as that is what they feel, they can't help much -- because the appropriate reaction is anger, not pity."

That is true.

On the other hand, I remember a certain human relations council leader who decided, with serious misgivings, to ask assistance on a community problem of a churchman who had turned down a request for assistance on another problem only a year before. To her surprise, she found him willing and even eager to respond and help. "I guess

you really do have to keep holding the door open," she remarked.

And that is true.

What we need in human relations councils is people who have the large capacity to hold in constant, creative tension anger over the misery of the minority and pity for the insensitive soul--misery of the majority. A seminary professor used to say to his students, "Gentlemen, never preach about hell without a tear in your eye!" To speak effectively to the South, we do indeed have to speak of hell. We have also to speak with tears in our eyes.

It would be difficult for me to overstate the importance of biracial instruments, such as human relations councils, in the drive toward community in our society. Integration of our society is the only viable end, and sooner or later we must work together in order to live together. The future of this nation depends upon it. I think it not too much to say that the future of mankind depends upon it.

For if we cannot make community and humanity bloom in this hot-house microcosm of mild heterogeneity that is America, what hope is there for these fragile flowers in the rocky soil of a harshly divided world?

As Leslie Dunbar, a former executive director of the Southern Regional Council, once wrote:

> The South is a little place, and its survival means hardly anything to the world. Except that the only way it can, in fact, survive is to do something that would matter to the world, and that is to become a rarity, a biracial community at peace with itself.

DRAFT

# A POSITION PAPER ON FUTURE ROLES AND RELATIONSHIPS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL AND THE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The suggestions which are to follow are made on the basis of certain assumptions and observations.

First, it is assumed that the movement toward human rights and wholesome community in the South must be biracial in nature. It may comprehend what is basically organization of Negro communities, but in the last analysis "black and white together" is the end and "black and white together" must be the means.

Second, it is observed that the Southern Regional Council, having no membership base, cannot be as effective an agent of such a movement alone as it can be in conjunction with the councils on human relations, which do have a membership base. The roles of the regional and state-local organizations are different, but they are mutually vital.

Third, it is assumed that fact-finding, research, and information are both the primary functions of the SRC and basic to everything else that it and the councils on human relations may do. The fundamental program of the SRC is production of ideas: insights into the region's needs and suggestions or guidance for programs to meet those needs. State and local councils are often better situated to carry out programs. They too, however, appear to be finding the functions of research and information to be of increasing importance to them. For this reason, a program of first-rate research and information must continue to be the first concern of the Southern Regional Council.

Fourth, it is assumed that the enlistment of both Negroes and white people, either directly into their membership or indirectly through affiliation of other organizations, for support of and partici-

pation in such a "movement" is fundamental to the role of the human relations councils. On this assumption, the policies and structure of the SRC's relationship to the councils should be always such as to encourage fulfillment of that role.

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Rethinking of the roles and relationships of the SRC and the councils on human relations is made necessary by a number of considerations. One is the increasing complexity of the South's problems and concommitant sophistication and precision needed in dealing with them. Another is a disappointing rate of growth and level of local support of the human relations councils--a disappointment which may be blamed altogether on circumstances, but might also be due in part to lack of emphasis on these goals. A third is the blunt fact that, by all indications, foundations are growing reluctant to maintain the general operations of both the human relations councils and the Southern Regional Council.

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We feel it only realistic, especially in view of the last-mentioned consideration in the preceding paragraph, to suggest that direct grants-in-aid to human relations councils from the SRC be discontinued, effective December 31, 1968. Alternative forms of mutual assistance will be outlined below, but this policy has some virtues in itself which should be elaborated upon.

Such a policy would be calculated to bring about an alignment of support policy with the autonomous structure of the human relations councils. The establishment of human relations councils was initially a program of the Southern Regional Council. They were set up to be

autonomous, however, having their own policy boards and, as a desirable result, widely varying programs. Direct support through the existing grant-in-aid program has tended all too often to treat human relations councils as continuing program responsibilities of the SRC--which they clearly and by design are not. This leads to a number of awkward administrative problems. How can the SRC responsibly administer funds for the general operation of separate agencies over which the SRC intentionally has no policy control? The councils on human relations are separate, autonomous agencies; the SRC should relate to them as such, and vice versa. We would hope for continued cooperative program development. Indeed, as is made clear in our statement of assumptions, we consider such cooperation vital both to the SRC and the councils. But we believe that cooperation will be both more fruitful and more helpful to the agencies involved if the relationship is structured as between equal, allied agencies.

Such a policy is also frankly designed to press the issue of membership enlistment and involvement as of primary importance to the role of human relations councils. This is viewed as a vital part of the education process which must take place--particularly with regard to the white people of the South. The instincts of the foundations at this point are quite good: a human relations council should not exist and function only because outside agents wish it to; it is meaningful only to the extent to which it is the will of citizens within the community it serves.

Initiation of human relations councils can reasonably continue as a program of the SRC. Councils in some Deep South states will have to be considered as still in the beginning stages. There may be need,

in the future, to begin some metropolitan area councils. In such cases, the intensive cultivation needed to organize local councils and provide technical assistance to policy boards in fund raising and membership enlistment could and should be provided by the SRC's department of field activities in liaison with the policy board of the nascent organization. A suggestion for provision of this service will be outlined below. What is important is that a distinction be made between provision of assistance in formative stages and provision of continuing general support which might tend to become a crutch on which the developing council depends for a more-than-reasonable period.

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A second suggestion is that, from time to time, programs mutually helpful to the SRC and human relations councils, and generally needed in the South or a large portion of the South, be arranged by agreement between the SRC and the several councils. By substituting such programs for grants-in-aid for general support we would be providing both a continuing motivation for the growth and indigenous support of the human relations councils (important programs around which to rally support, plus incentive for a strong, working organization) and a measure of substantive assistance. Toward the latter end the funding of such programs should include as generous an overhead allowance as possible.

As the first such mutually helpful program, which we shall use as an example or prototype, we propose that funds be sought to establish an "information network" by placing information officers on the staffs of the state human relations councils. Many state council staffs and board members have indicated a need and desire for research and writing

skills within their organizations. Provision of this need would tie in very well with a need to strengthen the research facilities of the SRC.

On the staffs of the participating councils the information officers would collect and compile precise data relevant to a wide variety of problems and issues, such as employment, public assistance, housing, school desegregation, etc. He would write special reports on state or local problems. He would respond to requests for information from journalists, government agencies, and scholars both inside and outside the state. He would provide information needed by other members of the councils staff for speeches, conferences, etc. He could assist local councils to find needed data. As a part of the agreement and as a natural outgrowth of the functions already mentioned he would respond to requests for information from the SRC Research Director for publications of regional scope.

Job descriptions and qualifications for the information officers would be agreed upon by the SRC and the officers and staffs of the state councils participating. In general, the information officers should be persons with a master's degree in economics, political science, sociology or journalism--or equivalent background in research and information techniques. They should have demonstrated skill in writing. Personnel would be recruited and retained with the stipulation that persons employed and their performance on the job be acceptable to both the state council concerned and the SRC.

Budget requirements, to be funded through the SRC, would be determined in the agreement in the light of the particular situation and the portion of support services which could be absorbed by the office of the council.

The SRC would need to hire a highly qualified research director to coordinate and provide advice and assistance for the efforts of this network of information officers, as well as to supervise the research department of the SRC.

The arrangement should include a provision that an information officer will be placed on a state council staff where at least an adequate office is maintained by the state council and one full-time employee is otherwise provided. As a standard, this would be an executive director, together with at least a part-time secretary. Minimally, it could be a full-time administrative secretary. Where this minimum requirement cannot be met an information officer might still be placed in the state, but would be employed directly by the Southern Regional Council under the supervision of SRC's research director in consultation with such state council leadership as does exist.

If the arrangement for this "information network" with the state councils works well, it might become the prototype for similar arrangements for other programs. It is our view that SRC programs should be planned so as to utilize the human relations councils to the fullest extent practical. A relationship to a constituency is important to the SRC as the growth of an interracial constituency is important to the South. By the same token, involvement in programs vital to the region is vital to the development of the human relations councils.

---

To the purpose just mentioned, a third suggestion is that all SRC field programs be coordinated under the departments of field activities

Future special projects should be placed, administratively, within the field department. Liaison with human relations councils would thus be enhanced. The administrative load of the executive director of SRC would be lightened.

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A fourth suggestion, related to the third, is that at least one assistant to the field director be employed as soon as possible. Two might eventually be needed.

One obvious reason for this is that the administrative change proposed in suggestion three would require at least one assistant to the director of field activities for the general work with human relations councils which is now his chief responsibility.

A second reason, already mentioned, is that under the new arrangement some of the councils might not qualify for the "information network" arrangement or other programs which might be negotiated in the future--or might qualify only minimally, by maintaining an office and administrative secretary--and would need intensive cultivation from some source to organize and serve local councils, provide technical assistance for fund raising and membership enlistment, etc. Such functions could not be assumed by the proposed information officers. Yet the availability of a person to work in the state for extended periods of time might make the difference between continued weakness and eventual strength. One, two, or more persons, preferably without heavy family obligations, should be employed to work out of the SRC office specifically on these organizational tasks. The goal, of course, would be to build the strength of the human relations council to the point at which it could employ an executive director of its own, who would assume these functions.

A reorganization such as these suggestions comprise would give the SRC and the councils on human relations a closer, better-defined working relationship, which both it and they need. At the same time, it would both respect and encourage autonomy of the state councils. It would make for more responsible and, hopefully, more efficient administration of funds and programs by the SRC. It would make SRC's concern for the growth and strength of the human relations councils, if anything, more manifest and more effective--yet deal realistically with the reluctance of foundations to support continuously the general operations of organizations.

# publications

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THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH: HOUSTON, report based on survey by Prof. Art Gallaher, November, 1961; ATLANTA, Prof. Carl Holman, research coordinator, May, 1962; CHATTANOOGA, Dr. Major J. Jones, research coordinator, February, 1962. .20
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L-23B DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION. Fact sheet, Feb. 1963.

L-23D DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION. Fact sheet, Dec. 1964.

L-25 NEW CENSUS LOOK AT CITIES AND RACE. Reprint from the Washington Post, 1961.

L-26 ADDRESS BY GENERAL LUCIUS D. CLAY. Remarks on the industrial climate of Georgia. 1961.

L-27 THE EASY OR THE HARD WAY? Aspects of the option taken in parts of Virginia and North Carolina not to desegregate schools. 1961.

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L-31 SLIPPING SEGREGATION: NEGROES WIN LOWERING OF MORE BARRIERS IN SOUTH. Reprint from Wall Street Journal, January 1961.

L-32 REFUTATION OF "RACE AND REASON," by Dr. William P. Sullivan, Asst. Professor of English, McNeese State College, Lake Charles, Louisiana. 1962.

L-33 A STATEMENT OF RECOMMENDED POLICE POLICY RESULTING FROM THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CONFERENCE ON "The Challenge of Desegregation for American Police Executives." 1962.

L-34 DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS. Report on Catholic dioceses in 11 states. May 1962.

L REPORTS (Cont'd)

L-34A DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS. August 1963.

L-35 STATE COMMISSIONS ON HUMAN RELATIONS: Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia. 1962.

L-36 RICHMOND QUIETLY LEADS WAY IN RACE RELATIONS. Reprint from the Washington Post. 1962.

L-41 EXCERPTS FROM SPEECHES OF GOVERNOR BERT COMBS OF KENTUCKY AND SECRETARY OF COMMERCE LUTHER T. HODGES. Both speeches concerned national need for development of a deeper understanding of the meaning of practical human brotherhood. 1963.

L-44 CHARLOTTE HAS BUILT ITS INTEGRATION ROAD: A DIFFERENT WAY, by L. M. Wright, Jr., city editor of Charlotte Observer. The story of quiet, organized desegregation of public facilities without demonstrations. 1963.

L-45 PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MISSISSIPPI. Analysis of reports from Departments of Public Welfare and Education of Mississippi, noting gap in educational opportunities for whites and Negroes. 1963.

L-46 VOICE OF THE PEOPLE: 'AT THIS VERY LATE HOUR.' -- A letter co-authored by two citizens of Birmingham, James A. Head and Charles P. Zukoski, Jr., reprinted from the Birmingham News, Sept. 30, 1963.

L-47 THE QUESTION FROM JACKSONVILLE. Description of Jacksonville's racial outbreak of 1964.

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New York Times, 9-27-59, "The Agony of the Southern Minister," by Ralph McGill.

Washington Post, 10-7-62, "The South's Pattern of Violence Has Changed," by George McMillan.

"Segregation v. the Space Age," by Marion Wright, 4-9-48.

Harper's, June, 1958, "The Easy Chair," by Harry S. Ashmore (Little Rock).

New York Times, 4-1-60, "A Southern View of the South," by Harold Fleming.

BOOK, paperback, THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND, by Ralph and Carl Creger (Little Rock). Negro history, useful to elementary and high school students. .25

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LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

**MEMORANDUM**

TO: State Council Presidents & Directors

FROM: Paul Anthony

We have just received word from the Ford Foundation of a grant of $100,000 per year for three years as additional support for our grant-in-aid program for the state councils.

We hope to have a meeting of Directors and Presidents shortly after the first of the year to discuss all of the SRC programs, cooperation in developing them, and, most importantly-how we will make use of these additional funds.

It is hardly desirable to do so in memo form, however, the need to convey the above news gives me an excellent opportunity to express to you all the very best wishes for the season from all of us here.

Mr. Will C. Allred
Executive Director
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Dear Will:

Congratulations on the write up about your position paper in Trends in Housing. And thanks for sending me a copy.

Best regards,

Mr. Kenneth Dean

Dear Ken:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $128.84 to cover the expenses outlined in your letter of February 5 for attendance by you and Mr. Hall at the Ford Foundation review in Atlanta, January 23. This includes the airfares for both at $51.87 each. $1.75 taxi fare for you, $1.35 parking for Mr. Hall, and $12.00 for his 150 miles of auto travel.

By all means Powell's travel to the Jackson airport should always be included in his expenses, as far as we are concerned. Actually, I am just sorry we can't legally pay him a more realistic mileage rate. He told me a little about the treatment he had received from his Conference because of his participation in human relations affairs. I don't see how he gets along on a "minimum salary appointment" at all -- and I certainly don't see how he does it without being bitter.

All is well, considering the circumstances,

Cordially,

Enclosure

Mr. K. B. M. Crooks
Regional Office
National Urban League
Suite 242
136 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ken:

Please add the following person to the membership list of the Atlanta chapter of NAIRO:

Mr. Robert Alexander
Room 161
50 Seventh Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

Bob Alexander is a member of NAIRO who is on the staff of the HEW Civil Rights Regional office. He formerly was executive director of the Houston Council on Human Relations. He recently was moved from New Orleans to Atlanta and is eager to be active in NAIRO here.

Cordially,

cc: Robert Alexander

Mr. Oscar McCloud

(interagency list)

Dear Oscar:

Attached is a copy of our bill from Paschals for the Southern Interagency Conference meeting, February 1-2.

As I have noted on the copy, I collected $20.00 from persons attending to help defray cost of the refreshments at the social hour. That leaves a balance due of $58.85.

~~If your office~~ I believe our agreement was that SRC would split that cost with your office. If your recollection is not to the contrary, we would appreciate your sending your half, payable to SRC, whenever you are good and ready.

Best regards,

Enclosure

A Few Directions

The guidelines explain actually about everything you will need to know. However just be sure that you have a written proposal that gives all the details required by the guide sheets before you send books.

The quantity of books to be sent to an organization has not been set. From what I can gather though it is something like about 500 an organization and no more than 3500 a state.

You may not special order less than 50 books. Anything below this quantity is too expensive. However for some reason you do not save by ordering more than 50 either.

From what I understand Harry Delung does not think less than 5 paperbacks of each copy should be sent. I think a greater variation of books with two or three of each being sent is better. Decide for yourself.

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SSOC

April 7, 1966

Miss Sue Thrasher
Southern Student Organizing Committee
1703 Portland Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Sue:

Thanks very much for the information on the Mississippi Conference which I have read with interest and appreciation for the work you are doing.

While I am sorry you will be leaving SSOC business for the next few months, the work in Washington does sound interesting and I hope it will provide you not only with a change but a chance for a little rest.

I look forward to a visit from Howard and Jody and welcome the opportunity to know as much as possible about what SSOC is doing.

I regret that a long standing commitment will take me out of town over the weekend and I will be unable to look in on the conference.

Thanks for the good words about NEW SOUTH.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

# southern student organizing committee

1703 portland avenue nashville, tennessee box 6403 phone: 291-3537

Rec'd 4/7/66

(2)

April 5, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I'm sorry that we have been so out-of-touch lately. We will try to have someone at the next Interagency Council meeting.

I thought you might like to see the enclosed report on the conference SSOC sponsored in Mississippi on the weekend of February 25-27. We have really had some exciting results I think -- some interest by students at the white campuses, and even an insurgent newsletter by students at Millsaps.

Our southwide conference will be held this coming weekend, again at Old Gammon. I hope you will be able to come out for some of the sessions.

I plan to be leaving the SSOC office in about two weeks to spend the next few months at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington doing some study on southern history and perhaps a specific study of one of the southern urban centers. Howard Romaine, our Chairman for this year, will be working full-time through next December, and Jody Palmour, a former student at Emory has just taken over management of the office. I hope you'll be able to meet one or both of them soon.

Regards,

Sue Thrasher

Sue Thrasher

P.S. I've read The New South from cover to cover and like the new format very much.

# MISSISSIPPI 1966:

# THE STUDENT PERSPECTIVE

A report of the statewide student conference held at Mount Beulah, the Delta Ministry Conference Center at Edwards, Mississippi, February 25-27, 1966. The conference was sponsored by the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC). This report is submitted by Sue Thrasher, conference coordinator.

BACKGROUND

Since the summer of 1964, Mississippi has been a concentration point for a various number of organizations: The National Council of Churches Delta Ministry, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and at least three lawyers committees. In addition to these national groups, one of the more powerful organizations within the state is the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party which began organizing for the congressional challenge in the summer of 1964 and is now beginning to build strong local organizations. More recent developments in the state include the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, the Mississippi Democratic Conference (a coalition of labor and moderate democrats), the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union (formed by Negroes who went on strike for higher wages on the Delta plantations), and the Young Democratic Clubs.

In March of 1965, D Gorton, a former student at the University of Mississippi, attempted to set up a statewide conference. The conference was only partially successful in terms of student participation. However, it is difficult to assess the reasons why. However, it is interesting to note that five students from Mississippi College attended the meeting. (Mississippi College, a small Southern Baptist school had announced one day earlier that it would not accept federal funds in order to remain segregated.) Other students who were unable to attend the conference had expressed an interest in more statewide communication among liberal students.

In choosing areas of concentration for the year 1965-66, the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) decided to again attempt to have a student conference in Mississippi. The Mississippi conference was to be one of four regional meetings: University Reform in Arkansas, Appalachian Poverty in Kentucky and Tennessee, Race and Religion in Alabama, and the state conference in Mississippi. It was later decided to combine the Race and Religion conference with the one for Mississippi and to recruit students from both states.

PLANNING

In early January invitations to a planning meeting were issued to key campus contacts at Millsaps, Rust, Alcorn A & M, Mississippi Southern, Jackson State, Mississippi Industrial, Mississippi Valley State College, Coahoma Junior College, University of Mississippi, Mississippi State, and Mississippi State College for Women. Memorandums were also sent to representatives of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations and the National Council of Churches Delta Ministry.

The planning meeting was held on Saturday, January 8th at Tougaloo College. Attendance was surprisingly good in light of the fact that notices had gone out only one week in advance. Those attending the meeting were: Albert Garner, Henry Hunter, Seward Rogne, Milton Pickett, and Howard Spencer (Tougaloo College); Michael Gwin, Lee Makamson, David Doggett, and Gary Brooks (Millsaps); David Beckley, William Scott (Rust College); Lester James Smith (Mississippi Industrial College); Betty Carolyn Hill (Mississippi Valley State); and Colleen Cumming (University of Mississippi School of Nursing).

It was soon apparent that very few of the students had a great deal of interest in Race and Religion -- a rather worn out theme by now. An alternative outline for a broad educational conference was proposed and agreed upon. Possible topics were discussed and the following five were agreed on: The Church, Civil Rights, Politics, Economy, and the University. A preference list of speakers was drawn up with special care given to including various viewpoints on the above subjects.

Following the planning meeting, each student received a second memo with a tentative agenda enclosed informing them of the progress made in confirming speakers and securing facilities.

STUDENT RECRUITMENT

Contacts on Mississippi campuses were rather limited when work on the conference started. Some students we had been in touch with last year had graduated and moved away. However, at the three large predominantly white schools (Mississippi Southern, Mississippi State, and the University of Mississippi) we had some contacts as well as several of the Negro campuses (Rust, Alcorn A & M, Mississippi Valley State, Tougaloo, Jackson State).

Campus visits were made to: Rust College, Mississippi Industrial, Ole Miss, Coahoma Junior College, Mississippi State, Tougaloo, Jackson State, Delta State, Alcorn A & M, Prentis Institute. Students were contacted by phone or mail at Mississippi State College for Women, Mississippi Southern, Mississippi College, Millsaps, and Mary Holmes Junior College. At each campus visited, the pattern was to meet with people who had attended the planning meeting or people we had previously contacted. Often these students or professors would set up small meetings and invite other students. The groups had one common characteristic; they were all very small.

THE CONFERENCE

Total registration for the conference was seventy one. This included fifty students and six faculty members. Schools represented were: Rust College, Alcorn A & M, Mississippi Industrial, Jackson State, Tougaloo, Mississippi Valley State College, Mississippi State, Mississippi State College for Women, and Millsaps College. In addition to these Mississippi schools, students attended from Stillman College and Miles College in Alabama, and Fisk University and Tennessee A & I State in Nashville, Tennessee.

The program began on Friday evening with a discussion on "The Relevance of the Church". Clifton Whitley, chaplain at Rust College gave the principle address. He was followed by Mrs. Jane Schutt of the United Church Women and Rev. Fred Lowry of the NCC Delta Ministry. Rev. Lowry introduced the group to Mrs. Wilson who told of the plight of the Delta Negroes who are being pushed off the plantations by mechanization. These speakers were followed by a rather lengthy discussion of the social gospel. Although

the group numbered about sixty persons before the evening was over, there was a surprising amount of participation in the discussion.

On Saturday morning a panel on Civil Rights was scheduled which included Kenneth Dean of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Charles Evers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Mr. Evers apparently had a last minute conflict and Mrs. Hamer was called away to North Carolina. However, John Lewis and Ken Dean provided a stimulating forum which revolved around the strategy of the civil rights movement. Issac Foster of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union (MFLU) also gave some background on the formation of the MFLU and the strategies now being used in the Mississippi Delta by the Poor Peoples Conference.

The two Saturday afternoon sessions merged into one discussion on politics and economy. Claude Ramsey, state director of the AFL-CIO , and also associated with the Mississippi Democratic Conference opened the session. After a rather sharp questioning period, Mrs. Annie Devine, former congresswoman of the Freedom Democratic Party responded to Mr. Ramsey's remarks. This discussion was probably the most tension filled one of the entire meeting. It was also a very honest view of the political struggle now going on in the state.

Saturday night was spent in small group discussion, most of which centered around strategy for social change. Following these discussions, the films Danger on the Right, No Hiding Place, and The Streets of Greenwood were shown.

The Sunday morning session was devoted to a discussion of the University. Unfortunately, there was no student from a predominantly white state university represented on the panel. Howard Spencer, Tougaloo, Betty Hill, Mississippi Valley State, Tommy Richards, Alcorn A & M, Bill Scott, Rust College, and Lee Makamson, Millsaps, were the panelists. The discussion following their remarks was probably the best of the entire conference. The unfortunate thing was that the meeting had to close before there was ample time for discussion concerning university reform. Immediately following lunch, most of the students left to return to their campuses. Some students remained to talk with Issac Foster of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union about the possibilities for work in the Delta.

EVALUATION

Perhaps the most glaring fault of the conference was that it attempted too much in the amount of time available. It was actually good when two of the speakers on Saturday morning did not appear -- and that discussion revolved around the viewpoints of two individuals rather than four. When one of the speakers was late on Saturday afternoon, it gave people a

chance to relax and have a song-fest. The tight schedule also meant that discussion had to be cut off at several points, and there was very little opporutnity for small group discussions. However, the broad educational aspects of the conference may have been needed for such a "first" meeting. The value of such a meeting should be in the follow-up, i.e. smaller meetings (regional, perhaps) on the specific issues.

Perhaps the most educational value of the conference came as an aside-- in the form of thirteen Negro families who are now living at Mount Beulah. The families have spent most of their lives living and working on Delta plantations. Many of them were told to leave because they were being replaced by machines; others left because an opportunity to build a better life was opened to them through the formation of the Poor Peoples Conference. In meeting and talking with the plantation folk, students learned first hand of the blatant injustices of the "southern way of life." The twelve year old boy who had never been to school, the old gray haired man who sat quietly on the steps listening, and the anger of a young mother leveled at a Mississippi moderate -- all spoke very forcefully and perhaps provided the only real perspective of "Mississippi 1966."

RECOMMENDATIONS

Unless there is immediate follow-up in the state, the rapport stimulated by the conference will go for naught. I would suggest a series of "happenings" for the spring:

1. A short term work/study project during the spring holidays. Issac Foster suggested that students come to the Delta and see for themselves the condition there. Practical work could be done through the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union, the Poor Peoples Conference, or the Delta Ministry. Study sessions could revolve around mechanization and its effects on the Delta and what kinds of federal programs are needed to alleviate the situation. An alternative work/study plan could be worked out with the Freedom Democratic Party which would involve voter education and registration and some study concerning the politics of the state and the '66 elections.

2. Informational services. It is important that Mississippi students be informed of other activities in the South -- particularly Alabama. This can be done (somewhat) through special mailings by the SSOC office and distribution of the newsletter.

3. Maintenance of statewide communication. An excellent insurgent newspaper is how being published by students at Millsaps College. This needs to reach other students in the state.

4. Social Science Institute or Research Center. We should seriously consider the possibility of setting up something of this nature that would collect data and information concerning the social and economic trends of the area. For example, few students in the Delta area are aware of the extent that mechanization is effecting that region and the number of federal programs that are not being used because they are required to be non-discriminatory.

Perhaps I should make it clear that these programs should be directed only at Mississippi students. No doubt, students from other areas could benefit from something like the work/study, but priority should be given to students in the state.

## CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

Alcorn A & M, Lorman, Mississippi

Clifton McFarland, Jr., Alcorn A & M, Lorman, Mississisippi (Junior)
Tommy Richardson, Box 443, Alcorn A & M, Lorman, Miss. (Senior)

Jackson State, Jackson, Mississisppi

Barron Banks, Stuart; Room 209, Jackson State College, (Sophomore)

Walter M. Hurns, Stuart Hall, Room 209, Jackson State, (Sophomore)

Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi

David Doggett, Box 15083, Millsaps (Sophomore)
Lee Makamson, Box 15260, Millsaps (Sophomore)
David Viald, 1010 W. West Street, Jackson, Mississippi (Senior)

Mississippi Industrial, Holly Springs, Mississippi

John E. Belfar, Box 725, Miss. Industrial, (Senior)
Lester James Smith, Mississippi Industrial, (Junior)

Mississippi State University, Starkville, Mississippi

Babe du Boer, 48 Mill Street, Starkville, Mississippi (Sophomore)
John R. Davis, Box 2577, State College, Mississippi (Faculty, Sociology)
Boyd Gatlin, Box 146, State College (Junior)
Robert Sanford, 48 Mill Street, Starkville, Mississippi (Junior)

Mississippi State College for Women, Columbia, Mississippi

Laney Lackey, MSCW, Box 554, (Sophomore)
Pat Thomas, Box 391, MSCW (Sophomore)

Mississippi Valley State College, Itta Bena, Mississippi

M. C. Hayes, MVSC, Itta Bena (Senior)
Bettie Carolyn Hill, MVSC, P.O. Box 504, (Senior)
Fred McFadden, Box 412, MVSC, Itta Bena, (Senior)

Rust College, Holly Spring, Mississippi

David Beckley, Rust College (Junior)
Mamie Bridgeforth, P.O. Box 642, Rust College (Sophomore)
Pearlene Collins, Route 1, Box 38, Holly Spring (Freshman)
Henry Daniel, Rust College, Holly Springs (Junior)
Earnestine Evans, Rust College, Holly Springs (Freshman)
Josie Dee Malone, Rust College, Holly Springs (Sophomore)
Zelpha Montgomery, Rust College, Holly Springs (Sophomore)
Ira Moore, P.O. Box 114, Rust College, Holly Springs (Freshman)
Roy Nunnally, Route 2, Holly Springs (Freshman)
Oscar E. Presley, Gross Hall, Rust College (Senior)
William D. Scott, P.O. Box 148, Rust College (Senior)
Mrs. Pauline Stepney, Rust College, Holly Springs (Sophomore)
Clifton Whitley, Chaplain, Rust College
Theodore Winston, Rust College, Holly Springs (Sophomore)

Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi

Bob Cohen, Tougaloo College (Sophomore)
Douglas M. Cotton, Box 116, Tougaloo (Senior)
Rosi Van Donelen, Tougaloo College (Freshman)
Albert Garner, Tougaloo College (Junior)
Rockwell Gray, Tougaloo College (Faculty, English)
Elsa Johnson, Tougaloo College
Robert Johnson, Tougaloo College, Faculty
Mazell Jackson, Judson Cross Hall, Tougaloo (Junior)

Marvin Hochstedler, Tougaloo College, Box 116 (Junior)
Neldra L. McKnight, Tougaloo College (Freshman)
Annie Louise Porter, Tougaloo College (Freshman)
Milton Pickett, Tougaloo College (Freshman)
William F. Route, Tougaloo College (Senior)
Hilary Sims, Tougaloo College (Faculty, Social Science)
Howard Spencer, Box 116, Tougaloo (Junior)
Karen Townsend, Galloway Hall, Tougaloo (Sophomore)
Jim West, Tougaloo College, Box 116 (Sophomore)
Henry James Young, Tougaloo College (Junior)

Out-of-State Schools

Linda Baughn, Box 353, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee (Junior)
Michael Duncan, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia (Sophomore)
Michael A. Figures, Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama (Freshman)
Nellie Hester, Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama (Junior)
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Andrew Tyler, 1521 10th Avenue, North, Nashville (Freshman, A & I State)

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Laly Washington
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Dick Ramsay

Others

Judy Austin, 2814 White Oak Drive, Nashville, Tennessee
James Batts, 200 Rust Avenue, Holly Springs, Mississippi
Thomas E. Cotton, 223 Henry Street, Jackson, Mississippi
Michael O'hanlon, 2407 Fulton Street, Berkeley, California

# BUDGET

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **TRAVEL** | | |
| **Staff** | | |
| Sue Thrasher | | $ 133.86 |
| Bob Smith | | 42.00 |
| | | $ 175.86 |
| **Student** | | |
| Planning Meeting (January 8th) | | $ 11.31 |
| Conference travel | | 117.72 |
| | | $129.03 |
| | Sub Total | $304.89 |
| ROOM AND BOARD (Paid to Delta Ministry) | | 389.65 |
| PRINTING AND SUPPLIES | | 12.00 |
| LITERATURE, FILMS | | 30.00 |
| | TOTAL | $736.54 |
| Registration fees collected | | 56.00 |
| TOTAL CONFERENCE COSTS | | $680.54 |

# MISSISSIPPI'S ECONOMICS

# AND

# MISSISSIPPI'S "NEW IMAGE"?

This paper was prepared for the Freedom Democratic Party by Mike Bruland. Mike has the Master of Arts degree from the University of Minnesota and is currently doing research on fair employment practices in Mississippi.

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Many important people in Mississippi nowadays are concerned about "Mississippi 's Image." If one reads the newspapers, watches TV or listens to the radio, one always finds some businessman or politician expressing concern about "Mississippi's Image." So important is this image that it often forces businessmen and politicians to say things they would rather not say. Such is the case when on January 21, 1964, Governor Paul B. Johnson said in his inaugural address: "I would point out to you that the Mississippi economy is not divisible by party or faction, or even by race, color or creed. As a practical matter, we are at this moment in the mainstream of National light. National policies have a direct bearing on our economy, on our political freedom, on our daily living, whether we like it or not -- If I must fight it will not be a rearguard defense; it will be for our share of tomorrow." This very moderate statement was spoken after a bitter, racist campaign.

What is it that causes this concern about "Mississippi's Image?" Basically it is the fact that, whether it likes it or not, Mississippi needs money from the rest of the country for politicians to run the state and businessmen to make a profit. Mississippi talks about state's rights and the interference of the Federal Government, but the facts are that in recent years Mississippi has received more money from the Federal Government than it has paid out in taxes to it. Mississippi is trying desperately to get new industry to come to the state to provide more jobs for unemployed and underemployed people. Mississippi needs the tourists' dollars. Therefore, Mississippi is concerned about its image.

Immediately, a number of questions come up. What is behind "Mississippi's Image?" Is there really a "New Mississippi?" If so, how does it differ from the "Old Mississippi?" Have the people of Mississippi benefited from the changes that have taken place?

## AGRICULTURE

Cotton is still the single most important crop in Mississippi, but things are changing; it is not nearly as important a crop as it was just 25 years ago. In 1961 the money received by the farmers of the state for selling cotton and cotton seed was only 45.5% of all the money earned by farmers by selling all kinds of crops. In 1940 the money received from selling cotton was 61.8% of the money made from selling all farm crops, including cotton. More and more cotton is being raised on only the large plantations of the Delta, where rich soil and more and more use of machinery like cotton pickers has resulted in larger and larger crops on less and less land. In 1940, 1 million more acres of cotton were planted than in 1960; but in 1960, because of the use of machines and fertilizer, much more cotton was harvested.

There are also fewer acres being planted in corn now than in 1940. In 1962 two million fewer acres of corn were planted than in 1940; also the total corn harvested was one-third less.

What agricultural products are taking the place of cotton and corn. The Answer is that although the number of acres of rice and soybeans is being increased in the Delta, most of the land not planted with corn or cotton has become pasture and woodland.

The greater amount of land in pasture shows that more and more cattle and poultry are being raised. In 1940 for every $100 made from selling farm products, $28 of it was made selling cattle and poultry. In 1960, though, for every $100 of farm products sold, $40 was made from selling livestock. In 1960, three times more beef cattle were sold, than in 1940 and five times more broilers were sold in 1960 than in 1940.

What is important to the people of Mississippi, particularly the Negroes, is the fact that less and less land is being planted with crops and more and more land is becoming pasture and woodland; and even more important, the greater use of machines and fertilizer in agriculture, have resulted in the loss of jobs. The Mississippi Economic Council's report, "Mississippi Agriculture and Forestry Trends and Prospects," talks about it this way:

> *The substantial increase in farm output has been accomplished mainly through research and the adoption of a vast array of management and technological improvements. Many farmers and farm workers have left the farm. The 252,000 people employed on Mississippi farms and comprise less than half the 1940 number. The enormity of the increase in farm labor efficiency made possible through better management and technology is emphasized when we consider that Mississippi farms are now able to produce more than 1½ times the volume of their 1940 output with only 46% as many workers.*

Perhaps an example taken from a report on the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union can help put these numbers into more human terms, to show what this means to human beings:

> *What the Union is fighting is the rich farmer who operates his plantation like a huge, inhuman industrial corporation. Visitors from other countries come to Mississippi to see one of the world's largest plantations, the Delta Pine and Land Corporation, which owns more than 60 square miles of land in Bolivar County alone. They are amazed at how so few*

*men can run so many acres so well with so few workers. Delta Pine and Land Corporation, owned in England, is typical of the way bigger and bigger farms are raising most of the crops in this country. From the civil war to about 1930 the large slave-owner's plantations were divided up among large numbers of sharecroppers. But since 1930 the number of Negro sharecroppers and renters has become smaller because farm land costs too much for poor people today -- $500 an acre. And there is very little land for sale. For the Negro, there is practically none at all.*

*Although the sharecropper has never been able to earn enough to feed and house his family in the Delta, he at least lived on and farmed some land. In a sense, the land was his to work, though not to own. But for the day laborer, this was never true. For him, the corporation is his boss man and his works for him on a day-to-day basis, without security, without tenure, without rights of any kind. The important change that has come about is that most of the Negroes in this part of the state are day laborers, without money, without property, without anything except today's piece of bread and lard. In the wealthy of America today the Negro day laborer has no share. And with the use of more and more machinery he is rapidly becoming permanently without a job, for there is no need for him.*

For years the Negro day laborer has received $2.50 or $3.00 for ten hours or more work a day -- in Shaw there has been talk about the wages going down to a $1.75 a day -- and it looks like even this amount will soon be gone. These facts lead to some very, very important questions: First of all, what can these people who are losing their jobs do to change what appears to be a future without a job, housing and food? W What can the MFLU do? What can the MFDP do? Is there any hope at all?

MANUFACTURING

In 1940 about 12 of every 20 workers were working in agriculture,, but by 1960 only four of every 20 workers were working on farms. At the same time, in 1940 about two of every 20 workers worked in industry. By 1960, four of every 20 workers worked in industry. The fact that more and more people are working in industry is more important in this state now than in 1940. This increase in industry is not so important because more people are being employed than in 1940, but because it means that Mississippi is more dependent on the rest of the United States.

Mississippi needs the rest of the country because she needs money from outside the state to buy new products. This is why the state officials are worried about "Mississippi's Image." If the bombings, beatings, demonstrations and the Congressional Challenge continue, industries will not want to come to Mississippi, and people around the country will not buy Mississippi products or come and spend money as tourists in the state. This concern in Mississippi and with "Mississippi's Image" can be seen in a recent aritcle by a columnist in the Jackson Clarion-Ledger: "Yessir, industrialists who are coming to Mississippi say they are proud to come here. To them, the image of our state is such that they are willing and ever eager to stake their future with us."

Both the state and local governments, along with the Mississippi Economic Council, have made tremendous efforts to obtain more manufacturing plants. Aside from advertising the advantages for new industry in their state and local areas, an important part of their effort to get industry to Mississippi has been the Balance Agriculture With Industry Program (BAWI). Under the BAWI program any particular community may look for and attempt to bring in an industry that they want by promising to give the industry a place to build and/or buildings in which to set up, and promising that the new industry will not have to pay certain taxes that in most states they would have to pay. If a company agrees, the community may hold an election to determine whether or not the bonds to pay for the place and/or the building for the new industry should be sold. For the bond issue to pass two-thirds of all the qualified voters who vote at the election must vote for the bond issue.

Needless to say very few Negroes in the state can vote for any bond issue, but they do have to pay the increased taxes need to pay for the bond issue. A result of not being able to vote on the bond issue will be talked about later in this section. In addition to the issuance of bonds, state law permits city governments to let new and expanding firms avoid paying any taxes on their property for a period of ten years. Furthermore, when the city or county government pays for the construction of a new building or buildings for a new industry, the industry does not have to pay taxes as long as the city or county government owns the building. Therefore, in many cases the community not only pays for the building in which the factory is housed, but also the industry does not have to pay any taxes for anything else, like new schools and city improvements, and the people pay the cost of the industry plus all other city expenses.

Now, the question may be asked: Has the BAWI program done what it set out to do? To a certain extent it probably has. Certainly new industry has moved into Mississippi since the program started; however, how much of this came because of the BAWI program is difficult to say. When 1500 factory owners that had just moved into the South were asked what had made them decide to move, it was found that the officials

of these companies felt fourteen things were more improtant to them than low taxes and financial aid (e.g. labor supply, market, raw materials, etc.) when they were deciding where to put new plants.

To what extent have the people benefited from the program? Jobs have been provided; however, most of the companies that have used the BAWI program are clothing, textile, or furniture and electrical fixture companies, all of which are kinds of industry that pay low wages. Moreover, the Negro people have not received as many benefits from the BAWI program as the white people. In 1960, only twelve of every 100 of the employed Negro men were working in industry. Furthermore, more than one half of the Negro men who were working in industry were working in the kinds of companies that pay the lowest wages -- furniture, lumber and wood product companies.

This leads to some very important questions: What might happen to the BAWI program if Negroes were allowed to vote? Should the Freedom Democratic Party work to eliminate the BAWI program? Are there ways of providing work for people and still have industry help pay the taxes that the people pay all of now? What are some of the methods that can be used in getting more and better jobs for Negroes in the manufacturing plants? What will be the effect of the increased use of machines rather than men on the problem of more and better jobs?

INCOME

In 1929 in Mississippi most people earned $510 or less in a year, and this amount was less than ½ of what most people in the rest of the country earned in one year. By 1962 in Mississippi most people earned $1259 in a year, which was a little more than one half of what the people in the rest of the country made. Most of the increase in income earned in the rest of the United States was done during World War II. At the end of World War II, Mississippi had a per capita income of almost $1000 a year, which was about one half of what most of the rest of the people in the country earned in a year.

While per capita income in Mississippi went from $500 to almost $1000 in the 15 years between 1929 and 1944, it has grown to only $1240 a year since 1944. This means that the amount of money that most people in Mississippi made in a year increased almost $500 from 1929 to 1944, but in the years since 1944, the amount of money most people in Mississippi made in a year increased only about $250. This information from the Mississippi Economic Council's Booklet, "A Blueprint for Mississippi's Economic Progress" clearly shows that the income of most of the people in the state is not growing larger; income for the people in the rest of the country has grown a great deal while Mississippi's has not. In fact, if the poor, unemployed Negro farm workers had not moved to the northern cities in search of jobs, their tragically low pay would have meant the state would be even poorer than it is now.

It is mostly because of the low farm income that Mississippi has remained so much poorer than the rest of the United States. However, even in industry the wages are much lower than the rest of the nation. In 1963 the usual wage paid per hour for production workers in manufacturing was $1.73 and the normal wages in the rest of the country were $2.46 per hour. A booklet published by the Mississippi Power and Light Company tries to explain the low wages in Mississippi by saying that it is cheaper to live in Mississippi than in other parts of the country. The booklet says:

> *" . . . we in Mississippi do not feel that the prevailing wage rates indicate cheap labor. When all factors behind the cost of living are considered, it is felt that the rates are adequate. Some of these factors are: With plenty of garden space, gardens will be found at practically every home supplementing cash income. The cost of rent or the construction cost of a home is less because the same labor costs going into construction is less and the type of construction costs less. Storm windows, basements, and large heating systems are not necessary in this mild climate. Abundance of electricity, natural gas, and water at economical rates. With natural recreational facilities the year-round, this item is also inexpensive. Rural labor will usually consist of wives, sons and daughters of farmers living on the farm and working in the plant. To these families the wages of the plant workers are supplementing farm income and in most cases will mean extra dollars over and above the accustomed existence. Rural labor pool their own transportation and this item is less costly than in large industrial centers."*

The above statement reveals two things which have caused the low wages paid in the manufacturing companies. First of all, Mississippi has a large number of very poor farm families from which to get people who are willing to work for very little money because it is all they can get. This cheap labor, together with the BAWI program, has helped to attract the large number of industries which pay low wages into the state. The second reason that wages are low is that most parts of the state are very much against labor unions being organized. This feeling has caused laws like the Right to Work law to be passed in the state legislature. If people were allowed to organize labor unions they could strike and get higher wages. The fact that Mississippi does not like unions, that they want low wages, and that they are proud that the state has poor unions and low wages, is shown by the following statement by the Mississippi Agricultural and Industrial Board, which the governor is the president of:

> *"Mississippi has lost a smaller portion of the total working time because of labor strikes and has had fewer strikes and fewer workers involved in strikes relative to employment than the average state in other areas and in the nation. These facts indicate that Mississippi has had labor-management relations which are above average."*

The last statement is not true: what these facts do show is that workers are not allowed to organize in Mississippi, and the result is that employers and owners can pay low wages without worrying about the workers getting together to complain.

In 1959, one half of the people in Mississippi made $1204 a year or less; however the usual income per year for white people was $2028, while the Negro average was $724 a year. These facts clearly show that Negroes, for the most part, have not received any benefits from what little industry has come into Mississippi. The Negro men can only get jobs in agriculture, private households -- which includes gardners, chauffeurs, etc. -- and the most menial and lowest paying jobs in industry -- like janitors. The Negro women can only get jobs as maids, cooks and housekeepers, and some jobs on farms. The facts are that there are not even enough decent jobs for the white workers. Therefore, the Negro workers holding poor jobs threaten the white workers, and businessmen and politicians have used this fact to prevent the poor Negroes and poor whites from getting together and working to improve conditions in the state of Mississippi.

This leads to some very important questions: What can be done to increase job opporutnities for Negroes in Mississippi? What can the Freedom Democratic Party do to improve working conditions and increase income? Will it ever be possible for the poor Negroes and poor whites in Mississippi to work together to "overcome" those politicians and businessmen that exploit them both? Is so, how can this be done?

## TAXATION

A brief comment on the tax system of Mississippi will further reveal how the politicians and businessmen and the system they work in takes advantage and cheats the people. The facts are that most of the taxes that are paid are not paid by the corporations or wealthy individuals that can most afford them, but upon those families and persons that are poorest and have the least amount of money. The BAWI program has already been described, and it has been shown how the local taxes are not paid by wealthy corporations, but that the people in the community pay the taxes for the industries. Furthermore, some of the communities which have paid for industries in their towns have greatly weakened their ability to borrow money by borrowing too much to pay for industries that do not even pay taxes to help the city pay

off its debts. This means that it may be difficult to seal future issues of bonds to pay for new school buildings or other improvements. No wonder this state has such a poor school system.

The fact that the taxes are paid by people who can least afford them can be seen in the following statement in a booklet on government and tax policy put out by the Mississippi Economic Council:

> *"Tax policy in Mississippi has, of course, been affected by the relatively low income of the people. It has been necessary to take a relatively higher percent of aggregate income for taxes in order to finance necessary government improvements,*

In less complicated language, this means that people in Mississippi have to pay more of what they earn for taxes because the people in the state do not make enough, or as much as people in other states.

> *Certain classes of taxpayers, however, have been taxed less heavily than similar classes in a majority of other states. These classes include homeowners and persons in middle and upper-income brackets. Other important features of tax policy include heavy reliance on consumptive and provision of tax inducements for industrial location."*

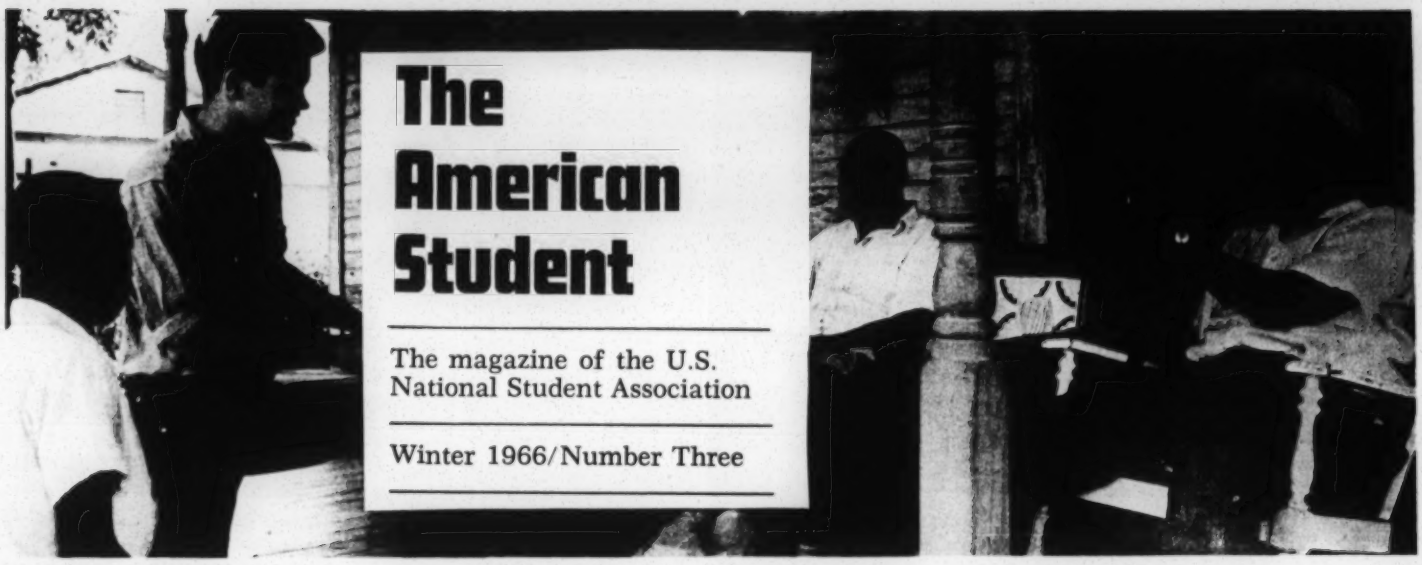
Again, the people who make the least amount of money are responsible for more than their share of the taxes.

> *The general sales and use tax-accounting for about one half of the state general fund revenues has been the most important source of tax revenue. Other state taxes, ranked according to revenue yield in fiscal year of 1960 are motor fuels, corporation taxes, tobacco tax, oil and gas severence, and individual income."*

One question stands out from all these facts: What should be the Freedom Democratic Party position on how people and industries are taxed, and what does the FDP feel is fair taxing.

SUMMARY

The politicians and usinessmen talk about "Mississippi's Image"; they continually refer to a "New Mississippi." But is it any different from the Old Mississippi? The only possible answer to that question is No. The ways people are kept poor may be more hidden and harder to understand than before; it may look like a good system on the surface; it may seem to provide more for the people of the state--new factories, new highways, new schools, new buildings --but basically it is the same old Mississippi. What can be done to change all of this?



**The American Student**

The magazine of the U.S. National Student Association

Winter 1966/Number Three

*SSOC members, white or Negro, cannot be accused of being "outsiders", for all are Southerners.*

**Through the Southern Student Organizing Committee, Southern white students are joining Negroes in 'The Movement'**

# When Southerners Unite To Save Their Region

*By S. Clark Woodroe*

The "old South" is dead. The Negro revolt has sounded the knell, and the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts have mobilized the machinery of the Federal Government to insure that the old order of agrarian feudalism and Negro serfdom will never return. In some areas the rhetoric of eulogy lingers; but even the most vehement defenders of white supremacy cannot help but know they are praying over a ghost.

What will supplant the dead system remains an open question. The South has inherited a twofold legacy. On the one hand, it suffers from poverty, especially among Negroes, a lack of educational facilities, an agrarian indifference to intellectual values, social immobility and stratification, ingrained prejudices, and a general damn-the-world attitude of resistance to change. On the other hand, it has its singular virtues, perhaps best summed up in the peculiarly Southern concept of "Christian love": a largely unconsious harmony of mind with other minds and with nature; an instinctive consideration of interpersonal sensitivities often drowned out in the North by harsh "realism" and factuality; a capacity to convey feelings and impressions without ever saying them; and, in its standard of "gentlemanliness", an exalted, if very personal, ideal of the dignity of man. This inheritance raises the glimmering possibility of a new Athenian polis. It also carries the danger of *rigor mortis*.

At such a juncture the attitudes and activities of students are critical. If Southern society is to make a synthesis between what is worthwhile in its legacy and what is required by change, the age-group now maturing must play a significant role. The bridge between the agrarian and the industrialist, the conservative-paternalistic and the egalitarian, the organicist and the logical-positivist can be built only by those who have some youthful flexibility of mind. Whether the

*Top: SSOC's officers (l. to r.) are Howard Romaine, chairman; Herman Carter, secretary; Roy Money, treasurer; Howard Spencer, vice-chairman.*

*Middle: Students discussed civil rights over meals at SSOC's fall 1964 Atlanta conference.*

*Bottom: White and Negro students worked together on SSOC's Southside Virginia project.*

potential of this flexibility bears fruit in terms of creative solutions to Southern problems, or whether the energy of young white Southerners is dissipated in fruitless adolescent reaction against an America which seems alien, depends in large measure upon student activities and educational processes at Southern universities. The question here is not one of "Yankees" indoctrinating Southerners in "foreign" values; it is one of Southerners themselves developing ways of preserving their region as a viable, if changing, social organism.

Apart from SNCC and the sit-in movement (which involved few Southern students from the governing white strata), student activities towards conscious social goals have been quite limited in the region until recently. Recognizing this gap, a group of student leaders and representatives met in Nashville in April, 1964 and formed the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC). Originally formed to work among white students, it has extended its range to emcompass Negro campuses as well. With a mailing list of 3,500 interested participants, it is the largest group in its particular field.

Southerners tend to be more concerned with practical issues than with abstractions. SSOC shares this characteristic; it displays practically none of the ideological haggling which so often troubles left-wing groups. Insofar as SSOC has a governing ideology, it tends to parallel that of Students for a Democratic Society. While the group's primary focus has been on the race issue, it sees race as only one of a number of interrelated problems stemming from a fundamental malise in American society—the lack of "participatory democracy." Its formal statement of educational objectives gives an idea of its scope—its concern for a "new South which is democratic, integrated, and responsive to the needs of all its people, and . . . all 'issues' which vitally affect our society (e.g., human rights, economic opportunity, peace, and democratic politics)."

SSOC officials feel some distress at the organization's lack of ideological clarity. "Most Southern radicals," explains Howard Romaine, the University of Virginia graduate student who is president of the group, "are religious radicals. They tend to work only on concrete, black-and-white issues. Intellectual radicals are more broad-based. Our problem is how to go from moral-religious radicalism into a more social-critical approach."

Consequently, SSOC endeavors to provide students with a "radicalizing experience" which cuts through conventional limitations of thought and leads them to see their society in a new perspective. "We would like to relate the problems of society to the campus in a more dramatic way," Romaine declares. "What is needed is to bring back the excitement of the sit-ins." Nothing has arisen to create that level of emotion; but SSOC has brought students to work among the poor and to see for themselves how society operates upon the disadvantaged.

*'White Southern students have taken an interest in transforming their society along Utopian lines'*

One example of how SSOC seeks to accomplish its goals is the Southside Virginia project. Like most SSOC-inspired community activities, it is sponsored by a local group, the Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee. Drawing upon the advice of experienced leaders from SNCC and other established civil rights organizations, a group of students went into several southern Virginia "Black Belt" counties in the summer of 1965. Much of their work centered around voter registration and testing the provisions of the Civil Rights Act. In addition, they compiled research reports about conditions in each county and on the impact of Federal farm programs. One participant, evaluating the project, declared he didn't think it did much to change the counties' basic social structure; but he said the experience was valuable for two reasons: first, it enabled students to reach the local people and learn their needs with the possibility of bringing change in the future, and second, it was likely to stir the students to seek reforms in their own colleges and universities when they returned.

Most SSOC-related community projects follow the same pattern. The idea is to get students into poor areas, involve them in concrete work (voter registration, education, building community centers, etc.), give them a new perspective on society, and hopefully cause changes for the better among the poor. While some enterprises, such as the Southside Virginia project, involve an entire summer, others are much shorter in duration. Over Christmas vacation, 1964, thirty-eight volunteers from seventeen southern colleges and universities participated in a project at Hattiesburg and Meridian, Mississippi. The volunteers remodeled community centers, helped in voter canvassing, and talked with civil rights leaders from the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the Council of Federated Organizations. The work done was hardly spectacular; but for the average Southern white student, seeing the racial issue from the Negro's perspective is a unique and highly educational experience.

In many ways, the community work done by SSOC closely parallels that of SNCC. SSOC has always maintained close ties with SNCC, but feels that its operations differ in two respects. First, SNCC is a primarily Negro organization with Negro leadership, while SSOC was founded as a primarily white organization with white leadership, and is evolving into a fully integrated group. Secondly, SSOC leaders feel that SNCC has become so involved in community work that it has almost completely abandoned its ties with campuses, white and Negro. SNCC has become, in SSOC's view, primarily a group of full-time community organizers. SSOC remains fundamentally a student organization, whose objectives include community work, but which uses community work as a device to educate full-time students.

As a student-centered organization, SSOC has devoted much of its energies to coordinating and stimulating university reform and social thought on campus. Unlike the Northeast, and lately the West, the South has no tradition of campus radicalism. In the South, one goes to college not so much to acquire habits of critical thought as to assimilate the standards of one's forefathers and the social mores of one's peers. The primary experience is social, not intellectual. To offset this situation, SSOC has engaged in such undertakings as sponsoring a tour by Steve Weissman, a Free Speech Movement leader and a Florida native, to speak on the implications of FSM for Southern campuses. The SSOC newsletter acts as a clearinghouse of reports on academic freedom and radical efforts at a large number of schools. Through its staff, consisting of an executive secretary and campus travelers, SSOC seeks to keep various local groups informed of each others' doings, to encourage exchange of ideas, to promote solidarity and enhance morale.

Central to the group's activities as a coordinating committee are workshops and conferences. Usually sponsored by educational institutions or foundations, these meetings seek to assemble the most active and socially aware students for discussions with each other and with academic and political authorities. Most SSOC projects spring from ideas developed at these conferences. SSOC ran a pre-Christmas workshop at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington. At this gathering, participants discussed such questions as: Is the South an underdeveloped region? Is there a significant movement on the Southern campus? If so, what is it for? Are Southern universities turning out an elite for an elitist economy?—and so on.

While SSOC's operations have been remarkably successful in the year and a half since it was founded, the organization is still confronted with

thorny problems. The first, of course, is money; there isn't enough. The second is the draft, which makes it hard for students to leave college for political activities or community organizing. Other problems are more abstract. As Romaine notes in the November issue of the group's newsletter, SSOC is torn between taking a multi-issue orientation as a general radical group and concentrating on the civil rights question. The officers and staff are upset, for example, about the situation in Vietnam, but do not know exactly what to do about it. Concentrating on racial problems may be too narrow, but attacking a multitude of issues on all fronts might spread resources too thin. A related problem, as noted earlier, is the need to develop a new, more sophisticated critique of American society. Finally, the group's loose structure has led to a lack of cohesion. Romaine tends to favor a tighter structure, perhaps with individual memberships, to avoid dispersion to the point of dissolution.

What does SSOC portend for the "New South" which must be erected on the grave of the old? An easy answer would be to say that it portends nothing—that it is just another small group of student radicals beating their hearts out while the world pursues its accustomed dreary course. This is a threatening possibility; SSOC leaders despair over the obliviousness of most students, and they have abandoned any romantic hope that the region will regenerate itself spontaneously as a result of religious ideals. "You can only change society by power," Romaine contends, adding that the only hope of generating enough power is to organize those who have nothing to lose. Such organization has, so far, been close to nonexistent.

Yet in broader perspective SSOC's work is a cause for optimism among those who share its hopes. For the first time in recent memory, white Southern students have taken an interest in transforming their society along Utopian lines. Their ideology, stemming as it does from the "Northern," urban orientation of SDS, has a strange ring to Southern ears, and may, as presently expressed, hamper SSOC in relating its ideas to the thinking of most Southerners. But these differences are perhaps more a matter of expression than of content. SSOC is dissatisfied with modern industrial capitalism; the South has traditionally been hostile to that system. Jefferson's ideas of local democracy and the dignity of the individual, revered in the South, are quite close to the concepts of "participatory democracy" and equality. To treat a man as a gentleman is to treat him as an equal in all respects. "Christian love" is much the same as brotherhood and fraternity. If SSOC can overcome the prejudices and mental barriers erected by slogans and catchwords, and can reach the living feelings and thoughts which underlie forms of expression, it may well find in the South a radical dissatisfaction with things as they are, hidden now under a cloak of black reaction, but ready to be tapped to form a "new South" which would be a model for the world.

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S. Clark Woodroe, *himself a Southerner, is a student at the University of Virginia law school.*

**As a nonprofit organization, the Southern Student Organizing Committee depends on voluntary contributions for its continued existence. The best way to insure the continuity of its program is by the personal monthly pledges of supporters. You should know that:**

*** $5 will pay to send a year's subscription of the SSOC newsletter to a southern student.

*** $10 a week will pay subsistence wages for a SSOC community worker.

*** $20 a week will support a SSOC campus traveler.

*** $100 will pay travel expenses for 20 Mississippi students to attend a statewide SSOC conference.

*** $150 will pay the publishing expenses for one monthly edition of the SSOC newsletter.

All contributions are tax-exempt.

Southern Student Organizing Committee Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee

SSOC

# THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

BUILDING A MOVEMENT, by Gene Guerrero p. 1
JUNE CONFERENCE, by Jody Palmour p. 2
SUMMER PROJECTS p. 3
DELTAS: MISSISSIPPI AND VIETNAM, by Howard Romaine p. 4
SUMMER READING p. 4
BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS, by Ed Hamlett p. 5
WHITE ORGANIZING: NEW ODYSSEY, by Jon Steinberg p. 7
VIETNAM DRAFT EXAM p. 8
SCC MEETS p. 8
SUMMER PEACE PROJECT p. 10
DUKE EMPLOYEES LOCAL p. 12

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This is the last issue of The New South Student for this school year. It is somewhat shorter in order to reach you before the end of the academic year.

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# BUILDING A MOVEMENT

Before you get into the important parts of this month's New South Student, I would like to say a few things about building a movement of southern students, which is, after all, what SSOC is all about. Specifically, I would like to discuss one of the necessary ingredients to the building of such a movement.

Several months ago a benefactor from the North gave SSOC a good bit of financial support which when combined with foundation support and miscellaneous contributions meant that we were able for the first time to initiate programs on a large scale. Most of that money is gone now and the rest will be by the middle or end of the summer. With it SSOC expanded staff from four to sixteen, supported four SSOC related campus-community projects, sponsored two regional conferences, supported campus travellers in seven states, coordinated two South-wide protest programs, sponsored one South-wide conference, put out five issues of the New South Student, and distributed a variety of literature. We will have spent something like $15,000 in the past six months. Most of you have seen this money at work.

Although SSOC programs have reached several hundred southern students, it is important to realize that the job is just beginning to be done. We must expand programs in the fall. This will require a lot of work over the summer. Some of the proposed programs are a series of foreign policy workshops, more state campus travellers, a long range students and labor project, increased support to campus-community projects, and white community work. To implement these and other programs we must have, among other things, increased financial support.

From the beginning SSOC has pretty much relied on the North for money. We will continue to look North, but we must realize that support from the North will not be enough and that in fact it will probably decrease because of the increased activity up there.

We must begin to support our own programs. There are many sympathetic persons in the South who will support us. We must seek these people out and ask them to help. Also, there is a basic point which must be considered. We must have dependable support which will not be alienated as we develop programs which deal in a fundamental way with the problems of the South. The only group we can depend on for that support is our own constituency - you. Most, perhaps two thousand of you, are southern students. Many of the rest of you are related to the southern campus as professors, campus ministers, or recent college graduates. Almost all of you are able to support the building of a wouthern student movement. Some of you are already doing so. However only about five per cent of you support this newsletter financially. I can think of few students in the South who could not afford to pledge one dollar a month. Most professors could pledge five dollars a month.

We all must consider what it will take to build a student movement and what this will mean to the South. It will take more than your physical involvement and moral support. It will take your financial support as well. This is not something that would be nice or help a little. It is absolutely necessary.

**********

Enclosed is $____ for my subscription to The New South Student.

Enclosed is $____ of my pledge of $_____ per month for general use____ or specific program____ (please specify).

Name_____
School (if applicable)_____
Address_____
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Return to SSOC, Box 6403, Nashville

# MEETING AT BUCKEYE COVE

by Jody Palmour

The South is an underdeveloped, exploited area plagued by poverty, ignorance, and distrust. We have little more than the beginnings of an organized, popular politics, Southern students have seemed most prepared to build the required political movement that would free the South from the national problems so grotesquely caricatured in our land.

SSOC wants to help co-ordinate isolated, often times individual, efforts into a southern liberation front that will revolutionize our society, both economically and culturally, through comprehensive, non-violent programming. We will not be seduced into becoming like the carbon monoxide, ghetto North.

## What We Gonna Do About It?

SSOC ain't gonna do nuthin. The peoples is. And we're calling a metting--the revolutionary council--to map out plans for the people's taking power in the South. We're inviting active student types to come to a camp in Buckeye Cove near Ashville, North Carolina on June 6 through 10 to report on what they have done this year, what their resources and plans are for next year.

SSOC staff members will present their analysis of where the South now stands and will offer concrete proposals of program and strategy. Delegates will offer their own proposals and the conference as a whole will decide on implementation for the coming year.

## Resource People

In addition to you, we are inviting resource people to offer programs or general areas of concern they think we should work on. They will be talking about the relation of foreign policy programming to the domestic issues before the movement; radical education projects to create intellectually critical, radical professions and disciplines of study; the potential of full community organizing around labor unions; the role of nationalistic or racist sentiment during crucial stages of revolutionary development; the possibilities and models for white organizing in the South; and the meaning of radical art and the part it has played in human development.

The outside resource people will have approximately two hours to address the whole group. After each of their talks there will be a panel with the speaker and four or five representatives of the people who have been working on programs related to his proposal. We will contact delegates in advance so they can accept assignments and do preparatory thinking.

## Delegates

The conference is not to be like the one in Atlanta where we were trying to do two incompatible things at the same time. We brought together both long time movement people and those just beginning an apolitical, moral protest against their society. SSOC, the movement, has a real responsibility for both groups of people. This meeting is for those already commited to building a political movement in the South.

Those individuals who are consciously building movements of people to change their own social environment are urged to come to this meeting. Eligibility does not imply that you are the head of a many-legged political machine about to devour all that stand in your way.

We want people who recognize the political and human need to build in the South a land where men are made neither slaves nor owners of slaves.

## Things to Bring

The most important thing to bring is a thorough analysis of your own local sit-

(Continued on page 3)

uation, plus firm demands to make of SSOC for your own work, You might also need to bring sleeping bags, flashlights, axes, lawnmowers, fishing tackle, notebook and pencil. (We plan in the off hours to experiment with the CCC notion of organizing the poor.)

The staff has done mush planning for this meeting. We think it could spell the beginnings of a new effectiveness in the southern movement. Personal planning about one's home community work is essential to a regional conference such as this. We've got to work setting it up, as you do to prepare for it.

If you want to come but can't, we'll send copies of a comprehensive report of the proceedings if you are concerned enough to write out your accomplishments this year and what your plans are for next year.

We have to make assignments and logistical plans, so let us know in the mail tonight if you're coming. We need your phone number and where you can be reached by mail before the beginning of the conference. The buck is passed to you, Baby.

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# SUMMER PROJECTS

The following are three possibilities for summer work. The list is not by any means complete but simply represents projects the SSOC staff are familiar with and feel would be of particular interest to you.

THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The MFDP is recruiting southern students to work in voter registration, adult education, etc., for the summer. Southern Negro students will get first preference; southern whites are next in priority. You need to hurry and write on this. Write to the MFDP, 507½ Farish Street, Jackson, Miss., or to SSOC.

NORTHERN COMMUNITY ORGANIZING WITH ERAP

Five ERAP projects plan summer projects which are open to students. For instance in Cleveland there will be programs around Welfare, Community Psychiatry, Journalism, Law, Theater, Children, and Photography. This includes projects in both poor white and Negro areas. Indicate what experience you have had, what program interests you, whether you can raise $200 subsistence, and whether you can visit Cleveland for a day or so before the summer, in a letter to the Cleveland Project, 2908 Jay St., Cleveland 13, (216-781-3739). The other project addresses are: Join, 4533 N. Sheridan Rd., Chicago; Newark Community Union, 471 Clinton Ave., Newark, N.J.; Boston Project, c/o Larry Gordon, 10 Brookford St., Dorchester, Mass.; Hill Neighborhood Union, 605 Congress Ave., New Haven, Conn. 06519.

STUDENTS AND LABOR PROJECTS IN CAROLINAS

SSOC will coordinate over the summer a project to involve students in labor organizing in the Upper South. This program grew out of the Students and Labor conference held last month in Durham.

Plans for the project are not yet complete. The program may involve around eight students working in several union situations with a basic salary and expenses covered by the labor movement. If this is not possible a smaller number of students will work in two or possibly three locations living on basic subsistence.

One of the probable locations is the Durham area where students would work to assist the campaign of service employees at Duke. This would involve both traditional union activity and community organizing joined together. Another may be semi-rural textile and packinghouse plants which have bitterly fought unions in the past. For more information write SSOC. Please write as soon as possible.

# DELTAS: MISSISSIPPI AND VIETNAM

by Howard Romaine

Some of us in SSOC feel that there is a connection between what is going on in Vietnam and American actions in Santo Domingo, and that they reveal very basic traits of our foreign policy. We feel that these are not mistakes, but are merely examples of a new American imperialism that is very threatening to the movement for social change we are trying to build here in America, as well as in direct contradiction to the values which have led us into the movement. Many of us wonder if we would not be the "Communists" who are being bombed or kept out of office by the marines if we were doing similar work in an underdeveloped country.

Because of these questions which have come to most of our minds, we have tried to read and relate what is going on in these countries to what we have experienced here in the South. Some of the people who speak loudest and hardest about defending "freedom" in Vietnam are the very same people who own mile after mile of plantation land where black people are still not allowed to vote, and are hardly even allowed to eat. When the most vigorous spokesmen for the War are people like Stennis and Eastland of Mississippi, Long of Louisiana, and Thurmond of South Carolina, we cannot help but wonder what they mean by defending "freedom" in Asia. When these people speak in their home states about defending "freedom" against "Communist subversion," we know they are talking about us and what we are trying to do. So when we see our President embrace a little man in Hawaii who talks very much like a little man that happens to be Governor of Alabama, and when we read that most of the support for the Saigon government comes from big landowners and profiteers who sound very much like the plantation owners in the Deep South and their accomplices, the company stores, then we develop very gut feelings about which side we're on.

But it is not enough to know which side we're on. So that you all can think some of these things over this summer, if you're interested, I've prepared a list of some topics concerning our foreign policy. If you can read nothing else, I hope you'll at least get hold of Vietnam by Gettleman ($.65 from SSOC), the Vietnam Reader by Raskin and Fall ($1.75 from SSOC) a subscription to and back issues from Viet Report, and subscription to I.F. Stone's Weekly. A complete copy of the recommended reading list is available free from SSOC.

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# SUMMER READING

Below is a short list of some of the many valuable SSOC leaflets you should own. A complete list is available on request.

The Triple Revolution, 12 pp., 10¢. A well wrought statement on the changes in American life during this decade with some suggestions on how best to utilize them.

The New Folklore of Capitalism, Bernard Nossiter, 6 pp., 10¢. An eye-opening reprint from the Progressive, using statistics to show the concentration of wealth in America. Following is a short demolition of the myth of progressive taxation by David Bazelon.

Student Social Action, Tom Hayden, 12 pp 10¢. An excellent essay on the connection between university reform and American social change.

Whose Welfare?, Bob Ross, 8 pp. 10¢ A study of the inadequacy or deleterious effects of present welfare programs, posing the necessity for radical change

(Continued on page 10)

# BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

by Ed Hamlett

Pensacola Beach, Fla.-- A bunch of white folks from New Orleans, Nashville, and Ala. are here to talk about white community organizing. The informal meeting was called by people in New Orleans who gave up their apartments to black folks for a weekend meeting to talk about Black Consciousness.

I said BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS, not BELOVED COMMUNITY. Movement people in the South don't talk about the latter so much anymore. They're less idealistic (some would say less naive) than they used to be. The reasons for the dampening of idealism are not difficult to discover: Some restaurants open to middle-class Negroes (lower-class white places remain off-limits); A few hundred thousand newly registered voters-- with the same old "Segs" running and winning; a few thousand Negro kids in previously all-white schools--learning about the blessings of the white man's civilization, white history, and white accomplishments; and the vast majority of the other Negro kids in all-black, still inferior, white-controlled schools-- and they learn about the white man too, in many cases from textbooks discarded by whites years ago.

THE MOVEMENT'S BELOVED COMMUNITY

But, you protest, the Beloved Community was to have been built first within the Movement, if not immediately in the larger society. So what about that "band of brothers and circle of trust"? The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (Snick), which is what I'm talking about mainly, has always had whites on its staff. They were there initially for at least two reasons: 1)To demonstrate in the South that whites and Negroes could work togehter under any circumstances to build the "Beloved Community"; and, 2)To utilize their vitially needed skills and labor. The first two whites were from the South; soon northern Negroes and whites came in to work. In early days there was a good deal of talk about and feeling for the Beloved Community, which, everyone hoped, was being built. Victories came frequently.

ONE THOUSAND WHITE YANKS

In the fall of 1963 it was discovered in the Freedom Vote campaign in Mississippi that the presence of northern whites in fairly large numbers brought protection to the work from the federal government, that it had never given to black workers Additionally, because Snick had all but deserted its early black campus base, Negroes could not be recruited in sufficient numbers to meet the projected personnel needs for the work in voter registration, freedom schools and general community organizing. Thus, the call went out for 1,000 northern volunteers to help open up Mississippi in the summer of 1964. By the previous spring many local Negroes had begun to carry on the day-to-day work of their own freedom organizations--doing mimeographing, typing, and leg work. And then the volunteers came. They were more "efficient" in almost every way. They meant well; they tried hard; they had been invited to come; but some of the hosts soon has second thoughts.

BENEFIT OR LIABILITY?

Nevertheless, most of those involved will admit that the volunteers were instrumental in helping to secure the basic rights of blacks to organize, picket and vote. But, the "flood" of whites produced serious problems. It took almost a year for local participation in daily work to be built up again. Antagonisms between local, black staff and white volunteers produced psychological damage to some in both groups that was slow to mend, if at all. Whether the above advances could have been accomplished by blacks alone, thus avoiding the liabilities of white participation, is a question which can never be answered.

WHITE WORKERS NOW

I stated earlier that there were intially two primary reasons for white participation in Snick:1)To demonstrate that blacks and whites can work together to build the Beloved Community; and, 2) To secure needed skills. It is now clear to most people in the South that the

first is true. With regard to the second, the vital functions of typing, printing, and research can be done, and in many cases now are being done, by Negroes. It is agreed that those whites who are still performing these tasks can do the Movement a valuable service by training local people to perform them.

If these reasons for white involvement are no longer important, what about the other,past justifications? To give protection? No. To help secure the right to leaflet and to demonstrate?--No. Are there new justifications? Many blacks say that there are absolutely none; in fact, some say that for whites to remain would be extremely detrimental. And here we must look at the question of Black Consciousness, and what it is.

WHAT IS BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS?

Blacks, all blacks, must be aware that they are not inferior to whites. They must know that black people have made significant contributions to world civilization over the centuries, including here in the United States. It is their being aware that whites, in many cases, are bad judges of the value of these contributions. It is their being conscious that even the English language is, at times, inherently inadequate for describing Africans or Afro-Americans, their achievements and culture. (Check Roget's Thesaurus for synonyms for "black," then look at those for "white.") And it is more. It is not only having facts and knowledge about history, and sociological statistics, etc.; it is also believing and feeling in one's GUTS that they are true. For example, the Negroes in Wilcox County, Alabama must be disabused of the belief that Mr. Calhoun, the recent black candidate for sheriff who lost in spite of the fact that Negroes outvoted whites by a huge majority, can do as good a job as sheriff as the white man that the Negroes put in office, and maybe better. Many blacks assert that this will not happen if whites continue to help to do the organizing, the research, and all the other things.

LET "WHITEY" DO IT.

It is increasingly contended that the very presence of whites has a very serious intimidating effect on the masses of black people. Because they have been taught it all their lives, many continue to believe that "if you're black, stay back," and that "white is right." Thus many black people have developed the habit of letting the whites take the initiative. So militant blacks want to remove this impediment. "Let whitey do it" is saved for white organizing and fighting in Vietnam.

If you do not readily take to this line of reasoning, as I did not, you are offered other compelling arguments for confining your work to the white community. Let me state three more that I know.

WHAT WHITES CAN DO

1) There is much talk by whites about an interracial movement of the poor. But there is no movement of poor whites with whom the thousands of organized Negroes may ally themselves. (See article on White Organizing in this issue of NSS.) Most blacks in the Movement realize that poor Negroes need allies, and that over and above the questions of black consciousness and unity, there must be class unity. But they question whether poor whites, who do the dirty work of bombing and beating, can be organized. None of us whites are demonstrating to them that they are wrong; but we are agreed that whites must do it. (Many Negroes argue that disaffected middleclass whites have been taking the easy route and escaping to the black community.)

2) There is also the problem of racism in America which pervades all classes of whites. That is must be eliminated is obvious. This means that whites too must be made conscious of Negro history, African contributions to man's culture, and all the other things discussed above. The implications of this task for our educational system at all levels are far reaching. Whites who man school boards, who teach whites, who write books, and

(Continued on page 9)

# WHITE ORGANIZING: NEW ODYSSEY

White civil rights workers throughout the South are now navigating difficult currents in their journey home. On one side of their frail craft lies the Scylla of Black Consciousness (see article in this newsletter), with the implication that whites cannot continue their present role in the Negro freedom movement; on the other side lies the stark statistical Charybdis of the Alabama Democratic primary, in which at most 3% of all whites voting chose Richmond Flowers, despite the fact that he was the only candidate who offered a platform geared to the interests of the poor.

The only existing Southern organizing project involving whites is the Southern Mountain Project of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). The SMP will attempt to build an interracial movement of the poor, using an integrated staff to organize around permanent unemployment pay, better medical care, effective anti-poverty programs and more responsive elected officials. Their East Tennessee based experimental project has been in operation since last June, chiefly familiarizing the community with them and vice versa. It is still too early to judge its potentiality.

While accepting the basic SMP program most civil rights workers are inclined to believe that, even disregarding the importance of building black consciousness, initial interracial organization is an Achilles Heel which foredooms the project to failure.

Some find the siren song of rural white organizing most enticing, and would like to begin in one of the poorer counties of Appalachia, either in Kentucky or East Tennessee. Others favor initiating a project in a Border State city, such as Louisville, Wheeling or St. Louis, with the idea that knowledge and Deep South migrants found there would make eventual organizing further South more fruitful (a sort of human Trojan Horse technique).

Those with personal experience cite obstacles beyond the racial question which make white organizing more difficult than work in black communities. Poor whites, particularly in rural areas, are extremely suspicious of outsiders. Also, despite their oppression, they tend to identify more strongly than Negroes with the existing community leadership, making it more difficult for them to perceive the broad patterns of exploitation and build a competing organization. In the Negro community the clergy has often been important in beginning movement groups; this would be unlikely in a white community. For these reasons an urban community, where rural in-migrants are themselves strangers, socially dislocated and unrelated to local power elements, seems a more likely starting point.

The actual location of a project will probably be determined by the proclivities of the organizers. At its April Conference, SSOC voted to support a white community project whose organizers seem capable and committed, without specifying location. Even Alabama and Mississippi were not excluded, since SSOC sees, as Odysseus with the Cyclops that in the land of the one-eyed the two-eyed is king. Two young men who have worked with SNCC in Alabama have expressed a desire to begin a project, but neither can commit himself for longer than 3 months and SSOC is attempting to find someone who could begin with them and continue the project for at least a year, with the (If you are interested please write immediately).

In any event, it looks like a long trip and young Southern white activists are presently hesitant to attest that any Penelopes are eagerly waiting to welcome them.

* * * * *

# VIETNAM DRAFT EXAM

Although this newsletter is going to press before May 14th and returns are still incomplete, it is already clear that the National Vietnam Exam program will involve significantly more Southern students than any previous peace or civil rights effort in menory! In Louisiana every single testing center for the Seledtive Service College Qualification Test (there are sixteen) will be attended by people passing out the National Vietnam Exam. This countertest on the issues of the War in Vietman was composed by scholars from the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy and Students for a Democratic Society. SSOC is co-ordinating its distribution in twelve Southern States, not only at schools with a history of social action, but at many traditionally dormant colleges.

The power of this organized response to the "draft tests" is made clear by the support we are already getting. On Tuesday Rep. Adam Clayton Powell stated that the draft tests are "reminiscent of Hitler's twin system of eugenics and education--weed out the intellactually deprived or socially undesirables by conscripting them or cannon fodder."

The overwhelming success of this program raises two crucial questions: Can campus people follow up the Vietnam Exam by starting organized social action groups and continuing creative programing? Can SSOC continue to unite Southern students around significant programs which both old and new activists will respond to? The answer to both of these questions clearly depends on you.

# SCC MEETS

The Southern Coordinating Committee To End the War in Vietnam held its second conference on April 23-24 in Nashville.

The eighty participants came from twelve states, representing colleges and independent anti-war committees, or themselves. At least fifty-two committees are known to exist in the South. The conferees voted to become the southern region of the National Coordinating Commettee, formalizing a previously functional role.

A large part of the discussion centered around the problem of confronting the traditional conservatism of most Southerners, who now view the Vietnam conflict as a Holy War Against Communism, and thus are not initially open to any alternatives to present U.S. policies. It was suggested that volunteers work full time this summer to involve people throughout the South in an examination of the War.

Much debate involved the small role by Negroes in the anti-war movement in the South. Civil rights workers present felt that although there is substantial opposition to the War in the Negro community, the freedom movement is of much greater concern at present and absorbs all of their enerfies.

Finances, the eternal Governor Wallace of left of center causes, was brought up, and several committees pledged support. The SCC office is attempting to find a full time fundraiser to bring the office budget up to meager.

Dwain Wilder, present SCC secretary, emphasized that staff is a primary need of the SCC, both for the summer volunteer program and for the office in all capacities. The conference failed to come up with a solution to this problem, although several participants said they had possible recruits in mind.

Many people in attendance were concerned by the lack of program discussion, other than the "town meeting summer" and the SDS draft exam (see articles in this newsletter). This hiatus reflected a general feeling that massive programs are unrealistic in the near future since the Southern peace movement is still a miniscule, though growing, minority in a hostile or indifferent land.

who program for the mass media must be confronted with the issue of racism. And whites must forcefully make this confrontation--no small task.

Furthermore, those of us who cherish the idea of an integrated society, whether we be white or Negro, must ask ourselves if it is integration or assimilation that we are about at present. If it is the latter, and I think it is, then perhaps we must wait for real integration. The whole discussion of integration has to do with absorption, not with sharing. This must stop!

3) The Blacks who say that the war in Vietnam is a racist, white man's war assert that whites must end it. A corollary of this is that they will admit of no responsibility for participation in the Peace Movement as such.

SOME SERIOUS QUESTIONS

In the last analysis, I must admit that I have serious questions about much of what I have tried to relate in the above. When I heard about the recent all-black meeting in New Orleans, I was not half joking when I suggested that we whites must hold "sit-ins" at the affair to protest and "obviously unjust situation." The injustice is not so obvious to me now. Furthermore, it must be emphasized that many, many in Snick and in the community do not hold with all or even part of these views. Others accept them as a temporary tactic, some as a long range strategy.

There are several questions, some implicit in this paper, which I am not prepared to deal with at this time, but which must be answered soon:
1) Who is "black"?Those advocating Black Consciousness now accept the white definition. Is Ralph Bunche "black"?
2) H w can blacks be unified so that BC can be developed in such a "white" land?
3) Is there danger of an ideology of Black Superiority developing from this?
4) Where is the "Beloved Community"?

Much rough road will be traveled in the thrashing out of this whole thing in the South. The Northern Student Movement was at this point two years ago. It is now all black with many white friends. Snick and other viable parts of the southern black Movement appear to be heading in the same direction. Wailing and gnashing of teeth is senseless. What is needed is a serious attempt at understanding and openness; and much work in the white community.

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# ALCORN

## FOUR MORE EXPELLED

Four student leaders at Alcorn College, Lorman Mississippi, have been kicked out of school for "conduct unbecoming to a student." Their case has been taken by the Lawyer's Constitutional Defense Committee in Jackson, an affiliate of ACLU. The administration acted on May 4. A demonstration, planned for that evening, was called off. There have been no demonstrations since early April at Alcorn.

TWO BUILDINGS MYSTERIOUSLY DESTROYED

The student union building was wrecked from top to bottom recently. This included two demolished color T.V. sets, a wrecked book store and grill. In addition, a tool shed containing many valuable tools belonging to a construction company was burned to the ground.

Clifton McFarland, Jr., a student from Natchez who was suspended in early March for "interfering with a security officer," has been granted a hearing by the State Board of Trustees. McFarland, also represented by LCDC, will appeal his case to the courts if the Board's decision is unfavorable. Ousted in a Kangaroo Court type proceeding, McFarland was suspected by the administration of being a member of the NAACP.

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# SUMMER PEACE PROJECTS

The South, except in a few isolated areas, has not participated in the raging debate over the present crisis in foreign policy that has swept the country. Because of this lack SSOC is sponsoring a Summer Foreign Policy Education project to have students working in cities of the South talking to clergymen, labor people, other students, professional people, etc. The purpose of this project will be to organize people to talk and learn about why we are involved in Viet Nam, what the arguments are for staying there, and what the arguments are for leaving. We will need to try a lot of different thing---setting up discussion seminars, door-to-door canvassing, community teach-ins, etc. We hope to have a south-wide newsletter for discussion among summer volunteers as well as an end of the summer evaluation session. Finally, we need contributions for subsistence wages, for the orientation, etc. Contributions are tax-exempt. Make checks payable to SSOC for the Summer Foreign Policy Education Project.

We need volunteers immediately. Please fill out the application form on the opposite page. We need offers of free room and/or board for the summer from concerned adults and local committees in the South.

There will be an orientation session including discussions led by competent people on the war and the issues raised by it, as well as discussions on various kinds of organizing and programming. Experienced people will be present. We hope that volunteers will prepare working papers for the orientation to serve as a basis for discussion groups.

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An Alabama student informed us this week that she is going to Peru with the Methodist Board of Missions instead of the Peace Corps so that she will have more political freedom.

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SUMMER READING....CONTINUED

Poverty On the Land, 60 pp, 25¢ A report of National Advisory Committee On Farm Labor. Descriptive study with a wealth of frightening statistics showing rural poverty and the growth of agro-business.

Readings on Poverty, Ken McEldowney, 8pp 10¢ with Our Invisible Poor, by Dwight MacDonald, 24 pp. An imposing array of statistics on poverty in America, with some liberal solutions by McEldowney.

Students and Labor, Al Haber, 20pp, 10¢ A discussion of the liberal-radical potential of unions with specific suggestions for student-labor interchanges.

Statement On Faculty Responsibility For The Academic Freedom Of Students, American Assoc. of University Professors. Must reading for anyone on a campus with an AAUP chapter.

Guidelines for Social Change: The Tutorial Project, National Student Association. 19pp., 25¢ A lot of good--and some bad--ideas on running a tutorial. Definitely worth reading by all interested in tutoring poor students.

Five required books for the well educated Southerner; all available at your local bookstore.

The Nature of Prejudice, Gordon W. Allport, 480 pp, $1.45, Doubleday Anchor.

The New Abolitionists, Howard Zinn, 240 pp, $1.25, Beacon Paperback.

The Mind of the South, W.J. Cash, 440pp $1.65. Vintage Paperback.

The Other America, Michael Harrington, 186 pp, $.95, Penguin Special.

Vietnam: History, Documents, and Opinion On A Major World Crisis, Marvin E. Gettleman, edit., 458 pp, Fawcett Paperback, $.95--$.75 from SSOC.

Foreign Policy Education Project

## APPLICATION BLANK FOR SUMMER PROJECT

Name _____ School Address _____

Home Address _____ City, State _____

City, State _____ Year in school _____

Age _____ Major _____

(use additional sheet where necessary)

1. Please list courses you have taken in political science, economics, etc., relevant to the work you wish to do this summer.

2. Have you had past experience organizing on peace, etc. ? Yes___ No___ If yes, describe.

3. Give reasons for wanting to work on this project. Include what you would like to do. (e.g. research, speaking, organizing discussions, other.)

4. Can you raise subsistence wages for the summer? ( $15 per week ) Yes__ No __

5. Do you have any preference as to where in the South you would like to work? Yes__ No__ If so, list preference.

6. When will you be available this summer? From_____To_____

7. Please get one older person to write a reference letter for you.

---------- Please Mail To SSOC, P.O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee ----------

## REQUEST FOR SUMMER VOLUNTEERS

1. We would like to have __ volunteer(s) working in our community this summer. We understand that volunteers will attend an orientation session and will be regularly in touch with a central coordinator.

2. We can furnish rooms for all of the volunteers. Yes__ No__

3. We can provide board and subsistence for __ volunteers.

4. We can provide some__ no__ transportation for volunteers.

5. Please describe the work you want the volunteer(s) to do such as speaking, organizing seminars, organizing community teach-ins, forming an anti-war group, doing leg work for the local committee, etc.(Please use additional sheet.)

Name _____

Address _____

_____

# DUKE EMPLOYEES' LOCAL

For the past year, employees, students and union representatives have been working to organize a union of campus service employees at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina.

A number of gains have been achieved from the effort so far. The university is raising wages. It has been forced to establish a grievance procedure, and several employees who were fired because of union activity have regained their jobs. There is a new relationship between employees and supervisors which is beginning to strip away much of the Old South paternalism.

However the university refuses to recognize the employees' right to collective bargaining. This is not surprising. North Carolina has the largest percentage of unorganized workers in the nation. Only 7% of the state's work force is organized. The dominant industries, textiles, furniture, and tobacco, have fought unions bitterly. The power behind the university is a reflection of the industrial power of the state.

Students at Duke are planning to expand their part in the union effort over the summer. They will begin community organizing in three Negro areas of Durham where most Duke service employees live. The students will work with the union activists living in these areas to tie community work to the union campaign.

The union needs your support for the summer activities. If they succeed, Duke will become the first organized campus in the South, and they will have forced a major power to change.

Contributions for the Duke campaign can be sent directly to Duke Local 77, AFSCME, 604 West Chapel Hill Street, Durham, North Carolina. (A complete history of the Duke campaign is available from SSOC).

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37212

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Agency file

# southern student organizing committee

1703 portland avenue · nashville, tennessee box 6403 phone: 291-3537

September 14, 1966

Dear Friends:

SSOC has undergone several important changes since you last heard from us. During the past summer two meetings were held at the new SSOC camp in Buckeye Cove, North Carolina and decisions made there reflect the growth and development of the organization.

The June Buckeye Cove meeting was the result of a mandate from the Spring SSOC Conference to hold a summer meeting for the purpose of resolving the questions of membership and programming for the coming year. Last week the executive committee met at Buckeye Cove to finalize plans for the winter-spring program and to incorporate these plans into foundation proposals.

The decisions of these meetings are described more fully in the attached sheets. The general feeling of both meetings seemed to be that SSOC should "tighten up." In order to expedite our servicing of active and committed students, to insure that SSOC reflects the wishes and needs of its constituency, and to begin creating a genuine movement of southern students, SSOC has become a membership organization. The membership fee is $5.00 per year, including a subscription to THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT. Non-members wishing to receive THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT may subscribe for $3.00 per year. Following the October issue of THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT, names of non-paying subscribers will be removed from the mailing list. We feel it is time to face the fact that if SSOC is to continue its work, it must become at least partially self-sustaining.

Programs for the fall include a conference on the university to be held in the Carolinas, a Florida conference on migrant farm labor, speaker tours in the deep and middle South, state-wide campus travelers in Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia, and a greatly expanded literature program. In addition, SSOC will help support three related community projects in Nashville, Southside Virginia, and Atlanta. SSOC staff for the fall presently numbers seven.

Read the enclosed information carefully and send in your membership and NEW SOUTH STUDENT blank in the self-addressed envelope. Let us hear from you on your plans for the fall and specific things we can do to help you, as well as your thoughts on what SSOC should be doing.

For a New South,

Steve Wise
nwg

Steve Wise
Chairman

P.S. If you have recently sent in the $3.00 subscription fee, an additional $2.00 will make you a SSOC member. PLEASE INCLUDE YOUR ZIP CODE ON ALL CORRESPONDENCE WITH US.

# WHAT'S HAPPENIN'?

Plans for the coming year are open. Part of this openness is a conscious effort to remain flexible enough to meet needs when they arise, and part is forced on the organization by uncertainty about things like money and staff availability.

## Conferences

There are two conferences planned for the fall. One is a conference on the university and its reformation planned for the Carolinas around Thanksgiving. It is hoped that SSOC and the Southern Project of NSA will be able to co-sponsor this conference. The second is a conference on migrant farm labor to be held in late October or early November in Florida. This conference will coincide with a drive by organized labor to organize farm workers in that state. Following the conference a SSOC traveller will remain in the state to help relate students to the drive and provide general servicing. Plans are also being made for another Christmas workshop on the South to be held at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington. Some thought is being given to another students and labor conference for the winter to be held in Texas, perhaps.

## Travellers

SSOC will have regional travellers in Virginia, Tennessee, and Florida this fall. Other staff members will be doing some general campus travelling, and travelling to campuses in response to specific needs.

## Publications

Because of its continued expansion in scope and size, the New South Student will have a full-time editor this year. The format of the paper will be basically the same, but coverage will be expanded. The work-list mailing will continue and will be sent to SSOC members. Finally the office will continue to reprint and publish articles and working papers on various topics.

## Community Projects

SSOC will continue to support the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee's project in southside Virginia and the North Nashville Project. The North Nashville Project has been working in two black areas of the city, and this fall a SSOC staff member will begin work in a poor white area. Another staff member has begun a project in Atlanta working with members of the university and middle-class community.

## Speakers

The SSOC office will begin a speaker program this fall. Information on speakers who are willing and/or eager to do speaking around the South will be compiled and sent to campus groups. In addition several speaker tours are planned for the spring.

## Membership and Chapter Servicing

As SSOC chapters are formed and membership increases, SSOC will be searching for effective ways to service and coordinate the activities of

active students. Planned are an expanded literature distribution program, the speaker program, and available staff to assist chapters with their own programs.

Folk Tour

Another folk tour is planned for this year. The tour will cover more schools and earlier notice will be given so that chapters will be able to make more adequate arrangements. A workshop is planned for this fall to make plans for the tour.

SSOC Camp

SSOC has a five-year lease on a camp in Buckeye Cove, North Carolina. The camp can be used for weekend meetings and seminars in good weather, and is available for general use by SSOC chapters and members. Plans are being made for a summer-long seminar or institute to be held at the camp.

In thinking about SSOC programs for the coming year it might be helpful to review some of the things SSOC was able to do last year:

**Held a two-week workshop at Highlander Center in September, 1965. The workshop dealt with programs for the '65-'66 school year.

**Co-sponsored with the Southern Project of the National Student Association a conference for Florida students.

**Sponsored a regional conference on university reform held Thanksgiving weekend at the University of Arkansas.

**Assisted the Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee in holding a state-wide student conference.

**Sponsored at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington a Christmas workshop focusing on economic and political trends in the South.

**Planned and held a student conference in Mississippi which examined projected problems in the state.

**Sponsored a conference on students and labor held in April in North Carolina.

**Gave assistance to two SSOC-related community projects in southside Virginia and Atlanta, and helped initiate a third in Nashville.

**Coordinated the SDS draft exam program in the South.

**Disseminated information on the student revolt at Alcorn A & M College in Mississippi and sponsored a related southern protest of poor education in the South.

**Sponsored a movement folk tour which visited twenty southern campuses and communities.

**Published nine issues of the New South Student.

**Recruited seven students to work on a summer drive to organize eastern migrant farm workers into a labor union.

**Sponsored a South-wide, issue-oriented conference in Atlanta in the spring.

**Made campus visits to approximately one hundred southern schools during the school year.

**Leased for five years a three hundred acre camp near Asheville, North Carolina to be used for student and movement meetings, seminars, and recreation.

We are anxious to hear your ideas on the projected programs for the coming year as well as any other suggestions you may have. The degree of success of any SSOC program is wholly dependent on your participation and critical evaluation.

# SSOC is a parade

(and everybody loves a parade--especially those in it)

IT'S ALSO CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS
about good things like: Freedom, and decent colleges and peace.

AND IT'S THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT
that tells what's happenin' and what should, maybe. (It tells these things monthly

AND COMMUNITY PROJECTS
in the country and in town, for people--black people and white, too.

PLUS A SUMMER CAMP
in the mountains with trees, and lazy snakes, and birds, which is for students, and kids, and friends, and tired civil rights workers.

AND 'INSIDE PEACEMAKERS'
(which is not what they're always called), who come around to visit you to talk about all the good things that folks are doing and stuff.

SO IF Y'ALL LOVE FREEDOM, TREES, PEACE, MOUNTAINS, VISITS, MAIL, AND PEOPLE,

WHY DON'T Y'ALL WRITE, OR CALL, OR COME BY AND JOIN WITH US. IT ONLY COSTS $5.00.

(And that's only 25¢ a week except for exam weeks and summers when it doesn't cost anything at all. This includes a year's subscription to THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT.)

☐ I would like to join SSOC. ($5 a year, includes newsletter)

☐ I would like to subscribe to the NEW SOUTH STUDENT ($3.00 a year)

☐ I would like to pledge___ a ___.

☐ I would like more information.

Name_____ School_____ Year_____
Home Address_____ Zip_____ Phone_____
School Address_____ Zip_____ Phone_____


the southern student organizing committee

1703 portland ave. nashville, tennessee 37212 box 6403 phone: (615) 291-3537

# THE BEGINNING OF THE END

Many of you have been receiving THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT for nearly two years now. During that time you have seen it grow from a four-page bulletin going out to fifty people to a 25-page newsletter reaching more than 4,000 readers monthly with expanded coverage of campus and community social action across the South, as well as opinion columns, programming suggestions, book reviews, and feature articles.

Concurrent with the growth of THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT has been an increase in the cost of publishing and our largess, in the form of free subscriptions, must now necessarily come to an end. If THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT is to continue to expand and improve, its readership must begin to financially support it.

In October you will receive the first issue of THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT for this school year. Regrettably, unless we hear from you, this will be the last issue you receive. A year's subscription to THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT is $3.00. An additional $2.00 will make you a full-fledged member of SSOC. Let us hear from you by using the enclosed order blank and self-addressed envelope.

# LITERATURE

Southern Student Organizing Committee
P.O. Box 6403 Nashville, Tennessee 37212

## VIETNAM

____ Churches and the War, by Lee Webb - 10¢
____ Confrontation (Monthly Magazine of the Nashville Committee for Alternatives to War in Vietnam), Vol. 1 - 15¢, Vols. 2 and 3 - 20¢.
____ Let Us Shape the Future, by Carl Oglesby - 10¢
____ Memorandum of Law of Lawyers' Committee on American Policy - 10¢
____ Nearing the Brink in Vietnam, by Walter Lippman - 5¢
____ Significance of the State Department White Paper, May 2nd Movement, 10¢
____ Toward Peace in Vietnam, by David Kotelchuck - 10¢
____ United States in Vietnam, by George Kahin and John Lewis - 10¢
____ The Unspeakable War - 50¢
____ Vietnam, A New Phase Opens, Monthly Review - 50¢
____ Vietnamese and American Freedom, by Martin Nicolaus - 10¢
____ Viet Report (Nos. 2 and 4 available) - 10¢

## POVERTY AND ECONOMICS

____ The Condition of Farm Workers in 1964, by Fay Bennett - 10¢
____ Cybernation and Human Rights, by Robert Theobald - 10¢
____ Cybernation--Christmas or Crisis, by Dale Caldwell - 10¢
____ Failure of Federal Programs in the Black Belt, by J. V. Henry - 10¢
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## UNIVERSITY REFORM

____ Academic Freedom of Students, by the AAUP - 10¢
____ Conversion, Action, and Social Solidarity, by Dick Reavis - 10¢
____ Dropouts: A Political Problem, by S.M. Miller - 10¢.
____ The Free University Movement, by Paul Lauter - 10¢
____ Freedom and the University, by Steve Weissman - 10¢
____ Freedom Party Platform, University of Florida - 10¢
____ Student Bill of Rights, University of Chicago - 5¢
____ Student Social Action, by Tom Hayden - 10¢

## CIVIL RIGHTS

____ Civil Rights Act of 1964 - 10¢
____ Civil Rights Under Federal Programs - 10¢
____ Condition of the Mississippi Negro, Freedom Information Service, 10¢
____ Encounter With the Future, by Pat Watters - 35¢
____ Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights - 50¢
____ General Condition of the Alabama Negro, SNCC, 25¢
____ Highlander and Education of SNCC and COFO, Highlander Report - 10¢
____ Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Report, Voting Rights Act of 1965 - 10¢
____ Mississippi: Conversion to Coercion, by Christopher Jencks - 10¢
____ Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, (Assorted Information) - 10¢

CIVIL RIGHTS, CONTINUED

____ Oasis in Birmingham, by Floria Bishop - 10¢
____ Poor People's Corporation, (Assorted Information) - 10¢
____ Segregated Housing, Student Involvement Series - 10¢
____ Student Leadership in Race Relations, So. Student Human Relations Program - 10¢
____ Southern Freedom Movement in Perspective, by Anne Braden - 50¢
____ Voting Rights Act of 1965 - 10¢
____ Working Papers on Southern Civil Rights, ed. by Rick Stevens - $1.00.

THE NEW LEFT

____ SNCC: Rebels With A Cause, by Lerone Bennett - 10¢
____ SDS: Port Huron Statement - 25¢
____ When Southerners Unite To Save Their Region (SSOC), by Clark Woodroe - 10¢

COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

____ Community Organizing: Vine City, Atlanta, by Ray Payne - 10¢
____ Finding and Making Leaders, by Nicholas Von Hoffman - 10¢
____ Guide for Citizenship Education and Action Program, Student Involv. Series - 10
____ Of, By, and For the Poor, by Andrew Kopkind - 10¢
____ Organizing Poor Whites, by Kim Moody - 10¢
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____ Rural Community Organization, by John Zippert - 10¢
____ Stokeley Speech, by Stokeley Carmichael - 10¢
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____ Goldwater, the Public Record, ed. by SDS - 10¢
____ The Nomination of Farris Bryant - 10¢
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____ Student Political Action, by Todd Gitlin - 10¢

LABOR

____ Agribusiness and Its Workers, Natl. Advisory Committee on Farm Labor - 15¢
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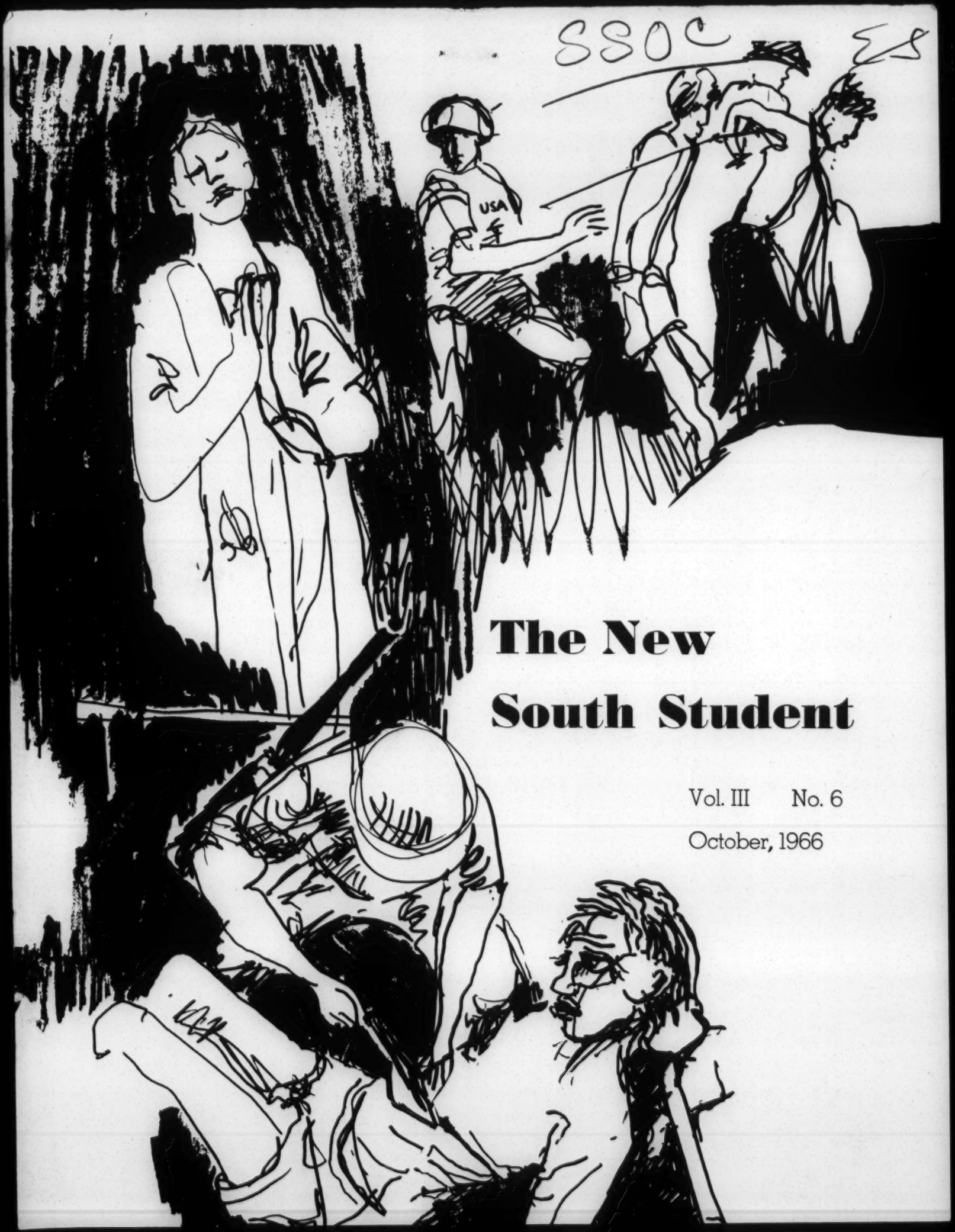
____ The Grape Strike, NACFL - 25¢
____ History of the Duke Local #77, by Peter Brandon and Nancy Park - 10¢
____ Louisiana Story 1964, The Sugar System and Plantation Workers, by Robin Myer 15
____ Middle Class Professional Unions, by Shelley Blum - 10¢
____ Students and Labor, by Al Haber - 10¢
____ Students, Labor and the South, by Jim Williams - 10¢
____ Why Unions? AFL-CIO - 15¢
____ You Too Can Help, Dept. of Agriculture - 10¢

SSOC

____ SSOC Constitution
____ Mississippi: Student Perspective
____ Relationship to Community Projects
____ Sample of NEW SOUTH STUDENT
____ Statement of Goals and Programming
____ Students and Labor Conference




# The New South Student

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The cover of this month's issue depicting scenes from the war in Vietnam was drawn from news photos by Merry Kassoy.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATUS QUO, by David Nolan p. 2

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA SSOC: OPENING WEEK GOINGS ON p. 6

NEW BOOKS p. 7

SUMMER INSTITUTE: SSOC PROPOSAL FOR RADICAL EDUCATION p. 8

CHILD POWER, by Ronda Stilley p. 10

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR, A Poem by Edna St. Vincent Millay p. 11

THE BUENFIL CASE: CHARLOTTESVILLE NON-COOPERATOR p. 12

U.S. vs DuVERNAY, by Jack Frazier p. 14

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE DRAFT, by Bob Dewart p. 15

WHAT'S HAPPNIN'? p. 17

SOUTHERN PROJECT REACTIVATED BY NSA, by Bill Roberts p. 18

ORGANIZING MIGRANTS, by Gene Guerrero p. 19

LITERATURE AVAILABLE FROM SSOC p. 21

THE GREAT TIGHTENIN' UP, by Uncle Ed Hamlett p. 24

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# THE UNIVERSITY

OF THE STATUS QUO. . .by David Nolan

Education, as Clark Kerr so fondly pointed out, has become a big business. There are many important and powerful people with an interest in education, how it is conducted, and what it results in. As long as education continues in a manner of which they approve, they are willing to endorse it publicly and support it financially. Most major corporations donate large sums each year to colleges and universities, in the form of endowed chairs, scholarships, matching grants, etc. In return, these corporations seek the cream of the graduate crop as employees for their businesses, and they expect that the schools will have conditioned them for the corporate way of life. Writers like William Whyte in The Organization Man have described some of the basic tenets of the corporative way of life. Suffice it to say that the American protest tradition is not looked upon favorably in the business community. Thus, when Staunton Lynd went to Hanoi last December, there were demands that he be removed from the faculty of Yale University, and threats that if he were not removed, future donations would not be forthcoming.

## The Corporate Donor

Jacques Barzun, Dean of the Faculties at Columbia University, criticizes the attitude of the corporate donor to education, writing, "He does not really give, he buys. On the surface there is in this nothing very wicked, it is 'very human. Still, it is contrary to the right conditions of intellect. Sometimes the giver wants the childish satisfaction of publicity--a name, a notice, another illustrated booklet. More often, he wants the pleasure of handing out the dole, of fussing around the beneficiaries, of appointing the holder of the chair and even of rebaptizing subject matter." Barzun concludes, from the conduct of this type of donor, "It is diverting at any age to play school."

## State Funds

There are other financial supports for education. The state legislatures contribute to Negro and white state schools in the South. And with this state support also come some strings. In Alabama, Governor Wallace has threatened to expel any college student who does not support the war in Vietnam. The North Carolina state legislature, under the leadership of State Senator Clarence Stone of Stoneyville, passed a law banning from state schools any speakers defined as "fascists, communists, or fifth ammendment communists." Senator Stone's younger brother William, who is a member of the Virginia State Senate, was impressed by the North Carolina law and horrified by the appearance of George Lincoln Rockwell as Gus Hall at the University of Virginia. So he tried unsuccessfully to get Virginia to enact a speaker ban law. The move was scuttled when the state's college presidents assured the public that they would not let any undesirables speak on the campus--that the law would be unnecessary and a violation of academic freedom at the same time.

The North Carolina law was repealed when UNC Chapel Hill was threatened with loss of accreditation, and the power to ban speakers was given to the Board of Trustees. The Board subsequently prevented Herbert Aptheker from speaking on campus.

When the League for Responsible Sexual Freedom was formed at the University of Texas, State Senator Grady Hazelwood demanded that state funds be cut off from the institution until the organization, which advocated repeal of the state anti-miscegenation, fornication, and homosexuality laws, was banned.

In 1965, after Steve Weissman of the Free Speech Movement toured the South

for SSOC, the Tennessee state board of education ruled that, "subversive speakers were not welcome on state-controlled campuses."

These and more flagrant examples like Governor Wallace standing in the schoolhouse door at the University of Alabama, show that the strings attached to state funds do not make for academic freedom in the South.

## The "Liberal" Donor

There are outside financial pressures on southern schools, from some foundations and the federal government that may bring about a change in racial policies so that they take a Northern rather than a southern air. The Ford Foundation (a major contributor to education now run by McGeorge Bundy who previously made our Vietnam policy) will only give to schools that do not practice racial discrimination. So we have the typical scene of schools like Lynchburg College and Washington and Lee University frantically beating the bushes in search of one Negro student, in order to qualify for millions of dollars in potential foundation aid. And we have Dr. Edgar Finley Shannon, Jr., of the University of Virginia, constantly reaffirming his institution's "longstanding policy of nondiscrimination" while the percentage of Negro students at the school has dwindled constantly over the past decade to about one quarter of one percent.

On the other side of the coin there are several foundations in Texas and elsewhere which press financially for a distinctively southern racial attitude. And there are the unreconstructed Bible-belters who continue to support schools like Bob Jones Jr. University in Greenville, South Carolina.

There are also important alumni donations from the wealthy who look back fondly on old Siwash and her football team. Or those like tobacco king James Buchanan Duke who used their tainted fortunes to educate further generations.

* * * * * * * * * *

## Who Runs the Schools?

Students at Berkeley, in their research, discovered that under the laws of California, the University was the property of the regents. Whether or not they exercise it, the regents, or trustees of our schools have great potential power, so it is important that we know who these men are, how they are selected, and what they believe. This is something that must be done for each campus. In general you will find on the board of trustees some prominent alumni, powerful legislators, millionaire businessmen, the president of the school, and at state schools, a representative of the state. They may be appointed by the governor for specific terms, or they may have a self-perpetuating system where the old trustees select the new ones, or there may be other arrangements. In church schools there will usually be representatives of the church both in clergy and lay people. Many boards are proportionally divided among the interests to be represented there. One thing that you will usually not find on the board is a bona fide practicing educator outside of the administrative ranks. And one thing you will never find is a representative of the student body, which is the main beneficiary (or victim, depending on your point of view) of the education that these trustees are purveying. So the basic setup of the boards of trustees is nothing like democratic, but something like oligarchic, or plutocratic, or what have you. The students and the teachers, who form the great body of those concerned, are unrepresented; while distant individuals representing something that is usually political, financial, or religious are given the final voice in matters.

## Responsive Administration

Of course, it is absurd to suppose that our trustees, with the weight of their own lives and businesses will concern themselves with such minute matters as dormitory assignments, class changes, and grading of students. But when a basic policy is at stake--like Herbert Aptheker speaking on campus or a thou-

sand students marching on the state capitol--the voice of the trustees will be heard.

The people who know this are the administrators who run the school and are responsible to the trustees. As long as there are no scandals or outbursts sufficient to arouse the interest of the trustees, they are free to run the school as they please. But they have a very firm conception of how far the trustees will let them go, and they are not adverse to creating a margin of safety. It is the students who suffer from the harsh rulings of an administration that wants to play it safe with the trustees.

Are the students the main concern of the administration, or are they just an incidental annoyance? Is the focus really elsewhere, with raising money, pleasing alumni, and backstabbing fellow administrators on the rise? Isn't their concern with students primarily that they "underground education", keep their mouths shut and don't rock the boat? In one of his memorable speeches at Berkeley, Mario Savio complained that, "the University is well structured, well tooled, to turn out people with all the sharp edges worn off, the well rounded person."

## Today's Student

The student who goes to college believing the propaganda of the conventional wisdom that he is a future leader in whom America places great trust, should be quickly disabused of that notion by the treatment he receives. He will find that his sexual life is limited by college policies banning women from the dorms, that his consumption of alcohol is limited by policies banning liquor from the campus, that his travel is limited by his being forbidden to have an automobile during his freshman year and sometimes all through college, his religious practices are regulated by compulsory chapel attendance, and his dress habits are limited by coat and tie policies, just to mention a few. If this same person had chosen on his 18th birthday to abjure his position in the educational elite and become a truck driver or auto mechanic, he would have his full rights as a citizen. If the ability to think for oneself and act independently is the lasting value of any education, we must heed Tom Hayden's warning, "An authoritarian institution does not develop independent people. An authoritarian college within a society that basically values money and power, conformity and success, established habits and the status quo, does not develop independent people."

The university makes all these regulations under the guise of the legal doctrine of in loco parentis (in place of the parents.) This "father knows best" attitude is probably worst in church schools and Negro schools, and one wonders if the administrators really care about the students, or if they are just fearful of adverse publicity the students might create. At the root of it must be an undeniably low opinion of mankind, for there would be no need of these all-encompassing regulations unless one firmly believed that the moment he is freed of restrictions, the student would get drunk, high on pot, and mow down innocent pedestrians while fathering illegitimate children in the back seat of a speeding car. Or something of the sort. Involved here is also something of a generational conflict. When our trustees were raised forty or sixty or eighty years ago, attitudes on matters like sex were quite different. So today's student left to his own devices would probably not choose virginity, but that does not necessarily make him the demon some of our oldsters must see.

## The Degree Seeker

We ask, then, why do students put up with this? In order to find this out we must ask why most students are in school. I think it would be a mistake to say "for an education." Beneath the platitudes some of them probably sincerely believed, I think that most people are students in order to get draft deferments, and because social pressures dictate that you have a college degree to "make it" in the world. And if it were possible to get these things with-

out going through the four years of pressure-cooker college, I would not be surprised if our student bodies were largely depopulated.

About ten years ago the Census Bureau compiled figures on the potential lifetime earnings of people. A high school graduate could expect $156,000. The person with three years of college could expect $190,000. The college graduate could look forward to $268,000. Thus three years of college are worth only $25,000, while the last year alone nets $78,000. So I think it is undisputed that it is the degree, not what is behind it, that society demands.

I think of some of our academically superior students, like Mario Savio and Stokely Carmichael, and wonder if their college years better prepared them to be junior executives for the Ford Motor Company trying to sell the public on the idea of unsafe autos. Savio wrote sadly, "the University is well-equipped to produce that sort of person, and this means that the best among the people who enter for four years wander aimlessly, much of the time questioning why they are on campus at all, doubting whether there is any point in what they are doing and looking toward a very bleak existence afterward in a game in which all of the rules have been made up, which one cannot really amend."

## Lack of Motivation

And so, faced with a net gain of $78,000 (which has undoubtedly gone up with inflation), threatened on the one hand by family pressures and on the other by the draft, the student is willing to put up with in loco parentis, speaker bans, mickey mouse student government, large classes, small libraries, etc., because "this too will pass." It is just a four year interlude from real life, unrelated to anything before or after, except greater financial rewards, so you learn to grin and bear it and get as much illicit beer and sex as you can on the side to make it more enjoyable.

Given these attitudes on the part of many students, it is not hard to see why the administration is able to make them abide by its regulations.

## Administration Trump

As long as the goals of students are to avoid the draft, get a degree, and have it "made" in later life, the administration will always have the upper hand over them, because it is the school that is the route to these things. And as long as the administrators see that students will not stand up to their demands when threatened with expulsion, there will remain a "credibility gap" of rather large size when the call is put forward for campus reform. It will always be easier to expel a few students or fire a couple of troublemaking professors than it will be to change the entire school, so our authoritarian administrators will be led down this path of least resistance.

We are facing the university of the status quo which, despite educational platitudes, is firmly committed to retaining things as they are. In doing this it has the support of those other institutions in our society that do not look forward to the "good new days."

It will do for us to be no less serious in our advocacy of change than is the opposition in its support of the status quo. We should not expect that we can have our cake and eat it too--get all the goodies of this society and attack it at the same time. Nor should we imagine that the fight is limited to the small ground of university reform, because our condition here is merely a reflection of the close minded society that in other spheres perpetuates racism and wages a war of genocide upon the people of Vietnam.

Though the compensation may not be attractive, the need is certainly great, when we consider the alternatives--"Peace in the world or the world in pieces."

Southside Virginia
October 1966

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# U. VA. SSOC

## OPENING WEEK GOINGS ON

At its first meeting of the school year, the Students for Social Action at the University of Virginia voted to become a SSOC chapter, thus earning the distinction of being the first such group in the South. During the orientation period for entering students, U.Va. SSOC organized several activities through which to acquaint new students with the presence at the university of a radical action group. A table was set up at the registration line outside the gymnasium on registration day. Representatives from SSOC were present at "Activities Night," a function sponsored by the student union to introduce new students to the organizations on campus. A literature table was set up several times in the student union between the two cafeterias, at which SSOC literature was distributed.

The message that U. Va. SSOC was trying to convey to the incoming class is summed up in a letter which was distributed to each room in the first year dormitories. The purpose of the letter was to encourage students to question the right of the university to make student policy without in any way consulting the student body, and to think through for themselves what the nature of a real university ought to be. The following is the text of that letter.

### AN OPEN LETTER TO ENTERING STUDENTS

You have probably come to the University of Virginia thinking that you were going to become a part of an adult community of students and scholars. You have been told by the university that you will be treated as gentlemen; that your word will be respected; and that you will be responsible for shaping your own future. The university has been described to you as an academical village, modeled after the plans of its founder, Thomas Jefferson. How true a picture this is of the actual state of affairs here you will find out for yourselves in the ensuing months. We would like only to raise some fundamental questions about the way in which the university is run; you may decide for yourselves whether the issues thus raised are compatible with the picture of the university outlined above and described in detail in such publications as the Jeffersonian.

Why has the university adopted the principle of in loco parentis (in the place of the parents)? Should the relationship of a university to its student body be the same as the relationship of a parent to his children?

Why has the administration expanded from its proper role of administering to the university to its present role of controlling nearly all aspects of university life? Why cannot the business of education be left to the students and faculty, and personal business to the individual?

Why should the university require certain courses, and why should these courses have to be taken during the first two years?

Why is a non-credit physical education course required, in which one learns nothing, and passes or fails merely on the basis of attendance?

Why is R.O.T.C. an accredited course of instruction here? What does military training have to do with the pursuit of knowledge? Is it not rather the antithesis of education, teaching men to obey orders without thinking?

Why should the university decide who may have an automobile here and who may not solely on the basis of a student's grades? If adequate parking is the problem, why not limit parking on the grounds by permit to university officials and staff only and let the students, including first yearmen, have cars and

find parking where they can?

Why should the university concern itself with the sexual mores of its students who live in the dormitories by forbidding females on the premises?

Why should students living off-grounds be required to have their places of residence approved by a university inspector?

Why should dormitory residence be compulsory for first yearmen?

Why should all students be required to pay an athletic fee, regardless of whether they attend any varsity games or participate in intramural sports?

Why cannot Newcomb Hall Bookstore compete with the corner merchants in the sale of textbooks and supplies for the benefit of the student body? Why must students purchase from the Anderson Brothers-University Bookstore monopoly run by John W. "Billy" Williams, a local functionary of the Byrd machine?

What kind of student government do we have here that can do no more than make requests and recommendations to the administration? Is it not merely a paper organization used to disguise the real power of the administration?

Do we really have a university here, or just an advanced high school?

There is a group of students at the university concerned with these problems and interested in trying to bring about a new university where academic and personal freedom will not be menaced by an administrative bureaucracy. We are the Virginia chapter of the Southern Student Organizing Committee. We are interested in bringing about changes in the university community and in contemporary American society that will advance the freedom and welfare of all.

You are invited to join with us. We will have representatives present at Activities Night to provide any relevant information you might want to know about our group; and our meetings, which will be announced in the Cavalier Daily, are open to interested parties.

Virginia SSOC September 1966

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# NEW BOOKS

### Vietnam and the Congo

Felix Green, noted British-American correspondent on China and the Far East has recently published a new book entitled Vietnam! Vietnam! The book combines over 100 pictures of the world's leading news photographers with Greene's closely documented text to provide a very powerful case against the Vietnam war. Jane McManus, of the National Guardian, wrote "Vietnam! Vietnam! is arresting, moving, and factually devastating." Single copy price $2.95; special offer to groups who order 12 or more copies $1.77 each. Available from the Fulton Publishing Co. Box 191, Palo Alto, California, 94302

Challenge of the Congo, announced for release in January by International Publishers of New York, is a new book by the former President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah. Among the subjects considered by the author are Katanga's secession, the failure of the U.N. operation, the murder of Lumumba, foreign military intervention at Stanleyville, and Mobutu's coup d'etat. These events are examined in the light of contemporary diplomatic records and documents which are published here for the first time. This is the eighth book by the author, who is generally regarded by friend and foe alike as the most articulate champion of African unity.

# SUMMER INSTITUTE

## SSOC PROPOSAL FOR RADICAL EDUCATION

One of the ideas discussed at a recent SSOC staff meeting was a summer institute to be held at our new camp in Buckeye Cove, North Carolina. The purpose of such an institute would be to provide some much needed internal education for the organization as well as reaching out to some new constituencies. We hope to involve some new faculty people from southern universities, church people, young professionals, etc. Initial discussion about such an institute has focused around a series of one or two week seminars covering a range of topics.

The following is the text of a letter from David Nolan of Virginia to Jody Palmour in Atlanta in which he outlines some of his ideas as to how the institute might be run and what might be studied there. We are reproducing the letler here in the hope that it will stimulate further discussion about the possibility of a summer institute for next year. The notes on the curriculum are simply suggestions, so please feel free to send us any thoughts you may have--additions or subtractions you would make to David's outline or a new series of topics or format that you think would be better.

August 16, 1966

Dear Jody,

I have written down a few ideas about the Buckeye Cove summer institute that we talked about the other day. They are, of course, only rough notes, and their main value will be as a starting place, something to begin with.

I thought the theme for the summer could be "the American Myth" --emphasizing the difference between myth and reality in several phases of present day America and trying to cut through some of the former to get to the latter.

The summer could be divided into a number of one-week sessions, each to consider a single aspect of the problem. You could encourage people to write papers from this, and publish them in the New South Student and as SSOC pamphlets. You should also make up a reading list prior to the summer, and send it out to the participants. Relevant pamphlets we have could be sent to them at this time.

I guess you'll get a better idea if I outline some of the topics I have been thinking of:

1. The Myth of American Government--do the people rule? Who makes decisions in this country? How much does it cost to run for office, and can any man do it? The supreme court as a political institution. How laws are made, etc. for both federal and state governments.

Possible resource people: Stanley Newman (legislative assistant to Congressman Ryan), Stan Makielski (Institute of Government at UVa.), Jack Minnis (SNCC).

2. The Myth of the American Economy--how is the economy run? Permanent war economy and economic conversion. The economics of poverty. Cybernation and guaranteed annual income.

Possible resource people: Robert Theobold, Don Michael, Robb Burlage (Institute for Policy Studies).

Recommended readings: "Jobs, Machines and People," "Cybernation the Silent Conquest"--Michael, Free Men and Free Markets--Theobald, "This is War"---Burlage, The Peace Race--Seymour Melman.

3. The Myth of the American Legal System--law vs. justice, the cost of justice, civil liberties and privacy invaders, the American Bar Association, etc.

Possible resource people: Phil Hirs-

chkop, Bill Higgs (SNCC-FDP), Howard Carwile (Richmond City councilman), Harold Marsh (Tucker and Marsh), Charles Morgan, Jr. (ACLU), Alan Barth (Washington Post).

4. The Free Press? Problems of monopoly control of the news media, managed news, the decreasing number of papers, who sets editorial policy, why does Harry Byrd own all the daily and weekly papers and TV and radio stations in northwestern Virginia? etc.

Possible resource people: Nat Hentoff, Jack Newfield.

Recommended reading: The Press, by A. J. Liebling.

5. Poverty in Appalachia and the Black Belt. What is it, what good are government programs, what is needed, etc.

Possible resource people: Harry Caudill, Myles Horton, Robb Burlage, Rev. Phillip Young (Presbyterian Board of Missions), Betty Garman, J.V. Henry, Jac Wasserman (National Sharecroppers Fund).

Recommended reading: Night Comes to the Cumberlands---Caudill, "Failure of Federal Programs in the Black Belt"--J.V. Henry.

6. American Education. University reform and the free university, school integration, problems of Negro colleges, in loco parentis, ideal forms of education, who runs the schools.

Possible resource people: Christopher Jencks, Paul Goodman, Richard Robbins (Negro Colleges), J. Kenneth Morland, (school integration), Tom Hayden.

Recommended reading: Summerhill--A.S. Neill, Compulsory Miseducation--Goodman, Student Social Action--Hayden, "An End to History," Mario Savio, The Failure of Negro Colleges--Richard Robbins.

7. The Labor Movement---Progressive or Regressive? Current position of AFL-CIO, organizing the poor and the unemployed, the Wobblies, Labor's foreign policy, labor as a wing of the Democratic Party.

Possible resource people: Myles Horton (Highlander Center), Sidney Lens, Earl Davis (COPE), Peter Brandon (AFSCME).

8. Myths in American Foreign Policy: How foreign policy is made, ideology in foreign policy, the role of the corporations and the CIA, America in a Revolutionary World, Vietnam and South Africa.

Possible resource people: Marcus Raskin, Sid Lens, Arthur Waskow, Dave Dellinger (Liberation Magazine).

Recommended reading: The Futile Crusade--Lens, How the United States Got Involved in Vietnam--Scheer, Tragedy of American Foreign Policy--W. A. Williams, American Diplomacy 1900-1950---Kennan, Old Myths and New Realities---Fulbright, Wretched of the Earth--Frantz Fanon.

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Just looking over this now I see a large number of repetitions and omissions. For instance, I would like to do something on the draft. And on trends in civil rights (with Anne Braden and Stanley Wise or Stokely). But they can all be added, I guess. There should also be a radical in residence, like Steve Weissman, for instance, who has views on all issues that might be presented.

Anyhow, this is a start. I have talked with Steve Wise, Tom Gardner, Bob Dewart, and they are interested in the idea, so maybe something will come of it yet.

Pax,

David Nolan

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People interested in corresponding with David on the subject of the summer institute should write to him here at the SSOC House, Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212.

# CHILD POWER

by Ronda Stilley

Working with the children at the North Nashville Project, as I have with children for many years, has at last awakened me to the tremendous and deliberate stupidity and prejudice on the part of us adults. This came to me suddenly one day after overhearing a very serious discussion among a group of boys during our free play session. They were plotting the "child revolution".

As I listened further, I was surprised at the great bitterness that filled these little boys. They discussed seriously the great superiority complex which invariably pervades all child-adult relationships, and the extreme paternalism (and maternalism) with which they are constantly treated, in both a subtle and blatant manner.

I suppose that in my blindness, I had never even thought of the endless ways in which children are discriminated against. They discussed the way they felt when adults always prefaced their remarks (usually orders) to them by such degrading titles as "sweetie, honey, or dear", always couched in a special condescending tone of voice.

Another little boy objected to the common and accepted practice of signs such as "Children Only", "Children Only If Accompanied by Adults", "Children and Dogs Not Allowed", and the sheer paternalism of giving children special rates. The final straw, however, is the use of big and little water fountains.

The depth of that prejudice was shown in the fact that adults often justify themsevles by comparing themselves to children. Whenever an adult has no self-respect, he can always look down on a child, and the most insulting remark that one adult can make to another is to say that he is acting like a child.

One little boy suggested the possibility of bringing this problem to national attention, and having legislation passed against "child discrimination". He was immediately booed down by a group of 5 and 6-year-old cynics (or perhaps realists) who said that of course, everyone knew there was no equal representation for children, and this would undoubtedly end in a philibuster by the adult-ocrats. Even if a bill was passed, how would the government ever enforce it? Have a policeman or national guardsman present at every bedtime battle??

I felt right at home when I perceived a split between those children who believed in the basic goodness of adults, and believed that they would be forced to change their ways by nonviolent revolution. Others felt that the prejudice was too much a way of adult life, and that the only hope was through violent revolution. The kids got some glee out of discussing the possible fates of mothers, teachers, pediatricians, and especially Sunday School teachers.

Then a very militant 8-year-old, who I later found out is a leader in a group called "Child Nationalists" took the floor. He asked why children should be expected to assimilate into a society as rotten as our adult one. He was drowned by cheers. Then he expressed the doubt that children would ever shed their great sense of inferiority as long as they were in the presence of adults, and that what was necessary was children to lead children out of bondage. This, he declared, was the only way to create "positive child self images". Then the whole group began chanting...."Child Power.....Child Power".

Well, you can imagine how I felt. I began to introspect. I wondered if I was working with children because of a deep-seated sense of guilt about the situation. On the other hand, I wondered if my true motive was really glory and praise at my courage. In many ways, I had to agree with them, but then, what

is more ridiculous than an adult "child nationalist"?? Then, I began to wonder if I shouldn't get out of the child movement altogether, and begin to work with adults, to change their abominable attitudes. I simply don't know at this point. I am really confused about my role in the movement, and doubtful about working with my own kind.....I simply don't know.

# CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

I shall die, but that is all I shall do for Death.

I see him leading his horse out of the stall; I hear
the clatter on the barn-floor.
He is in haste; he has business in the Balkans, business
in Finland, many calls to make this morning.
But I will not hold the birdle while he cinches the girth.
And he may mount by himself; I will not give him a leg up.

Though he may flick my shoulders with his whip, I will not
tell him which way the fox ran.
With his hoof on my breast, I will not tell him where the
black boy lies hidden in the swamp.
I shall die but that is all that I shall do for Death.
I am not on his payroll.

I will not tell him the whereabouts of my friends nor of
my enemies either.
Though he promise me much, I will not map him the route
to any man's door.
Am I a spy in the land of the living, that I should
deliver men to Death?
Brother, the password and the plans of our city are safe
with me; never through me
Shall you be overcome.

Edna St. Vincent Millay

# ZIP! ZIP!

Help celebrate National Zip Code Week! The U.S. Post Office has declared Oct. 10-15 National Zip Code Week all across the land, and here in Nashville, too. Following our accepted pattern of collaboration with the federal government, SSOC has decided to endorse the effort and ask all members to cooperate to the fullest.

Seriously, folks, the post office is threatening to clamp down on all bulk mailers (that's us) in the near future if zip code is not used on all material sent through the mails. So please be kind enough to send us your zip code number if you haven't already done so. We anarchists in the office aren't any happier about this than you are (in fact much less).

# BUENFIL CASE

## CHARLOTTESVILLE NONCOOPERATOR

On the evening of September 14 F.B.I. agents entered the University of Virginia Hospital and arrested John Buenfil, an employee of the radiology department, on a charge of failure to report for induction into the armed forces. Arrest was made only 15 hours after the appointed time of his induction, (5:30 A.M.), an unusual circumstance caused by the fact that John had made a public statement to the effect that he would fail to report which was published in the Charlottesville Daily Progress the day before. He was subsequently released on $1000 bond, and his case will be considered by a grand jury on December 12.

John returned to his home in Charlottesville last spring after a stint at Duke University and the CNVA office in New York. Since that time, he has been active in SSOC activities at U.Va., and has organized the Charlottesville Workshop In Nonviolence. John prepared two statements for the press concerning his stand against compliance with the draft which were published only in expurgated fashion by the Charlottesville paper. We are reproducing both of them here as the best means of explaining John's position. The first is the story of his development of a pacifist philosophy coupled with the history of his dealings with the Charlottesville draft board; the second is a statement explaining the religious convictions making it impossible for him to comply with an armed forces induction order.

I.

I was born in Brooklyn, New York on October 17, 1946 and baptized as an Episcopalian at St. John's Church in that city. I attended church regularly there with my mother and sister until 1957 when we moved to Charlottesville, Virginia. In 1958 my mother and sister joined the Society of Friends and for a period of three to four months I attended Quaker meetings instead of the Episcopal church. Thus receiving through the persons of Mr. Charles Moran, and Mr. Herbert Jehle, my first introduction to pacifism. Although my understanding of Christianity already forced me to oppose killing, I was still convinced that the best way to prevent war was a "balance of power" or threat of violence. Predominantly on this basis, I returned to the Episcopal church and in 1959, was confirmed at Christ Episcopal Church in Charlottesville.

From then until 1964, my beliefs underwent no significant changes. In 1963 I applied for a regular Naval ROTC scholarship, which I didn't get. 1963 was also fortunately the year that I met Tom Rodd on the Quebec, Washington, Guantanamo march, and the first time I began to consider that military service might indeed be contradictory with a sincere belief in Christianity. Then in 1964 I heard for the first time of Vietnam, and realized that the armed forces were not only a deterrent. Thus in October of 1964, I registered as an Episcopal conscientious objector (alternative service) filling in Form 150 at that time.

In August of 1965 I withdrew from Duke University and was immediately classified I-A. On September 27th I had an interview with my local board on my appeal; on the 28th I was again classified I-A, and on the 29th I again appealed. From then until March of 1966 there was no further action on my appeal except for the investigation going on, and the physical which I passed on November 12th. During this period, September to March, I again returned to the Episcopal church, having left, more for political than religious reasons, in November of 1964. On March 4, 1966, I was asked to appear in Roanoke, Virginia, for a hearing with an officer of the Justice Department, but instead sent a letter to him explaining why I could no longer cooperate with the Selective Ser-

vice System in any form. And sent a copy of that letter along with my registration certificate to my local board. My certificate was returned on April 11 and I returned it to my board with a further explanation of my position on April 17th, stating that I was also ending my correspondence with the Selective Service System at that time. On August 23, I was classified I-A by a 3-0 vote of the appeal board (apparently still working on my CO appeal) and on August 24th, I received orders to report for induction on September 14th.

I do not intend to report for induction, not to notify my draft board further than I have already done. I will, however, attempt to get a letter explaining my position into the local paper, and certainly won't do anything to avoid arrest. As for an actual trial I cannot plead not guilty to an act which I did commit, nor guilty to a crime which I do not recognize as such, although I suspect that to plead in precisely this manner would result in the court entering a not-guilty plea for me.

II

To say that I am an Episcopal pacifist is to be repetitious. To be an Episcopalian, indeed to be a Christian, means not only that I know we should love our neighbors as ourselves, (Matthew 22:37-40) but also that I try to live by these laws. In order to call myself a Christian, I am required to love my enemies, to do good to them which hate me, and to bless them that curse me. (Luke 6:27-36) Thus in order to be an Episcopalean, I must be a pacifist.

However, not all persons who claim to be Christians share this belief. Some say, "You are just taking parts of the Bible out of context." To them I can only answer, look in the Bible. Is there any context in which you can interpret the phrase "Resist not evil," (Matthew 5:39) as meaning you should serve in the army? While by considering such a statement as the following in light of the Bible as a whole, it is apparent that "I came not to send peace, but a sword," (Matthew 10:34) means that Christ came not to end strife, but to renew the battle between good and evil; but the weapon which he alone could give was not a piece of sharpened steel, but all-conquering Christian Love.

And some say, "This is idealism, it cannot be practiced in the present world situation." And again I answer, look in the Bible. Christ did not live in the garden of Eden. Yet even when the chief priests and elders came with swords and staves to take Him to be crucified, and Peter struck one of them with his sword, Christ rebuked him, saying, "Put up again thy sword in his place; for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." (Matthew 26:47-52)

And finally, there are some who say, "You are right, you should not kill, but why didn't you continue trying to become recognized by the Government as a Conscientious Objector, instead of refusing to cooperate with the Selective Service System?" And a third time, my reply is, look in the Bible. The Bible does not say only that I should not kill, but that no men should kill. I cannot practice nor even preach Christianity, as long as I continue to support, through any form of cooperation, that portion of the United States Government whose sole purpose is to recruit and train men to violate God's laws, and not love, and kill.

In any case, where the laws of God and the laws of men conflict, the Christian must unswervingly follow the Christ. The legislators of this nation apparently recognized this truth when they declared ours to be,"...one nation <u>under God</u>..." The Nuremburg decision against Hermann Goering, of which the United States was a major proponent, states in part that when a country is committing crimes against humanity, it becomes not only the right, but the duty and obligation of every citizen of that country to do everything in his power to stop those crimes. War is a crime against God, and as such must also be a crime against humanity. For all these reasons, I must oppose war and preparation for war, not only with my voice and

vote, but with my whole body as well. And thus I must refuse to report for my induction.

John Buenfil
September 10, 1966

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# U.S. VS. DUVERNAY

by Jack Frazier

"You don't go to court for justice, you go to court for law." The person who said that must have had in mind the type of situation that prevailed in Justice Christenberry's court in New Orleans on August 30 in the case of the U.S. vs. DuVernay.

On that date an ambitious Assistant U.S. Attorney, a "liberal" federal judge and a middle class jury joined forces to send one Raymond Joseph DuVernay, age 20, to the federal penitentiary for "refusing to report for induction." In reality, DuVernay was guilty of questioning the system which forces black men to fight white men's wars. He was guilty of questioning the value system that refuses to allow Negroes to sit on the all-white draft boards that send their sons to die in Vietnam. While on the witness stand, Mr. DuVernay said, "There's a battle to be fought here in America)." He was also guilty of wanting to support his mother and six brothers and sisters by working for the Poverty Program. In the final analysis, he was found guilty of wanting to preserve life rather than to destroy it.

Everyone who sat in that federal courtroom on August 29 must have had their eyes opened by the revelations brought out by defense attorney Benjamin E. Smith concerning the arbitrary and capricious acts of the draft board. The board's most flagrant violation of due process and human decency was committed on the day Mr. DuVernay's hardship deferment was considered; they met for a total of three hours to discuss, consider, and vote on (individually they claim) 584 cases. That figures out to less than one minute per man--18.5 seconds to be exact; not much time to deliberate the course of a man's future.

Such is the contempt and indifference with which the local white draft board processes the young men whom they are sending to a likely death in Vietnam. If anyone had been wondering what Mr. McNamara meant when he said that the U.S. has another 50,000 draftees "in the pipeline" for next month, he knows now.

The government has not heard the last of Mr. DuVernay. He has filed suit in federal court, charging that the Selective Service Act is being unconstitutionally applied to Negroes in the New Orleans area.

DuVernay has asked that a special three-judge federal court be convened to hear the suit and that it declare the Universal Military Training and Service Act unconstitutional as it is applied to himself and his race.

He also asks that the defendants in the suit be restrained from ordering him to report for induction until such time as qualified Negroes are permitted to sit on the local draft board, and further asks that the present board be restrained from inducting potential Negro draftees out of order. The suit reveals that while Negroes comprise 38% of the total population of New Orleans, none has ever served on the draft board.

The suit charges that the excessively large number of Negroes being called into service and the extremely high percentage of Negro deaths in Vietnam are the result of the pattern and practice of racial discrimination in the operation of the Selective Service System here.

The number of Negroes from New Orleans killed in Vietnam far exceeds the

number of white soldiers killed there. The figure has been placed in excess of 60%, and other sources estimate that it might run as high as 75%

(This article originally appeared in the September 1966 issue of the New Orleans Freedom Press.)

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# SOME THOUGHTS

ON THE DRAFT, by Bob Dewart

The draft presents a series of seemingly endless dilemmas to the young man who is sensitive to the sufferings of others and desires to put his life to some constructive purpose. First, he comes to the realization, from an examination of the present U. S. foreign policy of quashing revolutionary movements in support of the economic status quo, and the dehumanizing process of military training designed to transform human beings into killing machines, that under no condition can he ever accept induction into the armed forces.

At this point, he comes to examine the alternatives to military service which are basically these: (1) Escape from the jurisdiction of the draft by leaving the country; (2) Acceptance of a conscientious objector status within the Selective Service System; (3) Total noncooperation with the system. None of these positions seems entirely satisfactory to me; there are moral dilemmas involved in the adoption of each of them.

## Canadian Refuge

Candad is fast becoming a major haven for expatriated Americans. Access to the country is open without passport restrictions; landed immigrant status leading to citizenship is relatively easy to obtain; and best of all, there is no draft in Canada and extradition on a charge of failure to report for induction in the U.S. is not possible if the person entered Canada before the prescribed date of induction.

The major objection to this course of action, as I see it, is that by fleeing the country, a person pretty much relinquishes his opportunity to criticize American foreign policy in any effective manner. If one's rejection of the draft is based on a humanitarian ideology which stands diametrically opposed to the policies of the U.S. in Vietnam and elsewhere, is there not a responsibility incumbent upon such a person to remain in the country, work for peace, and confront the draft? It seems to me that there is, but this is not to deny the possibility that constructive, creative and meaningful work toward social change could be accomplished in Canada.

## I-A-O

There are two classifications of conscientious objectors recognized by Selective Service. The I-A-O category involves noncombatant military service (usually in the medical corps) in which a man actually becomes a part of the military--the only concession granted him is that he will not be asked to kill anyone himself. Most men consider such status to be unacceptable, as do I, since one is directly involved in the maintenance and support of the war machine.

## I-O

If one receives I-O status, he is required only to do civilian work with an approved agency, which in accordance with Selective Service regulations is not supposed to have any connection with the war effort. At face value, this sounds fully acceptable and compatible with one's anti-war principles. There are, however, debilitating factors lurking just below the surface.

First, there is the elitist nature of the status. The I-O classification is obviously not open to everyone who is opposed to military service, as anyone who has seen the very complicated Selective Service Form 150 knows. A person has to present a well thought-out, soph-

isticated philosophy of pacifism grounded in religious training and belief (for all practical purposes, this is the case) in order to obtain the classification. Thus people with college training are the only ones likely to succeed in their applications; those not able to play the academic game, regardless of the sincerity of their beliefs, have little chance of success. The college graduate, therefore, in accpeting a I-O classification, is taking advantage of the privileged position that he has enjoyed in our society.

Second, we have the matter of the restrictions placed on the C.O. during his two-year period of alternative service. These are numerous, but let one example suffice. Selective Service demands of the civilian employer that he report any work time lost by the C.O. due to arrest or confinement, and upon receipt of such information, the board has the power to nullify all service performed to date and even reconsider a man's classification.

Third, it should be evident that C.O. classification has been written into law, not out of any consideration for those who oppose war, but as a safety valve for the whole system, as a way of co-opting potential opponents and bringing them quietly into the fold.

Last but not least, a I-O is saddled with the problem of putting up with the SS even after completion of his service. He is still required to carry a draft card and to report any change of address. There is also no guarantee that Congress will not pass new legislation requiring additional service from C.O.'s and for that matter, there is no guarantee that only two years will be required of him under the present statutes--his service can be extended indefinitely by the local board.

Perhaps one further consideration should be brought to light and that is the nuisance value of the 150 form. Arlo Tatum of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors in Philadelphia estimates that the processing of a C.O. application through the various levels of appeal and the necessary investigation done by the Justice Department may cost the government as much as $10,000 each. Theoretically, then, great weight could be exerted on the system financially if enough applications were filed. I feel quite certain, however, that the government would simply discontinue C.O. status long before this could ever happen.

## Non-Cooperation

At last we arrive at the point of no return---non-cooperation. But even though I see this position as the most ideologically pure of the possible choices, it is not without its drawbacks.

The major advantage of non-cooperation, if reached through mature reflection and real conviction, is that it frees the individual from the fetters with which the system had formerly shackled him. When he reaches the stage where he no longer fears the system, there is really very little the system can do to him. True, they can imprison his body, but they can no longer coerce, intimidate, and frustrate him. He is indeed more free in my opinion than many a college student fearfully poring over a Selective Service student qualifying exam, or a C.O. doing alternative service as a hospital orderly who is afraid to say boo about the war, or a person applying to his board for exemption, who is always watching the mails intently, knowing that he must answer all correspondence from his board within ten days, or risk forfeiting his chance to get his C.O.

## The Moral Imperative

The other side of the coin consists of the argument in favor of staying out of prison because of the moral imperative to work for an end to the war. A person concerned about the sufferings of others must feel a pressing need to work for an end to the American war of agression in Vietnam. This can be a very persuasive point, although it is somewhat muted by the general failure of the peace movement to generate any large scale opposition to the war so far.

### Resolving the Dilemma

In the final analysis, I think the question boils down to this: does staying out of jail to participate in peace activities compensate for the compromise of conscience required to do this?

I tend to believe not. As long as a person is cooperating with Selective Service, he is not free within himself. A non-cooperator may be behind bars, but he is at peace with himself and his conscience. There is no reason for his two years (or whatever) in prison to be uneventful. He will have ample opportunity to confront people with his beliefs and to put them to practice--life goes on in Chillicothe. And when he gets out he will not be in the compromised, weak-kneed position of the cooperator--he will really be free to carry on the struggle for a world without war.

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# WHAT'S HAPPNIN'?

Plans for the coming year are open. Part of this openness is a conscious effort to remain flexible enough to meet needs when they arise, and part is forced on the organization by uncertainty about things like money and staff availability.

### Conferences

There are two conferences planned for the fall. One is a conference on the university and its reformation planned for the Carolinas around Thanksgiving. It is hoped that SSOC and the Southern Project of NSA will be able to co-sponsor this conference. The second is a conference on migrant farm labor to be held in late October or early November in Florida. This conference will coincide with a drive by organized labor to organize farm workers in that state. Following the conference a SSOC traveller will remain in the state to help relate students to the drive and provide general servicing. Plans are also being made for another Christmas workshop on the South to be held at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington. Some thought is being given to another students and labor conference for the winter to be held in Texas, perhaps.

### Travellers

SSOC will have regional travellers in Virginia, Tennessee, and Florida this fall. Other staff members will be doing some general campus travelling, and travelling to campuses in response to specific needs.

### Publications

Because of its continued expansion in scope and size, the New South Student will have a full-time editor this year. The format of the paper will be basically the same, but coverage will be expanded. The work-list mailing will continue and will be sent to SSOC members. Finally the office will continue to reprint and publish articles and working papers on various topics.

### Community Projects

SSOC will continue to support the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee's project in southside Virginia and the North Nashville Project. The latter has been working in two black areas of the city, and is also engaged in power structure research. Another staff member has begun a project in Atlanta working with members of the university and middle-class community.

### Speakers

The SSOC office will begin a speaker program this fall. Information on speakers who are willing and/or eager to do speaking around the South will be compiled and sent to campus groups. In addition several speaker tours are planned for the spring.

### Membership and Chapter Servicing

As SSOC chapters are formed and mem-

bership increases, SSOC will be searching for effective ways to service and coordinate the activities of active students. Planned are an expanded literature distribution program, the speaker program, and available staff to assist chapters with their own programs.

### Folk Tour

Another folk tour is planned for this year. The tour will cover more schools and earlier notice will be given so that chapters will be able to make more adequate arrangements. A workshop is planned for this fall to make plans for the tour.

### SSOC Camp

SSOC has a five-year lease on a camp in Buckeye Cove, North Carolina. The camp can be used for weekend meetings and seminars in good weather, and is available for general use by SSOC chapters and members. Plans are being made for a summer-long seminar or institute to be held at the camp.

We are anxious to hear your ideas on the projected programs for the coming year as well as any other suggestions you may have. The degree of success of any program is wholly dependent on your participation and critical evaluation.

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# SOUTHERN PROJECT

REACTIVATED BY NSA

by Bill Roberts, Director

The Southern Student Human Relations Project was founded in 1960 by the United States National Student Association, for the purpose of fostering better racial relations in southern states. In 1966 there is an even greater need for this kind of work, but the Project has begun to take the southern educational problems as a focal point for work. The Project has defined human relations to include anything which affects the life of a southern student. Whether the problem is discrimination on campus, academic freedom, course and curricula evaluation, or student government, the Project will make an effort to assist students to work toward a solution.

Although the Project maintains this flexibility, it also has specific programs. During the year it will sponsor or co-sponsor conferences designed to involve and inform students. It also publishes two series of booklets, which should be of interest to students. One of these is the Student Involvement Series. The SIS is a how-to-do-it series, dealing with forming and sustaining student human relations and similar groups, effective student government, etc. The other is the General Information Series, designed to investigate and evaluate specific issues. The first GIS will deal with BLACK POWER. Both of these series are available either free or at a nominal cost.

In short the Southern Project aims to be a service to the southern student. For further information or assistance write:

Southern Student Human Relations Project
Room 701-41 Exchange Place S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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"Troublemakers", a new film about community organization in a Newark, New Jersey ghetto, is now available from the Newark Community Union Project. The film is recommended for use by community organizing groups, civil rights groups, anti-poverty groups, church groups, and organizer's training sessions. From the program notes of the fourth annual Film Festival comes this high praise: "'Troublemakers' is perhaps the best film of the New American Left, a hard hitting example of a new kind of political film, avoiding both liberal cliches and propaganda." For information on purchase or rental of the film contact NCUP Films; c/o Mrs. Terry Jefferson; 444 Clinton Ave., Newark, N.J. (16mm, 54 min.)

# ORGANIZING MIGRANTS

by Gene Guerrero

Last April SSOC sponsored a "Students and Labor" Conference in North Carolina. The conference brought together students and forward-looking labor representatives to discuss the history and present state of the labor movement, how the labor movement will be working for change in the South, and roles students can play in labor organizing situations.

The general concensus of those attending the conference was that there should be some program which would enable students to work with labor organizers over the summer.

From this came a program in which SSOC recruited seven students to work in the preliminary stages of a drive, conducted by the Industrial Union Department (IUD) of the AFL-CIO, to organize migrant farm workers in Florida.

## The Plight of Migrant Workers

Migrants are caught in a combination of very low pay, underemployment, and unemployment. In 1963 a migrant's average earnings were $868. In 1961 total yearly earnings for migrant families where there were three or more workers averaged $1,432.

Migrants are excluded from most of the nation's social legislation, and there are no federal guarantees of their right to collective bargaining.

## Working Conditions

Florida's 100,000 or so migrants stay on the move constantly, working from one harvest to the next. From late spring until winter they are scattered throughout the eastern and northern states. During the winter months many move about within Florida.

Most work as part of a crew headed by a crew leader or contractor. Such crews range from 15 to 200 persons. The crew leader contracts with the farmer to provide pickers; recruits and transports them to the field; and sometimes supervises field work.

Normally the farmer pays a piece-rate to the crew leader, who then pays the pickers, taking a cut to cover his expenses and provide his profit. Some crew leaders exploit the workers more than the farmers do. Others treat their crews pretty fairly because they want dependable crews. Finally, there are crew leaders who take more than a self-interest in their crews and are willing to work for real change on the farms.

## Beginnings of Unionization

The current Florida union drive began last spring with the formation of an independent association of crew leaders to work for higher piece-rates during the summer season. The association turned to the labor movement for help, and the IUD began work around the middle of June.

The students, four union representatives, and four farm workers worked throughout the summer traveling to migrant camps along the east coast and around the Great Lakes. They talked to wrokers about the union and got names and addresses of those interested to serve as a basis for meetings to be held in Florida this winter.

Almost all workers were found to be dissatisfied, angry, and very interested in building a union. In several places there was either talk of strikes or small independent strikes themselves.

## Problems Confronting a Migrant Union

Building a union in Florida will not be easy because of the mobility of the workers. Apparently about the longest stable picking in one spot in Florida is about three months.

The first concentrated effort will be in South Dade County just below Miami. Here the crop is tomatoes and picking lasts from November to about January.

The mobility means that organizing will have to be done on a "crisis" basis with little time for slow building of an organization.

### Contest With Delano

This is in contrast to the Grape Strike led by Caesar Chavez in Delano, California where most workers lived year round. This meant more time for organizing and it also meant a different situation with the contractors.

In Delano it was possible to by-pass the contractors by working only with the pickers. In Florida most agree that the contractors should be included.

### Current Activity

Right now, work is going on in the Tampa area and in South Florida. No one really knows how it will go. It is expected that resistance from the farmers will be strong and that there will be strikes.

SSOC will continue to work with the drive, helping students relate to the organizing. There are many ways Florida students can help presently, and later on, larger numbers may be called on to help in such things as boycotts. Students who are interested in helping should write to the SSOC office.

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# NEXT MONTH

The major reason that SSOC decided to have a regular editor for the New South Student this year was to provide the newsletter with increased regularity of publication and coherence of content.

### Deadline

The one thing (which has never been rigidly observed in the past) which is an absolute necessity for getting the newsletter on an operative schedule is a hard and fast deadline.

Starting with the November issue, an absolute deadline on articles submitted for publication will be observed. That deadline for the next issue will be November 10.

### Thematic Issues

One benefit of increased planning will be (hopefully) that we will be able to publish future issues--say by December--that have a central theme to the contents. Not that we intend such issues to be exclusive of other important happenings, but we feel that three or four articles of related subject matter would serve to provoke serious thought of the topic.

Possible themes to be used in future issues are: East Asia; university reform; Latin America; white community organizing; violence vs. nonviolence; economics, poverty, and labor; the draft; Utopias; the peace movement; new trends in the civil rights movement; and Africa.

People interested in writing on particular aspects of these subjects or in suggesting others should write to the SSOC house.

### You Get What You Pay For

The November issue of the New South Student will be going out to members and subscribers only. With such great things planned for the future, you will want to be with us, we're sure.

# LITERATURE

Southern Student Organizing Committee
P.O. Box 6403 Nashville, Tennessee 37212

## FOREIGN RELATIONS AND VIETNAM

____ America Needs an Agonizing Reappraisal, by Arnold Toynbee - 10¢
____ Churches and the War, by Lee Webb - 10¢
____ Civil Liberties and Vietnam Protest, ACLU - 5¢
____ Confrontation (Magazine of the Nashville Committee for Alternatives to War In Vietnam), Vol. 1 - 15¢; Vols. 2 and 3 - 20¢
____ Counter Insurgency and the New Foreign Relations, by R. Hagan - 10¢
____ A Green Beret Blasts the War, Don Duncan - 25¢
____ Guide to Conscientious Objection, SDS - 10¢
____ Let Us Shape the Future, by Carl Oglesby - 10¢
____ Memorandum of Law of Lawyers' Committee on American Policy - 10¢
____ Nearing the Brink in Vietnam, by Walter Lippman - 5¢
____ The Roots of the Dominican Crisis, by Theodore Draper - 10¢
____ Statement of the Venerable Nhat Hanh, Inter-University Committee for Debate on Vietnam - 10¢
____ Toward Peace in Vietnam, by David Kotelchuck - 10¢
____ United States in Vietnam, by George Kahin and John Lewis - 10¢
____ The Unspeakable War, ed. by Pomerantz and Kaplan - 50¢
____ Vietnam - Any Way Out? by Christopher Z. Hobson - 10¢
____ Vietnam and Civil Rights, Two Papers, by Howard Zinn and Bob Moses - 10¢
____ Vietnam: The Crucial Issue, Primeau, Richards and Thomas - 10¢
____ Vietnam, History, Documents and Opinions, by Gettleman - 75¢ (95¢ on the Stand
____ Vietnam, A New Phase Opens, from Monthly Review - 50¢
____ Vietnam Reader, by Raskin and Fall - $1.95 ($2.45 on the stand)
____ Vietnamese and American Freedom, by Martin Nicolaus - 10¢
____ Viet Report, (Nos. 2, 3, and 4 available in large quantity) - 10¢
____ Web of Power - American Involvement in South Africa - 10¢
____ What Are We Tied to in Vietnam? Mass. Political Action for Peace - 10¢
____ What to Negotiate in Vietnam, by Phillip Devilers - 10¢

## UNIVERSITY REFORM

____ Academic Freedom of Students, AAUP - 10¢
____ Other assorted information from the AAUP - 10¢
____ Conversion, Action, and Social Solidarity, by Dick Reavis - 10¢
____ Dropouts: A Political Problem, by S. M. Miller - 10¢
____ The Free University Movement, by Paul Lauter - 10¢
____ Freedom and the University, by Steve Weissman - 10¢
____ The Future of Negro Colleges, by Richard Robbins - 10¢
____ High School Reform, SDS - 10¢
____ Peace in the College Curriculum, A Resource Kit, SDS - 10¢
____ New Voices on Campus, SDS - 10¢
____ Student Bill of Rights, University of Chicago - 5¢
____ Student Social Action, by Tom Hayden - 10¢
____ Token Desegregation and Beyond, by J. Kenneth Morland - 50¢

POVERTY AND ECONOMICS

____ America in the New Era, SDS - 10¢
____ Our Crisis Economy, Ray Brown - 10¢
____ Cybernation and Human Rights, by Robert Theobald - 10¢
____ Cybernation--Christmas or Crisis, by Dale Caldwell - 10¢
____ Failure of Federal Programs in the Black Belt, by J. V. Henry - 10¢
____ Mississippi's Economics, by Mike Bruland - 10¢
____ The Los Angeles Rebellion of 1965, Perdew - 10¢
____ The Politics of Poverty, by Michael Harrington - 30¢
____ Poverty, OEO - 10¢
____ Root Causes of Poverty, Student Involvement Series - 10¢
____ The South as an Underdeveloped Country, by Robb Burlage - 10¢
____ This is War? (Critique of the Poverty Program) by Robb Burlage - 10¢
____ Triple Revolution, Ad Hoc Committee - 10¢
____ Watts Manifesto and the McCone Report - 10¢

CIVIL RIGHTS

____ Black Power - Statement of the National Committee of Negro Churchmen - 5¢
____ Black Power, by Landy and Capper - 10¢
____ Civil Rights Act of 1964 - 10¢
____ Civil Rights Under Federal Programs - 10¢
____ Condition of the Mississippi Negro, Freedom Information Service - 10¢
____ Encounter With the Future, by Pat Watters - 35¢
____ Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights - 10¢
____ Freedom School Notes, Stembridge and Carmichael - 10¢
____ General Condition of the Alabama Negro, SNCC - 25¢
____ Highlander and Education of SNCC and COFO, Highlander Report - 10¢
____ Leadership Conference on Civil Rights - Report of Voting Rights Act of 1965, 10¢
____ Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (Assorted Information) - 10¢
____ The New South - Quarterly of the Southern Regional Council - $1.10
____ Oasis in Birmingham, by Floria Bishop - 10¢
____ Poor People's Corporation (Assorted Information) - 10¢
____ Segregated Housing, Student Involvement Series - 10¢
____ Southern Freedom Movement in Perspective, by Anne Braden - 50¢
____ Voting Rights Act of 1965 - 10¢

COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

____ Care and Feeding of Power Structures, by Jack Minnis - 10¢
____ Community Organizing: The Vine City Report, by Ray Payne - 10¢
____ Finding and Making of Leaders, von Hoffman - 10¢
____ Guide: Education and Action Program, Student Involvement Series - 10¢
____ Introduction to Tutoring, NSA - 10¢
____ Of, By, and For the Poor, Andrew Kopkind - 10¢
____ Organizing Poor Whites, by Kim Moody - 10¢
____ Poor Whites and the Movement, A Working Paper, by Emmie Schrader - 10¢
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____ SSOC Constitution
____ Students and Labor Conference (SSOC Conference Report)
____ When Southerners Unite to Save Their Region, by Clark Woodroe

# WE PROMISE...

We promise to be more efficient than in the past in filling orders for literature. We now have an office-manager, Nan Grogan, who opens the mail every day just as soon as it comes in. She assures us that all correspondence will receive prompt attention, especially that for literature with check enclosed.

We further promise to provide for your perusal in the near future an annotated literature list, so that you will have some idea of what we have available. Merry Kassoy is presently busily engaged in the task and should have at least part of our great storehouse of goodies catalogued and ready to go next month.

# THE G.T.U.

OR SSOC'S ANSWER TO THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD

by Uncle Ed Hamlett

People ask us just what is the significance of the GREAT TIGHTENIN' UP, or the GTU, as we call it. "Does it have to do with the fact that SSOC is broke, or with the present tight money situation in the country?" they ask. Well, that's partly it. "Is this a response to Black Power? Are y'all purging Yankees?" No, that's not it exactly. "Then does it have to do with a strengthened commitment or an attempt to define yourselves and your goals?" Yes, that's not far off. But unfortunately, the GTU, though perhaps of lesser significance, is similar to democracy, integration, and Black Power, in that it means different things to different people.

Though we realize that no matter how clear we make it, the Establishment and its mass media will give their own interpretations to the public with the inevitable distortions--"SSOC Clutches" or "SSOC Purges Blacks" (or Yankees or Advocates of Nonviolence) or "Castro Cuts Off Contributions to SSOC." But now that we've revealed ourselves, perhaps we should try to make the GTU as clear as we can at the outset.

## New Memberships

Some of you got a mailing from SSOC which told of recent developments in the organization. This represents the climax of a debate that has gone on for quite some time. Many of us said that "southern students are too leery of joining a progressive group; they're concerned about membership lists falling into the wrong hands; they're afraid of pressures from parents, classmates, administrators, and racist newspapers." We believe that these fears have eased or loosened.

In addition, SSOC was nearly everything to everybody--White SNCC, Southern SDS, those moderate white kids and bourgeois blacks, the New South Red Guard (would you believe?!), and lord knows what else. While it's good to keep the opposition guessing, things can get sticky when you don't know what you are yourself. Thus, our feeling is that a clearly defined constituency will be able to set policy democratically; the staff will know what the constituency expects from it; and people who make the commitment of joining with us will feel responsible for helping to guide the work. We think that these 'freer' people are ready to 'tighten up.'

## Southern Chauvinism

Secondly, and implicit in this development, is the feeling that staff has that southerners--students in this case-have got to begin to support the work of SSOC, if it is important to them that this work continue. Northerners are beginning to turn more and more to the work that so desperately needs to be done up there. We long for the day when y'all will say, "Please, we'd rather do it ourselves," and we hope that this day comes before our northern supporters, to whom we are greatly indebted, tighten up completely. Our dues are $5.00 per year--which is about one week's beer and cigarettes, or the tithe of $50, or the price of a pint of blood. So take your pick--Fast, Tithe, or Bleed for Freedom.

## The Newsletter

With regard to the New South Student, many of you were put on the mailing list 'cause you smiled at us pleasantly or said hello at a meeting. You stayed on even when you didn't send us your zip code or the next year's forwarding address. For all we know, you might be dead, working for the Chase Manhattan Bank, or under the thumb of the Department of Defense; or something else equally bad might have happened to you. So for you, if you don't want to join, but want to continue to receive the New South Student, a truly unique publication, the GTU means that you must send

us $3.00, which is the price, you guessed it, of 3/5's of a pint of blood.

## Staff Ramifications

And the GTU has meaning for the staff also. It means that we have a full-time editor for the New South Student, who hollers at us when we don't meet deadlines for articles, and who plans issues in advance, so that those of you who wish to write on a particular topic can know more than a week in advance when your article is due. It also insures that discussion of important topics can be solicited, and responses requested. The guy who hollers and plans is BOB DEWART, a recent graduate of U. Va. Furthermore, it means that NAN GROGAN has come to us from the Virginia Students; Civil Rights Committee to keep the letters flowing out to y'all, and to holler at us when we don't tighten up on financial matters (she's practically a CPA). Additionally, there's JODY PALMOUR who is working with middle class white adults and with students in Atlanta; and ole GENE GUERRERO is continuing to develop programs whereby students and labor people can cooperate. RONDA STILLEY is researching in Nashville and continuing to work with both SSOC and the North Nashville Project. DAVE NOLAN is traveling in Virginia; and MERRY KASSOY is co-oping with us from Antioch College this fall. Merry will be helping to shape up the literature program, doing some art work for the NSS, and trying to bear with us crazy southerners. JANET DEWART will be joining us in a few days to pick about four of the remaining sixteen jobs that need to be done. Finally almost ancient UNCLE ED HAMLETT will be visiting some of you from time to time, while he tries to understand all this Great Tightenin' Up stuff, which the younger generation has fostered. Won't y'all Tighten Up with us?

## Join Now

If you haven't already joined, how about gettin' on the band wagon? Just fill out the form below and send it to us in Nashville.

* * * *

☐ I would like to join SSOC ($5 a year, includes newsletter)

☐ I would like to subscribe to the New South Student ($3 per year)

☐ I would like to pledge _____ per _____ to support SSOC.

☐ I would like more information about SSOC

Name _____

School _____ Year _____

Home Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

School Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

THE SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

1703 Portland Ave. Nashville, Tennessee 37212 Box 6403 Phone (615) 291-3537

# A FINAL PLEA FOR UNITY

If anyone has any doubts in his mind as to whether he should join SSOC at this stage, we offer you our statement of faith in the possibility of a new South which is to be found on the back of our spanking new membership card.

"SSOC believes that the South has special problems which create difficulties--and opportunities--for a southern movement working toward the creation of a new and truly democratic South. SSOC believes that each individual Southerner must be guaranteed the right to participate in the formulation of the social, economic, and political decisions which directly affect his life. SSOC further believes that the South possesses valuable traditions, in both black and white cultures, which will enable Southerners to make a unique contribution to a free and democratic America."

If these inspiring words are not motivation enough for you to write to us, perhaps the following message will be. Beginning in the very near future (like next month) our mailing list for the New South Student will be cut to members and subscribers. How about them apples?

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REPORT OF THE "INSURGENT EDITOR'S CONFERENCE"

December 2,3, & 4, 1966

Sponsored by
Southern Student Human Relation Project
701-41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

~~In cooperation with~~
Southern Student Organizing Committee
P.O. Box 6403
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

The report has two purposes:

1. To give the participants a written statement of what happened
2. To give those who were not able to participate some of the benefits of the discussions.

Presented Compliments of
Southern Student Human Relations Project

Report of "INSURGENT NEWSPAPER EDITOR'S CONFERENCE"
December 2, 3, & 4, 1966

The participants drifted in slowly Friday Night and a general discussion about the insurgent press developed.

The Saturday morning session began with a statement by Mr. George Ware, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, on the purpose of the conference:

1. To encourage the insurgent press on campuses where it is needed and does not exist;

2. To provide an opportunity for an exchange of ideas among students who publish insurgent papers;

3. To discuss the problems of operating on a shoestring budget.

Mr. Ware raised some significant questions about the audiences to which the insurgent press ought to try to speak, suggesting that a paper put out by campus activist for campus activist might not be worth the effort. Do student activist want merely to vindicate their own morality by protesting or do they want to bring change? If radicals want to bring significant change, then the radical press might see its task as one of organizing the non-activist, in this case, it would be necessary to realize that the audience is not necessarily well informed and is not familiar with the general tenets and principles of radicalism. On the other hand, we often underestimate the potential of the campus in general. He also noted that we have "all kinds of patience" with the poor and the illiterate, but we give up on our peers if they do not immediately understand. We ought to be willing to be responsive to the needs of student groups of which we may not entirely approve, ie. football teams, fraternities, etc., in order to do some practical politicing.

After a short discussion of Mr. Ware's ideas, the group adjourned to the SNCC office where Mr. Wilson Brown demonstrated a number of printing machines as well as many technical processes. We were informed that, given enough notice, SNCC might be able to do printing jobs which were too complicated to be accomplished by local groups.

The Saturday afternoon session began with a brief discussion of technical processes somewhat more within the reach of the resourses of most campuses. Headlining and creative use of blank space were suggested as attention drawers. Mr. Bob Dewart(SSOC) explained how to adjust margins for a mimeograph process. Generally, those with some experience felt that people generally underestimate what can be done with mimeographing.

A debate over the merits of selling the papers versus those of giving them away remained unresolved. It was noted that although more people would probably take the paper if it were given away, it does not follow that more people would read it, and that the paper would seem a little less like a propaganda sheet if it bore a price. Further discussion yielded no suggestions of financial aid, although the Southern Project noted that it might be able to contribute small amounts of paper to a desperate situation and SSOC noted that they might be able to grant small amounts of "seed money."

Discussion continued with an inquiry into possible means of making the paper palatable to the campus as a whole(or at least some segment of it other than the dedicated revolutionaries.) Gossip was somewhat facetiously suggested as a possible bait. Other possiblities mentioned included articles from faculty members, art criticism, letters to the editor(especially those which constitute a debate two persons holding opposing viewpoints) and teacher evaluations. Some emphasis on campus issues was urged, and the following were mentioned as issues which might exist on almost any American campus:

1. The university's non-academic records policy

2. The availability of grades to draft boards

3. The disposal of funds solicited in a campus charity drive

4. The membership of the board of trustees

5. The investment of university endowment funds

6. The condition of housing, land, etc. owned by the university (slum lordship) and the common process of arranging to have land condemned so that the university may expand.

In discussing means of establishing contact among "rebel editors" at various campuses, we decided that multiple copies(12) of each insurgent paper produced should be sent to the Southern Project office and that that office would send these out to the various participating campuses. It was suggested that editors might want to receive the UCM South Africa Committee newsletter and the American Friends Service Committee mailings on National Legislation.

Miss Joan Buffington and Mr. Bob Dewart reported on a conference called by the UCM in Ann Arbor to discuss the possibilities of a "left student press service" and the possibility for a unified publication from the "new left", possibly a weekly newspaper.

Saturday evening's session to put out a newsletter degenerated; a good time was had by all.

Compiled from the notes of
Mrs. Jan Kernodle

Additional comments:
Those who edit a "rebel newsletter" and desire to participate in the exchange program please send twelve(12) copies of your paper to:

Southern Project, U.S.N.S.A.
701-41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The Southern Project is compiling a Student Involvement Series on "How to start and operate an Insurgent Newsletter." The projected date of completion is January 10, 1966.

Agency S.S.O.C

# the BLACK POWER controversy

The New South Student

Volume 111 Number 7 December, 1966 35c

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION p. 2

LOWNDES COUNTY STORY
- CAGING THE PANTHER, by Janet Dewart p. 3
- NO CLOUDS IN THE SKY, by Gwendolyn Patton p. 4
- LET THE FACTS SPEAK p. 6

MAN FROM MISSISSIPPI, a poem by Karen Griner p. 7

MEDITATIONS OF A WHITE SOUTHERNER, by Lon Clay Hill p. 8

WOKE UP THIS MORNING WITH MY MIND SET ON FREEDOM, a poem by John Beecher p. 11

NORTH NASHVILLE PROJECT: THE TRANSITION, by Fred Brooks p. 12

FROM POWER AND RACISM, by Stokely Carmichael p. 13

LITTERATURE NOIRE: A REVIEW p. 16

BLACK POWER AND WHITE ORGANIZING, by Anne Braden p. 17

WHAT'S HAPPENIN' p. 21

THE TUSKEGEE INCIDENT, an eyewitness report by Ernest Stephens p. 22

GHANDIAN TOUR p. 22

THEOBALD ADDRESS SSOC MEMBERSHIP CONFERENCE p. 23

LIT LIST ADDITIONS p. 24

BULLETINS p. 25

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SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

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The December, 1966 New South Student marks the first conscious attempt to present to our readers a thematic issue, involving several articles which explore one subject.

We decided that this type of presentation might be more comprehensive than one or two scattered articles, and would provide a forum to open more serious thought about vital contemporary issues.

The Black Power controversy has stirred all segments of American life. Movement people have had to re-evaluate their roles as agents of social change.

Anger over the slogan has clouded the fundamental issues behind it. It is in hopes of sharpening our anger-fogged focus that we present the several articles related to the Black Power controversy.

And as a Black American, I make no apology for the decidedly pro-Black tone.

# LOWNDES COUNTY STORY

CAGING THE PANTHER
NO CLOUDS IN THE SKY
LET THE FACTS SPEAK

## CAGING THE PANTHER

by Janet Dewart

A favorite game of politicians has consisted of pretending not to comprehend the November 8th elections in Alabama and Mississippi that saw black after black defeated in heavily black districts. Most political observers should know exactly what happened. These elections just gave further proof that the white power structure refuses to passively relinquish its stolen goods to the poor and powerless. "Democracy" can be seen as a euphemism for the manipulation by the few for the political, economic and social enslavement of the many.

For those people who honestly question what happened, this article tries to provide some valid reasons for the disappointing results.

### The Intimidation

Besides the usual political maneuvering, a more subtle form of intimidation claimed its share of victims. For example, the Calhoun-Letohatchie precinct in Lowndes County had four federal watchers. Out of a total of eight county officials for two voting booths, three were black, while the white minority had a total of five. The distribution for county officials was: one black and three white at one booth; and two black, nine white at another. Voters were allowed to receive aid in the booth from an assistant. If a friend had not accompanied the voter, he was required to have two assistants, one local and one federal. The odds were obviously stacked so that many blacks, had to vote in the presence of whites, a serious situation when one remembers the continuous evictions and harrassment.

### An Incident

And one must question the fact that at one polling station, the supply of certificates for assistance was exhausted less than two hours after the polls opened. Was this merely the result of negligence? There is reason to doubt that very much. It should have been obvious that many folks might be wary of voting for the first time and would seek all aid available. These certificates had to be completed in order for votes to be cast. When these certificates mysteriously ran out, some kind white person offered to go to the courthouse and get a new supply. This person was gone for about an hour while black working folks stood around waiting. Some people had to return to work and never did have an opportunity to vote. Whether this incident was intentional or not, the reality is that people were prevented from voting.

Other factors which contributed to the defeat of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization are treated in the following article by Gwen Patton, which hints at the corrupt nature of white power. If you understand this corruption, you may understand that one need for black power is to make white power more human.

* * * * * * *

# NO CLOUDS IN THE SKY

A DIALOGUE

by Gwendolyn Patton

The polls opened at 8 am, but black folks were there at 7 to make sure that they cast their ballots for those candidates who hopefully may take them out of their "fundamental trick bag". Lowndes County--Black Power--later to be corrupted by white power. Black folks were anxious and frightened.

"Remember, we are the second lever." "'Pull the Black Panther lever and go on home'".

"Ask the black sisters to hope you in the booth."

So the conversations went on like this for the greater part of the morning.

"Us folks sho' are coming out. Folks want to vote."

"I'm seventy-five and I feel like I've been born again".

"De Lawd sho' want us to vote cause dere ain't a cloud in the sky."

The lady was right. . . there was not a cloud in the sky. When it looked as though it would rain that lucky ole sun beamed relentlessly upon the heads of first-class citizens.

Black folks walked, rode in trucks and cars to the polls. All of them trying to remember the instructions given them the night before at the mass meeting. Some of the new citizens had to be carried because they couldn't walk; others had to be led because they couldn't see. Many were around because they had not registered and wanted so desparately to be citizens, to be a man like their neighbors, to be a part of the "American Dream".

Brenton, a predominantly black precinct, was running smoothly. No trouble...not a cloud in the sky. It was a family reunion, a town's meeting. Folks were "hoping" one another, and feeling for the first time in their lives "American".

"There's trouble in Sandy Ridge".

The conversations changed as the morning progressed. Trouble seemed to be everywhere, and even though there were no clouds in the sky, white lightening was striking everywhere and on every black man.

"I saw Jim Clark."

"White folks ridin' round with guns."

"My boss evicted me because I wanted to vote."

"Black boy, don't come back to Lowndesboro 'cause we is gonna git ya."

"Dese white foks sho' got something up 'cause dey is too quiet."

"Why is the Alabama troopers here?"

"White folks lined across the street from the city hall; dey waitin' fo' somethin'".

"Look at the nazi sign above the courthouse."

"I'm scared!!!"

"Man, you got your shit?"

"Naw, there ain't a cloud in the sky."

The man is right, but there were clouds, god-fearing, gloomy, death-like clouds.

over every black man in Lowndes County. If they win white folks will kill them; if they lose the klan will take license to kill the uppity niggers, the bad niggers. There wasn't a cloud in the sky.

Is Lowndes County, this creation by black people, destroyed by white power another episode in the book entitled, Human Dignity? There seem to be clouds everywhere.

The Black Panther candidates lost. WHY? The results were:

Black Panther Candidates

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sheriff | Sidney Logan | 1,426 |
| Coroner | Emory Ross | 1,391 |
| Tax Assessor | Alice Moore | 1,557 |
| Tax Collector | Frank Miles | 1,556 |
| Bd. of Educ. | Robert Logan | 1,620 |
| | John Hinson | 1,620 |
| | Willie Strickland | 1,552 |

Democratic Candidates

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sheriff | Frank Tyals | 1,943 |
| Coroner | Jack Golson | 1,901 |
| Tax Assessor | Charlie Sullivan | 2,234 |
| Tax Collector | Iva Sulivan | 2,227 |
| Bd. of Educ. | David Lyons | 1,894 |
| | Tommie Coleman | 1,933 |
| | C. B. Haigler | 2,139 |

How can they lose? How can our black candidates lose in a county of 81.4% black? How did Mr. Logan get 164 votes in this precinct and Mrs. Moore only got 64 votes in the same precinct? Don't cry. HOW DID WE LOSE?

"My voting machine did not make "x", but they said I voted anyway."

"Its some folks from Tuscaloosa voting in our county, white folks."

"Miss Ann voted from Montgomery. She lives in Montgomery, but she votes in Lowndes County."

"Miss Ann voted for her dead husband."

"Will you hope me cause ain't nothing but white folks in dere?"

"I is too scared to 'challenge' white folks; I knows dey cheating."

"I ax the federal watcher to let the Negro woman hope me, but he pointed to the white official."

"My boss told me to pull the first lever down and go home."

"Man, we is the second lever."

"Mr. Charlie voted twenty times cause he voted fo' all the black folks on his plantation."

"Man, white folks are stealing the election. You got your shit."

"Naw, there ain't a cloud in the sky."

Lowndes County is a foreign country, full of black people, controlled by white people from Johnson on down. Did Johnson and his boys in the Democratic Party have a meeting to make certain that black people don't win the election? Is Lowndes County the example to show niggers that they better stay in their "places"? Johnson, is that what you are trying to articulate? Is that what you call democracy?

There were not reporters like there were at Wallace's headquarters. Was it because the white folks had conspired together and did not want reporters to relate to the public their cheating, their stealing of the elections?....Is the political struggle of black people anything in this country? It is thundering now. There is no place to go, no homes, no farms, no lands. . . NO CLOUDS IN THE SKY.

So it was. A beautiful day in Lowndes County, Alabama. God controlled the skies, but the white man determined the clouds, the lightening, the thundering.. ....and the victims. Who controls the silver lining?

"Man, you got your shit?"

"Naw, ain't no clouds in the sky."

Election day was over, and night began to fall. There were no clouds in the sky, but the white man's clouds began to thicken as the night grew darker.

"A black man got whipped by a white cop for challenging. He had to go to the hospital out of town."

People gathered at the Lowndes County Freedom Organization Headquarters to discuss protection for the women, for the children, and especially for the candidates.

"Man, you got your shit?"

"YEAH! There seems to be white clouds everywhere groping for black men in the dark. We have to stop that to make certain that there "ain't a cloud in the sky."

"Man, we better go home and get our shit together because we have to control that silver lining."

Author's note: For those who are concerned about what happened in Lowndes County, here it is in the language of the people, the black people of Lowndes County.

---

# LET THE FACTS DECIDE

This November 29th press release by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee forms the third part in this Lowndes County Story. It tells more of the harrassment of those seeking black power through the ballot, and the racism of those who seek to deny the blacks their rights. It also shows the determination of a unified group whose thirst for freedom can only be quenched by its acquisition.

As a follow-up to the November 8th elections in that state (Alabama), and as a result of black people voting in those elections for the first time in their lives, the white landowners are retaliating by evicting large masses of black farm workers from their land.

In Greene County, the Greene County Freedom Organization reports that there have been a series of evictions, resulting in 70 families being evicted from the land which has been their only home for years. Some families have been given a deadline for moving on December 3rd and others on January 1st. Meetings and discussions are currently underway among black people there to decide on necessary steps and remedies to deal with this problem.

In Lowndes County, several families have already been evicted from their homes and are now living in tents. Many more families expect eviction notices after the picking season is over. The Lowndes County Christian Movement in conjunction with the Lowndes County Freedom Party is now in the process of purchasing land and building houses for these people. The movement so far has 2 houses, has bought land for 2 families, and has begun construction on 2 houses which they hope to have finished within this week.

Besides the evictions, there have been brutal attacks by Lowndes County whites on black people who participated in the November 8th elections, one of the worst cases being the beating of Andrew Jones who was hospitalized with a skull fracture for 2 days in Selma. The Lowndes County Freedom Party is moving in the direction where they can gain complete control over the county in the next 2 years, and are also moving to an economic position where they will be able to take care of people who work in the movement there. Present plans include raising money to buy enough land for the dispossessed and starting a co-op which they hope will be operating in the near future.

## MAN FROM MISSISSIPPI

I'm a man from Mississippi;
I'm a good God fearin' man.
Go to church 'most ev'ry Sunday
And I'm a member of the Klan.

REFRAIN:
Yea, forever segregation
Nay, and never integration.
There's a nigger, pull the trigger!
Shoot that black man in the back.

For my work I dig deep ditches.
Be you black or be you jew,
Be you doctor or a lawyer
I'm a better man than you.

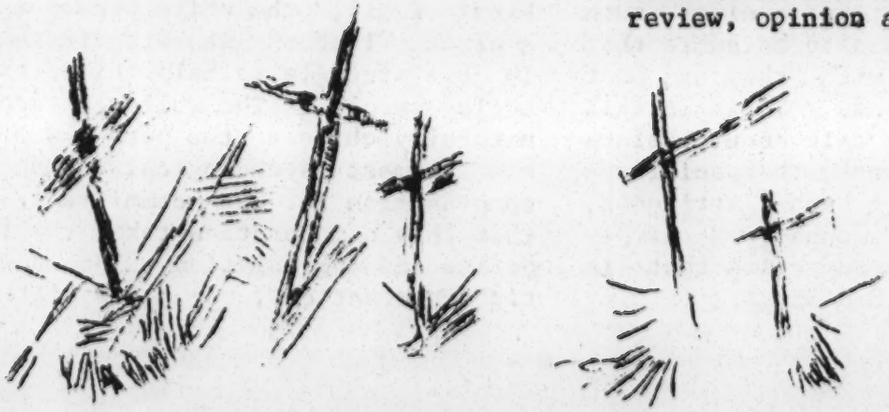
I kill communists and niggers;
Yes, I kill and wound and fight.
Oh, I only finished third grade
But I'm better 'cause I'm white.

I burn crosses and bomb churches
And I'll go and get my gun
'Fore I'll let some crummy nigger
In a school sit by my son.

When I die I know that Heaven
Is the place I'm gonna go;
But if God is dark, I tell you
I would rather go below.

Karen M. Griner

(This poem first appeared in Elan, a Nashville-based independent journal of review, opinion and Black Arts.)



# MEDITATIONS

of a

# WHITE SOUTHERNER

by Lon Clay Hill

For the past few years, I and many others have been attracted to SNCC because of its courage, the honesty of its anger, its unwillingness to compromise, its refusal to be distracted by irrelevant ideological warfare, and its romanticism. Some whites have committed an irrevocable part of themselves to its work--and both SDS and SSOC have emerged much under its influence. This very strength, however, has meant that many militant whites have allowed the black members of SNCC to define their role within the movement--particularly within the Negro community.

## A Decision

While whites have had to depend upon others to introduce them into the Negro community and many of us naturally chose SNCC, whites in the movement must learn to make their own judgments about the dark community just as they are already making their own judgments about the business community, the university community, and the war machine. Our friends and lovers can be our worst enemies, and revolutions are a particularly self-destructive form of behavior generally consuming their most principled members.

There are no guarantees against such dangers; one just has to be aware that they exist and deal with them as best he can when they happen. It is in this spirit that I wish to talk about "black nationalism"--at times with special reference to SNCC ideas and attitudes, but more basically concerned simply with developing a perspective that is functional for a WHITE RADICAL.

One of the essentials of revolutionary activity is that a person must know something about the forces that surround him--"WHERE HE IS AT". In a revolutionary situation, the premium for this type of self-knowledge is high, often outweighing other considerations that are just as important morally. Thus Trotsky helped pave his own downfall before a ruthless, rather unexciting tyrant, because he was blind to the destructive potential of his situation. More concretely, this means for us that whites can never be totally committed to an exclusively Negro or "black" revolution. Or that Northern radicals generally are not as committed to the creation of a New South as the southern radicals who will continue to live there. That is to say that while altruism may be possible, PURE altruism or an altruism without reference to the needs of the self is hypocritical and transparently self-deceptive.

Now if whites do not have some sort of workable distinction between their necessarily limited commitment to an exclusively "Negro" cause and a commitment to the freedom of the total human community, they face real difficulties.

First of all, the white person appoints a black "leader" who directs the white in his struggle to help his dark mentor's people. The white person quite naturally chooses the person who gives him the most psychological and spiritual compensation for his commitment. Whether this compensation takes the form of praise and appreciation, long sympathetic conversations, or a few bitter re-

marks about race which can be forgiven as due to "the problem"-- it does not create enough mutual respect to be enduring.

## A Conflict of Terms

Before dealing directly with any more of the concrete issues of whites in the movement, however, it might be helpful to try to shift the terms of the ideological battles now in process. Particularly the polemics about "black nationalism vs. integration" tend to obscure as well as clarify the issues. I would like to indicate some of the realities which I see behind these phrases. If we are going to be angry, and some of us are very angry, we ought to at least clear the self-righteous smog of battle so that our anger is focused on the right object.

The word "integration" has sometimes been used to indicate the fact that Negoes and whites in this country share an allegiance to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence, they share some common religious traditions, they have common ancestors, and they should share the land and its produce.

On the other hand, "black nationalism" tends to emphasize that most of the people in the world are poor and colored, and that it makes no sense to integrate into white society unless the United States is willing to integrate into the rest of the world. So far white America has shown little inclination for such integration, pursuing an intransigent course of exploitation and murder in Latin America, South Africa, and South Vietnam. Furthermore, integration in this country has been reserved for only a few Negroes--often at dear expense.

The danger in pursuing "integration" is that one compromises his demands and vision by an over-accommodation to the power of white America. Thus, Roy Wilkins refuses to criticize the war in Vietnam because he does not want to jeopardize his standing with the White House. Of course, Negroes are "over-represented" in Vietnam and there will be no meaningful War on Poverty as long as the War in Vietnam continues, so his standing with Johnson is politically as well as ethically foolish. The danger in pursuing "black nationalism" is an ethical despair which tends to substitute the coming revolution of the colored masses for serious grappling with present injustice.

## The Nonviolent Approach

"Black nationalism" is an increasingly articulate and voluble rejection of non-violence as an answer to the Negroes' problems. Which really sort of begs the question, since non-violence is not so much a way of getting rid of your own problems as it is a way of making other peoples' problems your own.

Part of the confusion about non-violence is rooted in the person and image of Martin Luther King. King has discovered that there are times when non-violence can have an immediate and pragmatic significance. But he projects this discovery beyond the point of honest expectation. King, at times, has been so anxious to prevent Negroes from being violent that he has supported the use of the National Guard to restore "law and order". This posture of non-violence for Negroes may only help some Negroes to a sense of moral superiority, but it certainly does not prevent riots.

## Double Jeopardy

Nor does King do any service to his white allies and brothers by mollifying and shielding them from the frustration and anger of his black brothers. The white liberal has been helped to feel that if he does something (say, support another civil rights bill, donate money to SCLC or SNCC, join a demonstration), then everything will be all right. As if there were not irrevocable deeds, that the average Negro does not harbor deep-seated hatred or resentment, that our black brothers are waiting for us with open arms--while we of course have a job opening for him, and our grandchildren may even intermarry. But there is no way to make "all right" a situation that has festered for centuries.

A distinction needs to be made between a general historical trend and our in-

Continued

dividual responsibility within the context of that trend. Whites have robbed and raped and murdered Negroes for years --and they cannot escape the consequences of their deeds. Not that whites were the only wrongdoers--slavery was established with the active assistance of African slavetraders and Negro overseers. But the record is clear enough--and the victims and their descendants have not forgotten it.

## Fundamental Issues

The issue, however, is not whether whites will be killed or whether Negroes should be non-violent or whether there will be a race war. The reality is that people will be killed, whether they be brown or black or white. And murder is still murder whatever the justification or frustration. The role of the revolutionary is not so much to bring about change as to midwife the change so that the birth of the new society does not generate all the diseases of the old.

If this ideological backdrop has any validity, then perhaps we can be a little more clear about some of the real issues involved for whites working within Negro communities. I am not going to argue whether whites should or should not work in Negro communities, because that sort of question is too abstract. The movement tends to become ghettos of isolated revolutionaries--and political ideologies tend to guise very personal and even petty conflicts which have very little to do with race or economics. What such people as Stokely Carmichael or Malcolm X say is important--whites should understand it and learn from it, and make their own decisions about it. But for most of the whites in the movement, the problem has not been their political sophistication, but their difficulties in living and working with the particular Negroes they are supposed to be assisting. And it is of these problems I wish to speak.

One reason which should not move whites to work within Negro communities is their alienation from white society. The fact that one is critical of white society does not imply that one is necessarily for Negroes. Whites have been working out their frustrations on dark people for a long time, and doing it in the name of civil rights does not make it any better. Likewise, it is not enough to work out of a sense of guilt. Whites have a responsibility for what other whites have done, but no single white can atone for all the wrongs of 300 years--which is to say that it is not enough to feel guilt or anger or alienation about the mistreatment of Negroes in white America, but that you must be clear about the relevance of those emotions to your specific tasks.

## A New Awareness

One of the results of the changing mood within the Negro community is that dark men and women are trying to recover their dignity and independence and manhood and womanness, and they have reached out to assert themselves. So that quite apart from the fact that most whites know very little about Negro communities, a white person has to eschew the sort of leadership which reinforces patterns of Negroes following the white man.

There is a reason why whites cannot "organize" Negro communities in the sense that black organizers do. What the white must do is open channels of communication between black and white communities. Whereas a black organizer tends to build the internal strength of the dark community.

At this point, SNCC's notion of independent organizing in the black and white communities veers toward abstraction. Since there have never been totally separate black and white communities, the problem is not so much to create an independent base and identity for black people as to change the terms of the deep cultural and physical interdependence which will continue to exist. Thus if the movement is serious about a coalition of poor whites and blacks, then tangible as well as ideological evidence of this concern must be forthcoming.

## Toward Validity

There is not much that any single white can do to save a civilization so bent

upon its own destruction and inauthenticity. Some of its genuine achievements can be salvaged and shared with the rest of the world. Some perhaps, of the stolen goods can be returned. But this cannot be done within the context of "white" civilization. Only if white civilization opens itself to the poor and colored of the earth, will its own achievements have validity, and once white civilization does that, it will no longer be "white".

It is not hard to forgive the wary and fearful eyes of strangers riveted to your skin. You can understand why people lie to you and even why dark friends and acquaintances misunderstand you. After all, we do live in a historical context, and even committed whites have made their share of mistakes and wrongs. Still there are limits to how much white peoples' culpability exonerates Negroes of responsibility, and here I am going to be more personal.

### The Frustrations

For me it can be terribly frustrating to listen to some dark people talk on and on about "the white man", as if there had never been cruelty by blacks...

Although my own skin is white, I DO know that white men are cruel, that the rent is much too high, and that too many dark babies die. And I know that the storekeeper called your child "nigger", and a white man asked where he could get some black pussy. But I also know that I love some of those people who hate you and reject me and are murdering their own humanity.

Still, the question I'm asking (though I don't know how to verbalize it with dark people whose wise minds distrust words, especially when spoken by whites) is: Do we have anything to share besides our pain?

### Continuing the Struggle

Every white person who works within a black community faces some of these frustrations. Indeed it is impossible for anyone to work effectively against oppression without taking upon himself some of the frustration of the oppressed. Committed whites must neutralize these negative forces so that constructive work can continue. My own work is simplified by the fact that I work mostly with children. Even though the children are under essentially the same social pressures as their parents, children do not express them in explicit racial terms. I would also argue that those whites who have done the most significant work have been those who were not in competitive or racial roles; they did not do a job that dark people could, or felt that they could do. In any case, there is no place where you can escape the pain of your dark brothers or the fatuity and more covert pain of your white brothers.

### WOKE UP THIS MORNING WITH MY MIND SET ON FREEDOM

by John Beecher

A flood of song
breaches the levee
swamps cabins in the cotton
sweeps Natchez-under-the-hill

The flock escapes old shepherds
who in the dust of the stampede
incredulous and dazed
lumber along out of breath

Frock coats and crinolines
built nothing here
but skilled black hands
reared all this beauty

Which one of these
white-colonnaded bastions of
the ancient lie
Among moss-oaks and magnolias
will be our Freedom House?

(Natchez during the Demonstrations, September, 1965)

From
To Live and Die In Dixie
and Other Poems
Red Mountain Editions
C. 1966

# NORTH NASHVILLE PROJECT

## THE TRANSITION

by Fred Brooks

"We are convinced that the only meaningful way to help people is to help them to help themselves. It is only through realizing power to make decisions affecting their own lives that men are able to live in dignity and to give meaning to the democratic process." --The North Nashville Project Staff

The North Nashville Project has just gone through a transitional stage and is now in the process of revitalizing its program.

What happened to the North Nashville Project is the same thing that happened to integrated projects in black communities when the term "Black Power" shook the entire world this summer. Community organizers, both black and white, stopped to take this slogan into consideration. They found that there was a great deal of validity in the ideas behind it. It is now widely believed that if the people in the community are going to control their destiny, they must control those factors which influence it.

### The Image

The image that an organization develops in a community is very important. This means that blacks must organize blacks. White organizers reinforce the power structure because they unconsciously give support to the false notion that whites are superior.

### Repairing the Damage

Any black worker following whites knows that the psychological effect of white organizers is so detrimental that it often negates any good that they have tried to accomplish. Whites who insist on remaining in black communities should really question their motives for remaining there. Most of them cannot admit that they believe that they are more qualified than black workers, and feel that they must show blacks that they are oppressed, and then tell them to fight that oppression.

Black folks know more about oppression than any other group in America. They have suffered a long apprenticeship. It is absurd that white folks do not realize that we are <u>not</u> happy. We are angry. And we are determined to channel that anger into effective programs in the black community.

### Staff Agreement

The staff of the North Nashville Project is in agreement with the ideas that I have just presented. During this transitional stage in our development, we will seek a broader base in the black community for our program of tutorials, recreation, and classes in math, art, and Negro history.

During this month of December, we will continue to work on building a more effective program. We intend to be back in full swing by the first of January, with the volunteer aid of black students who have expressed a real desire to work in the Project.

December is also to be dedicated to fundraising so that we can resume our work with financial burdens largely removed. We would ask for those who wish to aid in our financial support, or who are seeking information to write:

North Nashville Project
c/o SSOC Box 6403
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

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QUOTES FROM

# POWER AND RACISM

by Stokely Carmichael

"One of the tragedies of the struggle against racism is that up to now there has been no national organization which could speak to the growing militancy of young black people in the urban ghetto. There has been only a civil rights movement, whose tone of voice was adapted to an audience of liberal whites. It served as a sort of buffer zone between them and angry young blacks. None of its so-called leaders could go into a rioting community and be listened to. In a sense, I blame ourselves--together with the mass media--for what has happened in Watts, Harlem, Chicago, Cleveland, Omaha. Each time the people in those cities saw Martin Luther King get slapped, they became angry; when they saw four little black girls bombed to death, they were angrier; and when nothing happened, they were steaming. We had nothing to offer that they could see except to go out and be beaten again. We helped to build their frustration.

## Not A Buffer

"An organization which claims to speak for the needs of a community--as does the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee--must speak in the tone of that community, not as somebody else's buffer zone. This is the significance of black power as a slogan. For once, black people are going to use the words they want to use--not just the words whites want to hear. And they will do this no matter how often the press tried to stop the use of the slogan by equating it with racism or separatism.

"An organization which claims to be working for the needs of a community--as SNCC does--must work to provide that community with a position of strength from which to make its voice heard. This is the significance of black power beyond the slogan.

## A Clarification

"Black power can be clearly defined for those who do not attach the fears of white America to their questions about it. We should begin with the basic fact that black Americans have two problems: they are poor and they are black. All other problems arise from this two-sided reality: lack of education, the so-called apathy of black men. Any program to end racism must address itself to that double reality.

"Almost from its beginning, SNCC sought to address itself to both conditions with a program aimed at winning political power for impoverished southern blacks. We had to begin with politics because black Americans are a propertyless people in a country where property is valued above all. We had to work for power, because this country does not function by morality, love, and nonviolence, but by power. Thus we determined to win political power, with the idea of moving on from there into activity that would have economic effects. With power, the masses could MAKE OR PARTICIPATE IN MAKING the decisions which govern their destinies, and thus create basic change in their day-to-day lives...

"Politically, black power means what it has always meant to SNCC: the coming-together of black people to elect representatives and TO FORCE THOSE REPRESENTATIVES TO SPEAK TO THEIR NEEDS. It does not mean merely putting black faces into office. A man or woman who is black and from the slums cannot be automatically expected to speak to the needs of black people. Most of the black politicians we see around the country today are not what SNCC means by black power. The power must be that of a community, and emanate from there...

Continued

## We Have Found You Out

"Ultimately, the economic foundations of this country must be shaken if black people are to control their lives. The colonies of the United States--and this includes the black ghettos within its borders, north and south--must be liberated. For a century, this nation has been like an octopus of exploitation, its tentacles stretching from Mississippi and Harlem to South America, the Middle East, southern Africa, and Vietnam; the form of exploitation varies from area to area but the essential result has been the same--a powerful few have been maintained and enriched at the expense of the poor and voiceless colored masses. This pattern must be broken. As its grip loosens here and there around the world, the hopes of black Americans become more realistic. For racism to die, a totally different America must be born.

"This is what the white society does not wish to face; this is why that society prefers to talk about integration. But integration speaks not at all to the problem of poverty, only to the problem of blackness. Integration today means the man who 'makes it,' leaving his black brothers behind in the ghetto as fast as his new sports car will take him. It has no relevance to the Harlem wino or to the cottonpicker making three dollars a day. As a lady I know in Alabama once said, 'the food that Ralph Bunche eats doesn't fill my stomach.'

"Integration, moreover, speaks to the problem of blackness in a despicable way. As a goal, it has been based on complete acceptance of the fact that IN ORDER TO HAVE a decent house or education, blacks must move into a white neighborhood or send their children to a white school. This reinforces, among both black and white, the idea that 'white' is automatically better and 'black' is by definition inferior. This is why integration is a subterfuge for the maintenance of white supremacy. It allows the nation to focus on a handful of southern children who get into white schools, at a great price, and to ignore the 94% who are left behind in unimproved all-black schools. Such situations will not change until black people have power--to control their own school boards, in this case. Then Negroes become equal in a way that means something, and integration ceases to be a one-way street. Then integration doesn't mean draining skills and energies from the ghetto into white neighborhoods; then it can mean white people moving from Beverly Hills into Watts, white people joining the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. Then integration becomes relevant...

## Burn, Baby, Burn

"To most whites, black power seems to mean that the Mau Mau are coming to the suburbs at night. The Mau Mau are coming, and whites must stop them. Articles appear about plots to 'get Whitey', creating an atmosphere in which 'law and order must be maintained.' Once again, responsibility is shifted from the oppressor to the oppressed. Other whites chide, 'Don't forget--you're only 10% of the population; if you get too smart, we'll wipe you out.' If they are liberals, they complain, 'what about me?--don't you want my help any more?' These are people supposedly concerned about black Americans, but today they think first of themselves, of their feelings of rejection. Or they admonish, 'you can't get anywhere without coalitions,' when there is in fact no group at present with whom to form a coalition in which blacks will not be absorbed and betrayed...

## The Problem of Color

"White America will not face the problem of color, the reality of it. The well-intended say: 'We're all human, everybody is really decent, we must forget color.' But color cannot be 'forgotten' until its weight is recognized and dealt with...

"The need for psychological equality is the reason why SNCC today believes that blacks must organize in the black community. Only black people can convey the revolutionary idea that black people are able to do things themselves. Only they can help create in the community an aroused and continuing black consciousness that will provide the basis for political strength...

"This does not mean we don't welcome help or friends. But we want the right to decide whether anyone is, in fact, our friend. In the past, black Americans have been almost the only people whom everybody and his momma could jump up and call their friends. We have been takens, symbols, objects--as I was in high school to many young whites, who liked having 'a Negro friend.' We want to decide who is our friend, and we will not accept someone who comes to us and says: 'If you do X, Y, and Z, then I'll help you'...

## On Liberal Whites

"I have said that most liberal whites react to 'black power' with the question 'What about me?' rather than saying: 'Tell me what you want me to do and I'll see if I can do it.' There are answers to the right question. One of the most disturbing things about almost all white supporters of the movement has been that they are afraid to go into their own communities--which is where the racism exists--and work to get rid of it. They want to run from Berkeley to tell us what to do in Mississippi; let them look instead at Berkeley. They admonish blacks to be nonviolent; let them preach nonviolence in the white community. They come to teach me Negro history; let them go to the suburbs and open up freedom schools for whites. Let them work to stop America's racist foreign policy; let them press this government to cease supporting the economy of South Africa.

## And Poor Whites

"There is a vital job to be done among poor whites. We hope to see, eventually, a coalition between poor blacks and poor whites. That is the only coalition which seems acceptable to us, and we see such a coalition as the major internal instrument of change in American society. SNCC has tried several times to organize poor whites; we are trying again now, with an initial training program in Tennessee. It is purely academic today to talk about bringing poor blacks and whites together, but the job of creating a poor-white power bloc must be attempted. The main responsibility for it falls upon whites.

## A Humanistic Vision

"Our vision is not merely of a society in which all black men have enough to buy the good things of life. When we urge that black money go into black pockets, we mean the communal pocket. We want to see the cooperative concept applied in business and banking. We want to see black ghetto residents demand that an exploiting landlord or store keeper sell them, at minimal cost, a building or a shop that they will own and improve cooperatively; they can back their demand with a rent strike, or a boycott, and a community so unified behind them that no one else will move into the building or buy at the store. The society we seek to build among black people, then, is not a capitalist one. It is a society in which the spirit of community and humanistic love prevail.

"We can build a community of love only where we have the ability and power to do so; among blacks...

## Conclusion

"As for white America, perhaps it can stop crying out against 'black supremacy,' 'black nationalism,' 'racism in reverse' and begin facing reality. The reality is that this nation, from top to bottom, is racist; that racism is not primarily a problem of 'human relations' but of an exploitation maintained--either actively or through silence--by the society as a whole. Camus and Sartre have asked, can a man condemn himself? Can whites, particularly liberal whites, condemn themselves? Can they stop blaming us, and blame their own system? Are they capable of the shame which might become a revolutionary emotion?

"We have found that they usually cannot condemn themselves, and so we have done it. But the rebuilding of this society, if at all possible, is basically the responsibility of whites--not blacks. We won't fight to save the present society, in Vietnam or anywhere else. We are just going to work, in the way we see fit, and on goals we define, not for civil rights but for all our human rights.

From N.Y. Review of Books - 1966

# LITTÉRATURE NOIRE

A Review of

## POETIC ANGER

Black anger has given rise to an exciting, if not nerve-shattering, type of literature. This littérature noire is exciting because its heartbeat is the fresh one of a revived people who were being choked to death by vicarious absorption into a society that rejected them. It is as nerve-shattering as a bullet to the heart because it points an accusing finger at white folks, saying that none of them have done enough to eliminate the causes for the anger.

Littérature noire is the ghetto song of the "block guy" who has stopped asking "whitey" to remove the white feet from his black throat. He is pulling those feet off.

Of the angry black men, LeRoi Jones is the angriest and probably the most popular. His popularity stems from the fact that what has been referred to as "horror stories for the white liberals" are written in a precise, tense and very readable fashion.

If whites can understand the totality of his anger, there might be hope left.

Dutchman and The Slave (William Morrow and Company, N.Y., 1960) are two plays which clearly indict white society. Their tone is so similar that this quote from the Dutchman can serve as a sampling for both. The protagonist says in an anger drenched with weariness:

> ...Let them alone. Let them sing curses at you in code and see your filth as simple lack of style. Don't make the mistake through some irresponsible surge of Christian charity, of talking too much about the advantages of Western rationalism, or maybe they'll begin to listen. And then, maybe one day, as sure as shit, when you really believe you can "accept" them into your fold, as half-white trusties late of the subject peoples. With no more blues, except the very old ones, and not a watermelon in sight, the great missionary heart will have triumphed, and all of those ex-coons will be stand-up Western men, with eyes for clean and useful lives, sober, pious and sane, and they'll murder you. They'll murder you, and have very rational explanations. Very much like your own. They'll cut your throats, and drag you out to the edge of your cities so the flesh can fall from your bones, in sanitary isolation.

# BLACK POWER

and

# WHITE ORGANIZING

by Anne Braden

One of the very good effects that has come with the call for Black Power from the freedom movement is that today more people are recognizing the necessity to organize in the white community.

Some of us have been saying for a long time that this is a necessity--and to its everlasting credit, SSOC people were among those who saw this before it became a popular concept. Now there is much more general acceptance of the idea.

We have SNCC to thank for this, of course. Stokely Carmichael has been quoted as saying SNCC is not interested in saving this country, it just wants to save black people. But it may well be that if SNCC does the correct things to save black people, it will save the rest of us as a by-product.

## A Call For Change

Certainly when SNCC began saying it was useless to talk about coalitions because there were no meaningful white groups to coalesce with, many white people began to see they had not been doing their homework. When SNCC told its white organizers they could not work effectively in black communities, it may have been thinking mainly of what was best for those communities. But in the process, it forced a lot of people to examine themselves and their role in the movement; at least some of them are turning to the work they should have done long ago, organizing the white community for social change.

I think this trend is moving so firmly now that we need not belabor the theory of it. We have now reached the point where we need to deal in the practicalities of how we will go about this thing of organizing white people.

In this, I am referring mainly to organizing poor white people. Many of us have long been trying to organize middle class white people to support the freedom movement--and not totally without some breakthroughs. But we always knew that if we really wanted to create a new South, we who believed in black-white unity must also organize among the poor and disinherited whites of the South. Now for the first time in 30 years, it appears that the circumstances are ripe for doing so.

## The Uncharted Road

For most of us, this is an uncharted road. This applies to the SSOC generation certainly, and also to my generation which came along in the late '40's, too late to have experience in the movements of tenant farmers and industrial workers that did reach poor white southerners in the 1930's. This means we have to learn partly by trial and experiment, and we have to expect to make some mistakes. The main point now, it seems to me, is to get this effort out of the parlor-talk stage as quickly as possible and begin to create some experiences we can learn from. In other words, let's do something--even if it turns out to be the wrong thing.

As a matter of fact, we are beginning to have a few scattered current experiences from which we can learn. SCEF had one such organizing project in East Tennessee which failed, at least for the time being, and we learned a number of things in the process. We now have pilot projects aimed at reaching poor white people in West Virginia, Kentucky, and Louisiana; we are also lending full-time

staff to a similar project initiated by people in Nashville. SSOC is making some similar efforts, as are a few other scattered groups.

It is on the basis of these experiences--admittedly limited so far--that I want to point out what I think are some of the dangers we face, and some of the necessities.

## Self-Awareness

First and foremost, as we move into organizing work in white communities, I think we need to remember who we are and what we are about. Virtually all of us came out of the Negro freedom movement--that is, our lives have been shaped to a large degree by this movement. We are what we are today because we became convinced that we can never have a good society in this country (or in the world) unless white people overcome their inherent racism, and build a unity of black and white to work toward mutually important goals. In other words, our work in the white community is in large part a search for a situation in which there can be a meaningful black-white alliance.

Some might say that if this is our viewpoint, we just want to "use" these white people--that their needs are not important in themselves. I don't think this is the case at all. Certainly the inherent needs of poor white people are reason enough to organize--they, like poor black people, are ill-fed, ill-housed and lacking in opportunities for education, medical care, political expression, and dignity. But I think what we are recognizing is that these white people will never be able to solve these problems unless they find ways to unite with the black movement seeking the same things. All of southern history proves this to be the case.

Unless we are continuously aware of this basic fact and necessity--I think we can make some very serious mistakes. In many areas, white people live in their own ghettos, just as Negroes do. I can see the possibility that our organizers could become so engrossed in the problems of these neighborhoods--in the immediate day-to-day issues facing the people they are working with--that they could completely forget to raise the question of the need to seek alliances in the black communities. I can see how one might work a year or so, begin to see some results in terms of community organization among whites and come to feel he has been rather successful. He could do this and yet never have raised the matter of white racism which the white people have to overcome before they can create the social changes that will really help them.

The ultimate and worst result of such organizing, although it would never be our intention, could be the formation of new white racist groups.

## Toward Coalition

It was my concern over this danger that led me to write a paper for a SSOC conference last spring suggesting that any organizing in the white community should be an effort to organize white and black together. I also suggested that, where possible, work in white communities should combine the efforts of black and white organizers.

I realize now that this may not always be possible. This is not, I am convinced, because it wouldn't work in the white communities. And right here, I'd like to correct the false rumors that are circulating that the project in East Tennessee failed because it was an effort to organize black and white together. The failure of that project had absolutely nothing to do with the black-white issue. It was for other reasons that may be worth discussing sometime, but which are not pertinent at all to this particular point.

The reason a joint black-white effort may not always be possible is that more and more there is the trend for black people to want to organize their own groups and alone. Furthermore, we have found in regard to SCEF projects, that black people who want to try to work in and with white communities are few and far between.

So I am not suggesting any rigid ap-

proach. I hope it is obvious that I am not suggesting anything so mechanical as organizers ringing doorbells in white communities and opening the conversation by saying, "I'm here to talk about white supremacy and Negro-white unity and what you can do about it." This is stupidity. Any organizer worth his salt listens a long time before he talks much, and he learns to adapt his approaches to the people he is working with and to their life situations.

### Combatting Racism

What I am saying is that our organizers (and here I mean movement people, not just SCEF) need to have constantly on their minds this necessity for getting at the question of racism; they need to be looking for the opportunities to make it real to the people they are working with. We all know that white supremacist attitudes change fastest not by logical argument, but when people have new experiences. We need to be on the lookout all the time for ways in which we can create those experiences for people. We need to look for the situations in which white people need the strength that can come from alliance with black people on issues of common concern. And we need to encourage them to seek these alliances.

### White Responsibility

Let us face the fact that if such alliances are built in the coming period whites are going to have to seek them. Stokely Carmichael has said that integration is irrelevant when initiated by black people, and he is probably right. In any event, this attitude is spreading among black people, and in many places they are not going to take the first step toward even temporary alliances. It is time for some initiative on this to come from the white community--and a big part of our job is to help others see the necessity for it.

Another thing those of us working in white communities are going to have to realize is that in keeping this question uppermost in our minds and efforts, we will be pretty much on our own. SNCC is not likely to be coming around reminding us of it--nor are militant black people anywhere. White people have always needed black people to nudge their consciences. From now on, we are going to have to be our own consciences, I think. This is because most militant black people won't be taking our efforts to organize poor white people very seriously. It's not that they are opposed to it; SNCC has said they want it to happen, and I think they do. But most of them don't think it is possible. So they have more important things to do. And the job of keeping the white organizing efforts on the track and geared to the goals we started with will be up to us.

### The Pitfalls

There are two pitfalls I think we need to avoid.

One is the tendency to think there is some easy and painless way to combat racism in the white southerner--or in the white American anywhere. This illusion, I think, is what leads people to decide not to mention the question, to hope that unity will come someday if we don't talk about it very much. It's sort of the soft-sell approach--boiling the frog without his realizing he's being boiled.

I've been a white southerner all my life. I've seen a lot of racism, and I've seen a considerable number of people change their views. Nothing in my experience or my observation has ever led me to doubt a proposition that I consider key: that there is no easy way to get over this hump, that it must be tackled head on, that people must be confronted with the consequences of their racist views and put into a situation where they have to face the truth. Truth is painful, and people usually have to turn themselves inside out to accept it. Once they have done that, things happen. I think it's worth the pain--and the effort. Again, I'm not saying you always do this in the first conversation with somebody; it may not be a verbal approach that will work at all--it may have to be a situation where a man who has always hated Negroes suddenly knows he needs black people. But in some form, it has to be a confrontation, and it has to be painful. There is no short cut.

Continued

The other pitfall that worries me may seem to contradict the first, but I don't think it does. This is the danger of thinking most white southerners are hopeless on this question--that there is nothing that can be done about it so we should keep quiet on it if we possibly can. I've seen this attitude over and over in white organizers from the North--dating back to 20 years ago when I had some occasion to work with northern white union organizers who came South. Their present-day counterparts sometimes have the same timid approach--the feeling that race is unmentionable with the white southerner and you avoid the subject if you can.

Facts of Life

I think we who are white and southern can steer a course between these two pitfalls. We don't expect it to be easy for people to change the patterns of a lifetime. But we have more faith that it can be done. There's not a one of us in this movement who has not changed drastically from what we were when we grew up. We changed because certain experiences came into our lives. We changed not because anyone tried to protect us from the issue--or because they let it alone and figured we'd find our own way gradually if not too much was said. Most often we changed because we were confronted with the issue dramatically and had to re-think our lives.

I think we need to stop feeling, even unconsciously, that we are something special--that we could change but others someway don't quite have the intelligence or flexibility to do so.

I think we need an abiding faith that every white southerner is potentially in a state of flux--that he can go one way or the other--and that we have a responsibility to nudge history along just a bit by providing him with the opportunities to experience new things and think in new ways.

Keeping the Perspective

Unless this perspective is constantly in our minds, I have the fear that all our work in the white community--although it may address itself to some economic and political issues--will at best be the tinkling brass and the sounding cymbal. At worst, it could create some Frankenstein monsters that we will live to regret.

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* "Anybody, at any time, may equally *
* find himself victim or executioner." *
* --Sartre *

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# OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Gwendolyn Patton, 1965 student body president at Tuskegee Institute, is on the staff of the National Student Association's Southern Student Human Relations Project.

Karen Griner, class of 1970, is a student at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee.

Fred Brooks, a senior at Tennessee State University, worked with CORE in Jonesboro, Louisian in 1964-65. He has been with the North Nashville Project since its inception a year ago.

Anne Braden, a long-time worker in the struggle for civil rights and civil liberties, is associate director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, (SCEF) and editor of The Southern Patriot.

Lon Clay Hill, a native of Prestonsburg, Kentucky, has been working as a community organizer in New Orleans for the past two years.

Stokely Carmichael was elected chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee this past spring.

# WHAT'S HAPPENIN'?

Tallahassee, Florida: The Tallahassee NAACP sponsored a very successful school holiday, November 28 and 29, which kept 71% and 72.6% of the county's black students out of school for Monday and Tuesday respectively. Florida State University and Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University students coordinated and manned freedom schools attended by some 400 children. The FSU Young Liberals and FAMU NAACP are planning future coordinated efforts on academic issues at the two universities. Contact: Phil Mullins, 439 West College Avenue, Tallahassee, Florida 32301.

Washington, D. C.: Planning is underway for a conference on radical vocations in the white community. The tentative date for the Washington meeting is the second or third week-end of February. Interested persons should contact Sue Thrasher at 1900 Florida Avenue, NW, Washington, D. C.

Atlanta, Georgia: SSOC and the NSA Southern Project co-sponsored a conference of insurgent newsletter editors on Dec. 2 and 3. To participate in the newsletter exchange program instigated by the conference, editors should send 12 copies of their publication to Bill Roberts, NSA Southern Project, 41 Exchange Place, Rm. 701, Atlanta, Georgia. A future possibility is the establishment of a southern student news service program. Write Bill for a summary of the weekend meeting.

Knoxville, Tennessee: Anne Romaine, Virginia-based SSOC staffer, coordinated a workshop at Highlander Center on Nov. 17-19 to discuss the second Southern Festival of Song to be presented in the spring of 1967. The presence of folksinger Guy Carawan and southern poet Don West made the week-end a tremendous treat for students interested in the South's cultural history. Carawan is to be one of th performers of the Festival, a SSOC-sponsored tour that last year gave 18 concerts and appeared in every southern state. Groups interested in hosting the 1967 Southern Festival of Song should contact Anne Romaine, 405 Altamont Street, Charlottesville, Virginia, (703) 296-8203.

Pine Bluff, Arkansas: A newly-organized group of students at Arkansas State AM&N plans to publish a supplement to the general college catalogue, evaluating courses, departments, and professors, and including an analysis of the regents and a comparison of course offering and Ph.D's with other schools and grad school requirements. The publication should be off the press in early February. The students are also making plans to begin work in the Pine Bluff community. Contact: Eugene Hunt, 3703 West Ninth Street, Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

Nashville, Tennessee: SNCC affiliates at Fisk and Tennessee State University are sponsoring a food and funds drive. Proceeds will be given to aid black people in Alabama who have suffered reprisals as a result of their participation in the November 8 elections. People are urged to contribute by sending funds and non-perishable food to John Hulett, President, Lowndes County Freedom Organization, Route 1, Box 191, Haynesville, Alabama.

About 14 Nashvillians gathered Dec. 3 to discuss the spiraling cost of living and what they could do about it. A representative of a recently-formed neighborhood buying co-op told of its success. The group decided to explore similar programs and to possibly join in efforts for a major food boycott. The meeting is particularly significant when one thinks in terms of a future coalition of poor whites and blacks. The people are working in their own communities, yet were able to meet on common ground to exchange sympathies and ideas.

* * * * * * * *

# THE TUSKEGEE INCIDENT

(Compiled from an eyewitness report by Ernest Stephens, editor of the Black Thesis, an insurgent newsletter at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.)

On Thursday afternoon, December 8, 1966, an all-white jury acquitted Marvin Segrist, the accused slayer of Sammy Younge.

About 10:00 of that same evening, approximately 100 students met in the Tuskegee gym to propose a demonstration for the next morning in protest of the acquittal.

By midnight the group decided to turn out the campus for a demonstration that night rather than wait until the next morning. They left the gym and went around campus arousing people from their dorms. Both men and women students continued to join the group until it numbered about a thousand.

These angry folks marched downtown to the Confederate Memorial Square. After painting the statue black, a decision was made to hold another demonstration the next morning rather than hold an all-night vigil as was originally planned. Students were to be called to the gym at 9:30. Police saw everything that went on, but took no action.

### The Return

Around 3:45 am the group began an orderly march back to campus. At some point while they were still in town one of the marchers threw a bottle through a store window. From that point, all store windows along the route were broken. No appropriation of merchandise was reported. And no arrests were made. The students arrived back on campus at 4 am.

### The President Speaks

Reports of the night's activities were on local radio and T.V. the next morning. President Foster of the Institute came in and took charge of the meeting, and declared that there would be no more demonstrations or marches. (Newspaper reports claim that Foster called the meeting, but our report says that the meeting had been already planned by students.)

He expressed concern over what had taken place the night before. The President then called his own meeting to discuss the matter on Saturday, December 10. As of this writing (on December 10th) that meeting has not occurred.

Anyone who wishes to keep in close contact with the situation in Tuskegee should call or write:

Ernest Stephens
Box 657
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
Phone: (205) 727-1455

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# GHANDIAN TOUR

Lavanam, as noted in the November New South Student, is the Assistant Secretary of India's Bhoodan Movement of land redistribution, cooperative political economy, and partyless democracy. He was an organizer of the Sevagram to Delhi March in 1961 to educate the common people to control their government. And he was the primary interpreter for the English-speaking members of the Delhi to Peking Friendship March in 1963.

A noted writer and lecturer, his writings and talks reflect the keen insight of an eloquent man whose opinions should be of programs advanced by the Bhoodan Movement.

Lavanam's tour plans are still flexible enough to allow more formal or informal visits. We urge you take note of the following schedule, and call or write the listed contacts for more information:

December

12 - Charlottesville, Va. (Afternoon) Contact: Will Offeley, #13 Brandon Avenue Apartments, Phone 296-6850.

12 - Victoria, Va. (Evening) - Contact: Nathaniel Hawthorne, VSCRC, Box 79, Kenbridge, Va., Phone: 696-2742.

13 - Greensboro, N.C. - Contact: Cecil Butler, Textile Workers Union of America, 404 State Street.

15-17 Knoxville, Tenn. - Contact: Myles Horton, Highlander Center, 1625 Riverside Drive, Phone 523-4216.

18 - Atlanta, Ga. - Contact: Jody Palmour, SSOC, 1580 Dantzler Avenue, Apt. 2, Phone: 633-9936.

19 - Akin, S.C. - Contact: Jody Palmour, 1580 Dantzler Avenue, Apt 2, Atlanta, Ga., Phone: 633-9936.

December

20-21 Albany, Ga. - Contact: Jim Romberg, S.W. Georgia Project, 534 Holloway Avenue, Phone: 435-0152.

22 - Selma, Ala. - Contact: Frances X. Walter, Interfaith Religious Project, Tuscaloosa, Ala. Ph: 758-2301.

23 - Tuscaloosa, Ala. - Contact: Frances X. Walter, Interfaith Religious Project, Tuscaloosa, Ala. Phone: 758-2301

24 - Nashville, Tenn. - Contact: Dick Waddell, 1917 Belmont Boulevard, Phone: 292-8117.

27-28 Yellow Springs, Ohio - Contact: Antioch College Humanist Assn., Phone 767-7295

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# ROBERT THEOBALD

ADDRESSES

# SSOC CHRISTMAS MEETING

The second annual SSOC Christmas seminar will be held at the Methodist Student Center of Duke University, December 19-21. The focus of the meeting, which is primarily designed for SSOC members, is the southern economy.

Robert Theobald, internationally known economist, writer and lecturer, will address the seminar on Monday, December 19.

The event will be preceded and followed by one day SSOC planning meetings. On Sunday, December 18, those interested in formulating programs for the SSOC summer camp in Buckeye Cove, North Carolina are to confer. A SSOC membership meeting will occur on December 22, following the seminar, to give direction to the staff for programs for the new year.

The agenda for the seminar will include:

Monday, December 19

- South as an Underdeveloped Country
- From Manual Labor to Cybernation in the South
- Agents of the Status Quo:
  - The Role of Yankee Capital
  - The Role of Organized Labor
  - The Role of the University

Tuesday, December 20

- The Role of the Government Including the Military
- The Economics of Development, Political and Economic Decentralization

Wednesday, December 21

- Agents and Programs of Change:
  - Poor Whites and Blacks
  - The Middle Class Including Students
  - The Labor Movement
  - Governmental Programs
  - Strategies of Various Movements (SNCC, SSOC, SDS, UCM, etc.)

Some additional resource persons are:

Vera Rony, writer; she is doing a history of the labor movement in the South.

Nick Levin, student, University of Florida who recently completed a study of the Florida Board of Regents.

While members receive preference in this situation where space is limited, it is possible that we may be able to accommodate you. If you are interested in attending, please call the SSOC office immediately and inquire. (615) 291-3537. The phone at Durham is (919) 286-9230.

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# LIT LIST ADDITIONS

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
Box 6403 Nashville, Tenn. 37212

## Foreign Relations and Vietnam

____ HOW TO INVESTIGATE WAR PROFITEERING IN YOUR COMMUNITY, Dayton Area Coordinating Committee - 5¢
____ IMMIGRATION TO CANADA AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE DRAFT, San Francisco SDS - 10¢
____ SELECTIVE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION, ACLU, J. de J. Pemberton, Jr. - 15¢

## University Reform

____ ALCORN 1966: AN INCIDENT, SSOC, 10¢
____ AN END TO HISTORY, Mario Savio - 10¢
____ FREEDOM PARTY PLATFORM (University Political Party) - University of Florida-5¢
____ POLITICAL MEDDLING AND THE FLORIDA BOARD OF REGENTS, Al Levin - 10¢
____ UNIVERSITY OF THE STATUS QUO, David Nolan - 10¢
____ UNIVERSITY REFORM, FOUR AREAS OF CONCERN, Duke University Caucus - 10¢

## Poverty and Economics

____ MISDEAL IN APPALACHIA, Harry Caudill - 10¢
____ MOBILIZE TO COPE WITH AUTOMATION - Free

## Civil Rights

____ CLASH OF CULTURES IN THE CLASSROOM, Kenneth Clark - 15¢
____ FREEDOM SCHOOL POETRY, SNCC - $1.50
____ POWER AND RACISM, Stokely Carmichael - 5¢
____ RACISM AND THE ELECTIONS, Nat'l Committee of Negro Churchmen - 5¢

## Community Organizing

____ JOIN COMMUNITY UNION, assorted information - 10¢

## Politics

____ HUAC: BULWARK OF SEGREGATION, Anne Braden, 50¢

## The Movement

____ ELAN, Journal of Review and Opinion and the Black Arts - 25¢
____ THE MOVEMENT, A Photographic Essay, Lorraine Hansberry, SNCC - $1.95
____ SNCC TRENDS: CHALLENGE TO WHITE AMERICA, Anne Braden - 10¢

# BULLETINS

## TOWARD SOUTHERN NATIONALISM

Raising the banner of Southern Nationalism is both difficult and dangerous for one who advocates a New South. The Lerleens, Lesters, Sheltons and Eastlands leap to the mind; lynchings, poverty, pellagra, rape, states rights--the list is seemingly interminable--compel careful attention to history....This is especially true for one who would fashion a new banner from the cloth of a region which is, in fact, led by the grandsons of Henry Grady--led to beat and kneel at the heavy door of the twentieth century.

Yet those who have the power to open that door are not desirable hosts. To much of the world, the Johnsons, Rusks, Fords, Rockefellers and Engelhards are the Wallaces of the Earth. Their house is full of napalm and missiles; their minds are filled with counter-revolution; their offering of water is polluted and tepid.

But what is a new banner if it is to become a burial sheet for a people who have fought bravely for the wrong cause? Did we learn something one hundred winters ago? Can we fight again, but for those "peculiar virtues" that are vague yet real in our souls? Must we choose the traditional weapons of warfare? Can we create a full and beautiful life for all our people, our region?

Jody Palmour and I are interested in seeking answers to these and other questions that are raised by the idea of Southern Nationalism. We will co-edit the February issue of the New South Student. If you are interested in grappling with Southern Nationalism from any side, please submit an article. The deadline is February 1, 1967, the seventh anniversary of the Sit-In Movement.

Ed Hamlett
Dec. 10, 1966

## TOM GARDNER JAILED

Dedicated peacemaker given a 30-day jail sentence for contempt of court. His crime: Refusal to stand when a judge left the courtroom.

Tom was in attendance at a hearing for another conscientious objector, Robert Steven Holmes, and was instrumental in having Holmes' trial postponed until January.

Tom is continuing the fast that he had originally begun in sympathy with Holmes.

His friends here at SSOC [illegible] that Tom [illegible] had to travel, and hope that you'll join in our efforts to make [illegible] for him. Please send some letters of cheer to:

Thomas N. Gardner
c/o Forsyth County Jail
Winston-Salem, N.C.

For some of you, this issue marks the beginning of a complimentary three-month subscription to the New South Student. To insure that you continue to receive the newsletter, fill out the form provided below and become a subscriber or member of SSOC.

☐ I would like to join SSOC ($5 a year, $7.50 per couple, includes newsletter)

☐ I would like to subscribe to the New South Student ($3 per year)

☐ I would like to pledge _____ per _____ to support SSOC.

☐ I would like more information about SSOC.

Name _____

School _____

School Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Home Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

THE SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

1703 Portland Ave., Nashville, Tennessee 37212, Box 6403, Phone: (615) 291-3537

Southern Student Organizing Committee
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Nashville, Tennessee
37212

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PF - file (SSOC)

To: Southern College Students, Various Organizations, and Other Friends

From: The Southern Student Organizing Committee

Regarding: The protests at Alcorn College and calling for--

SOUTHERN EDUCATION GENERAL PROTEST

Over the past ten years there have been a series of protests by students of Alcorn A&M College, Lorman, MIssissippi. The have occured in massive scale roughly every two years. The protests have been around university reform and against the doctrine of in loco parentis. Though it is the oldest Negro landgrant school in the country, it is perhaps the worst and most oppressive institution of "higher" education in the nation. Unfortunately, however, many other schools are vying for a very close second--Alcorn is but a caricature of southern education in general--not of Negro education, but of southern education. Attention, therefore, must be focused on all our schools and the absenee ofquality education. More importantly, we must consider the question WHO DECIDES? Not just the dorm or library hours, but on courses, on professors, on books that go in the library, etc., etc. Many colleges have small eruptions over a number of issues--but seldom, if ever, are the radical and substantive questions that revolve around WHO DECIDES really asked by any of us. Mainly, we ask "mommie and daddy" to be more lenient.

The Southern Student Organizing Committee is calling for a period of Southern Education General Protest to be held April 27 thru 29 (Wednesday thru Friday). We welcome participation by schools throughout the South and the nation. Enclosed is a fact sheet on Alcorn; several suggested leaflets; and a list of things you can do that, hopefully, are meaningful and constructive. More information will follow.

It must be borne in mind that the students at Alcorn are not asking us to help them with a diffucult situation; at their "poor little Mississippi black school." Rather they are setting an example for us to follow. We must relate what they are trying to do to our own deplorable conditions. They aren't waiting for someone to "lead them to freedom." We, likewise, must not wait.

# FACTS ON ALCORN

The catalogue of Alcorn A&M College in Lorman, Mississippi proclaims the college objective as being "to prepare students to live fully, effectively, graciously and cooperatively in a democratic society while serving the people in the state." In the past few weeks the Alcorn campus has once again erupted in a series of demonstrations in an attempt to prevail upon the administration and the state to live up to its stated goals.

The student complaints comprise a catalogue quite different from the official one. Included are library hours, now limited on weekdays to 8:30 PM, on Saturdays until noon, and none on Sundays; the 9:30 dorm curfew for all women seven days a week, regardless of class; and a prohibition on male students meeting dates at their dorms. These grievances, along with students not being told the price of books they were required to buy and poor laundry service, had prompted the April 1964 Alcorn "sit-out", which led to the suspension of 1000 students, two thirds of the student body at that time.

Despite the extent of the 1964 protests, none of its causes have yet been eliminated. The present student outbursts were begun by the Student Movement of Alcorn College (SMAC), which listed 32 complaints including those of the earlier protests plus the low pay of campus employees, now averaging an estimated $17 for a full week's work.

As well as the demand unmet after the 1964 demon strations, the Alcorn students pressed for a series of new reforms. They asked that the job of handling soft drink machines be taken from the Alcorn President J. D. Boyd's wife; that a more equitable student loan system be introduced; that male students be permitted to escort dates to ball games, movies, and dances; that students no longer be expelled and that faculty and employees no longer be fired for part icipating in civil rights organizations; and that faculty be prevented from making sexual advances to female students with threats of course failures.

After agitation began, the students received support from Charles Evers, NAACP field secretary. Evers called a sympathy boycott of nearby Negro grade schools, which was claimed to be 99% effective. Evers presented a petition listing the 32 student grievances to President Boyd, who told him he would give it to the college Board of Trustees. No action was taken by the college on the complaints but twenty students were expelled for participation in the demonstrations and told by the administration that their transcripts would not be forwarded to other colleges. One student was expelled for no apparent reason. It was quessed that this action was taken either because that student has a beard or because he is a member of the NAACP.

IN response to the harsh and intransigent attitude of the college administration, student demands have increased rather than lessened. They are now demanding that the State Board of Education be revised, that the 1000 students suspended in 1964 be permitted to hold student office, and that students have equal representation on the faculty-adminsitration disciplinary committee, on which there are at present no student members.

SMAC began escalting its tactics. Aboycott was called of the Student Union Building, to protest general conditions as well as exorbitant prices at the cafeteria. Several days later a wood frame building on campus was burned down by an unknown person, and cold water was poured on the bricks of an adjacent building by fire fighters which caused its destruction as well.

Because of administration efforts to crush SMAC, a new student group called United Student Movement (USM) was formed. USM put out leaflets and called for a mass meeting in the school gym, which was attened by almost the

entire student body. After about 45 minutes, the dean of the college came in and dispersed the students. The following evening 600students marched to meet Charles Evers outside the campus. All but about twenty returned to the campus soon after, but were locked out of their dormitories and reported. It is believed that they will be expelled. One of the male students who was expelled that week received a letter from his draft board three days later.

Alcorn A&M is typical of what might be called a "plantation college". It was founded in 1830 but became a Negro school only after the Civil War, when whites needed an excuse for preventing Negroes from Ole Miss. This was done with the tacit approval of the federal government, which allowed Alcorn to become the first Negro land-grant college in the country in 1878.

Like all Negro state colleges, it has remained poor in facilities and faculty, to the extent that until recently its accreditation has been provisional. Even now its standards are extradinarily low, even in purely statistical areas. Ole Miss has one faculty member for each thirteen students, Alcorn has one for each twenty-two. Ole MIss has sixty books in its libraries for each student, Alcorn has fourteen for each. Alcorn offers degrees only on the bachelor of arts and trade professions level and many of its faculty lack advanced degrees. This state of affairs is only the final step in a totally inferior and almost totally segregated educational system for Mississippi Negroes. As NAACP executive secretary said in a statement regarding the Alcorn situation, "Under this system Negroes run a gamut of inferior schooling, in which each level of inadequacy is compounded by the next and it is virtually impossible for the college to be more than a pretense." The situation is further compounded in cyclical fashion since almost the only job for which Alcorn graduates are considered qualified is teaching lower grades in Negro schools.

A situation as complex as this one concerning an inferior, self-reinforcing educational system cannot be easily or quickly corrected. Some feel that the answer is immediate and complete integration. Others think the solution lies in pumping large quantites of funds into these schools for better professors, equipment, and scholarship aid. Whatever course of action is decided upon, it should not be effected without considerable thought and effort.

SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION AROUND ALCORN SITUATION

1. Letters and Telegrams
   a. You should contact every moderate and liberal student group on campus to urge them to send a telegram or letter to one or all of the below listed people. Don't rule out student council. Especially, you should ask campus religious and protest groups, faculty committees, and in some cases even fraternities and sororities to do this. Also Young Dem's and Young Republicans. Who knows, YAF might even dig it.
   b. To whom: President J.D. Boyd, Alcorn A & M College, Lorman, Mississippi, Governor Paul B. Johnson, State Capital, Jackson, Mississippi, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, House of Representatives, Wash. 25, Mr. Harold Howe II, Commissioner of Education, Office of Education, U.S. Dept. of Health Education and Welfare, Washington D. C.

2. Forums, Discussions, Seminars, etc.
   a. Teach-in: This could involve a debate on Southern education (if you can find anyone to defend education as it is today.) with emphasis on your own campus situation.
   b. Panel discussion of informal nature made up of students, faculty, and administration, with questions from the floor.
   c. Out-door (or in-door if preferable or weather demanding) speak-out, bitch-out, in which students get their gripes out in the open and maybe even get together on doing something about them.
   d. Open Forum: in which the president and other administration officials agree to subject themselves to questions from the student body on conditions and policy of the school. It is a sort of press conference in which the students do all the questioning as do reporters.
   e. Wailing Wall: in essence a gripe board that is used only for that. This could be initiated during this period as a permanent thing at the school. People can put their gripes in writing and pin them on the board or wall.

3. Literature Table
   Several groups have found that on the question of Vietnam a literature table set up on campus has been a good way of stimulating thought and discussion and of just letting people know by this form of demonstration that there are actively concerned people. Literature can be sold or distributed free of charge on the question of university reform and academic freedom. There is a literature list enclosed of things which SSOC has available. The prices quoted are generally for single copies and it is possible that bulk copies of some things might be supplied at cost.

4. Leafleting
   Enclosed is a suggested leaflet that is of a general information character. We suggest that you modify this to fit your own needs with the idea in mind of relating Alcorn to your school. In many ways Alcorn is, in a blatant way, your school too. Leaflets should be handed out at all busy points on campus. If there is a campus across town or next door that is not participating in this protest, then you should think of leafleting there also.

5. Demonstrations of more active nature
   Groups might want to picket their own administration building in sympathy with the students at Alcorn. At the same time conditions on your own campus can be pointed up. Some of the people might leaflet to explain the picket.

Fast: A day long or three day long fast in protest could be gotten together. People might contribute money saved to a student legal defense fund.

Sit-in: Sit-ins have been used on many campuses to protest library policies and cafeteria policies. This type of activity would be most sensibly used after other channels have been exhausted. It would be directed at your school rather than at Alcorn.

6. Have a fund-raising event to cover legal costs for Alcorn and for a general student legal defense fund. (SSOC is tax exempt and is in a position to set up such a fund.)

   Ways of doing this:
   a. A fund-raising party. At Texas the SDS group buys kegs of beer and charges people to come to a rip-snorter.
   b. Fast for student freedom (people don't eat a meal and then contribute.)
   c. Ask student groups to take up a collection.
   d. Appeal to faculty and adult groups for funds after speaking at their meetings.
   e. Collect money at booths on campus after you have educated the people
   f. Sell the buttons that we will have printed soon.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF FIELD ACTIVITIES
Southern Regional Council
Annual Meeting---November 16, 1966

Insofar as this report might deal with the personal activity of the Director of Field Activities, it is tempting to summarize by quoting one of the central characters from the Book of Job. Whenever the council of heaven was called, "Satan came also among them." Bach time, in answer to the question, "Whence have you come?" Satan answered the Lord, "From going to and fro on the earth, and from walking up and down on it."

Taking advantage of opportunities during my first year to acquaint myself with the region, as well as carrying out necessary duties, has carried me twice to Arkansas, three times into Tennessee, twice to Washington, D.C., and once to Virginia. I have been four times each to North and South Carolina and thrice to Florida. I have lost the count for Alabama and Mississippi, and the air lines think I commute to Louisiana. Georgia can thank my desk work for distracting me from my duties here, except for attending the annual meeting of the Georgia Council, fairly regular attendance at their executive committee meetings, and a couple of speaking engagements.

Most of these wanderings have been occasioned by some function of the state councils. As with all of the professional staff of the SRC, however, there have been responses to occasional requests and opportunities, such as attendance at the Mid-Decade Conference on Children and Youth and the White House Conference on Civil Rights; a talk on "The Nature of Prejudice" at a workshop in Mobile for the Personnel Directors of the largest Post Offices in the region; an address to the United Church Women of Huntsville and to local human relations councils in Charleston, Aiken, and Auburn; and a briefing for Y.W.C.A. executives at Lake Junaluska.

Additional travel was occasioned by special program efforts involving the field department. In the spring and early summer we cooperated with the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP Legal Defence and Education Fund, and the several state councils in workshops on school desegregation in each of the

southern states. These were held in conjunction with wider conferences sponsored by the state advisory committees to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Along with John Boone, Director of SRC's Special Project on Crime and Corrections, we assisted the Fellowship of Concern and the state councils with a series of workshops on "Dual Justice in the Courts." These, too, were held in each state in the region. Mrs. Tilly will tell you more about them later in this meeting.

In the course of the year we have been called upon for other services requiring less travel, but a great deal of administrative work. We were asked to secure the names of Negro boys now in the eighth grade, a list of apt candidates from which eighteen could be selected for admission to six of the top prep schools of the South.

A more involved project has been an experiment in the distribution of paperback books among people who otherwise have had little opportunity to use and own books. We are attempting to find unorthodox means of making them available, such as bookshelves in community centers; parents groups connected with day care or Head Start programs; in connaction with tutorial projects, reading rooms, and study halls; and by creating or supplementing inadequate classroom or school libraries. Under the able administration of Miss Louise Cole of our staff and with the invaluable aid of the Atlanta News Agency, we are well into the process of distributing some 40,000 paperback books in these ways.

Your field department continues to serve as the secretariat for the Southern Interagency Conference, an informal gathering, four times per year, of most of the intergroup relations agencies working in the region for the purpose of discussing current problems and prospects and mutual briefing on new programs.

Service and assistance to the state councils on human relations remains, however, the primary continuing responsibility of your Department of Field Activities--and their growth in size, strength and effectiveness our constant concern.

As you know, we have been able this year, because of increased foundation support, to triple the total of our grants-in-aid to the state councils to $150,000. In addition we are now able to invest some $50,000 per year in Rural Advancement Projects under the structures of four state councils, working in close cooperation with the National Sharecroppers Fund. Moreover, the councils are able to take advantage of incidental program funds available in connection with SRC;s special projects for specific, short-term activities. Thus we are contributing between $225,000 and $250,000 to state and local council operation and program.

For the reasons mentioned by Mr. Anthony this afternoon the purpose of the expanded grant-in-aid program is to enable the state councils to grow to the point where they can be self-sustaining in their basic staffed operations. Our goal is to see this point reached by the end of 1968, with possible exceptions in the cases of the Mississippi and Louisiana Councils, which have only recently been reorganized. To this end we have constantly emphasized organized recruitment and involvement of members, organized efforts at indigenous funding, increase in size of staffs, and professional upgrading of staff--as well as concomitant development of program and services.

The response of state council leaders, both lay and professional has been gratifying and the results are notable. In addition to Rural Advancement Projects in South Carolina, Florida, Georgia and Alabama--each with a full-time director--other full-time staff professionals have been added: two in Tennessee and one each in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. In Louisiana an office has been opened in Baton Rouge and an able Executive Director and Office Manager employed, giving that council a staff for the first time. The operations in Arkansas, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Florida have been stabilized with adequate salaries for executives and full-time clerical employees.

While speaking of personnel changes, we note with regret that some members of the state council family who were present at this meeting last year are missing this year. Bob Alexander and Ozell Sutton resigned from the staffs of the Houston and Arkansas Councils, respectively, to accept other positions. Nat Griswold, who has been Executive Director of the Arkansas Council from its beginning, is on a six-month leave of absence to write a book and will formally retire at the end of the year. Most sadly do we report the death, on September 19, of Mr. Oliver Holmes, personable and invaluable Assistant to the Director of the Georgia Council.

As for training and upgrading of the council staffs, it has been possible to double the number of state council staff conferences. We have brought them together five times this year, in addition to their attendance at this meeting. One time it was for an eight-day Community Leadership Development Laboratory at Emory University--a first attempt to secure formal in-service training for council staffers.

The state council presidents were brought together also for a two-day conference on June 17 and 18. This, too, was the first meeting of its kind. The presidents felt that the discussion of purposes, policy and philosophy and the sharing of problems was very helpful, and they have asked that this be made an annual affair.

Time would not permit my telling you, even if I could, of all the imaginative, creative things the state councils have been doing. But let me mention a few.

The Virginia Council has made a thorough study of the ethnic bias of that state's approved textbooks and has promoted use of multi-ethnic texts by the preparation of two excellent publications on the subject, among other ways. They are also sponsoring a significant conference on religion and race, scheduled for the last of this month.

The Georgia Council has conducted and reported a well-planned study of the state's public assistance program. Jointly with the Georgia A.C.L.U. and with the aid of the SRC staff and resources,

the Georgia Council prepared an attractive, easily readable handbook titled Know Your Rights, which sets forth basic rights of persons arrested by police officers. It has received wide distribution and acclaim. The North Dekalb chapter of GCHR conducted a Voter Education Project which registered about 500 persons.

The Tennessee Council has done an effective job of securing truly representative and democratic Community Action agencies in two of the largest cities in the state. Since the addition of Mr. and Mrs. Wiersema to the staff they have begun important studies of public housing and public welfare in Tennessee. Their Knoxville chapter carried out an effective Voter Registration Project.

"Project SPEED-UP" of the South Carolina Council employed college students to tutor more than 2,000 children in 28 locations in 13 counties.

The Arkansas Council secured a grant from the Voter Education Project and conducted a registration drive in 14 counties. Well over 7,000 persons were registered to vote.

The Florida Council conducted a two-day workshop for local council leaders and, partly as a result of the ideas and resources discovered to them at that meeting, the local councils of Florida have been unusually active.

The Alabama Council, utilizing a VEP grant, did an excellent job in informing farmers in 12 counties about the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections and of policing the elections themselves. ASCS elections are vital because the representative chosen in them determine crop allotments for the year.

The Mississippi Council has sponsored a number of statewide conferences, including one which brought together a large number of the state's impoverished people and officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Executive Director has become an effective link in communication between the white establishment and Negro leaders.

The growth of the state councils is measurable statistically. We have sought this year to limit our reckoning of membership to those whose dues are currently paid. On that basis the total membership now stands at approximately 11,500, an increase of some 23% over last year. Percentage increases ranged from five percent in Virginia, which is the largest of the councils, to ninety-five percent in Arkansas, which heretofore had been one of the smallest. The Alabama Council, which won the Mitchell Award last year, increased its membership another ten percent this year. Tennessee registers a thirteen percent increase and South Carolina a jump of twenty-three percent. The North Carolina Council shows a 57% increase. And Georgia deserves special commendation of raising its membership enrollment by 53%, although starting from a relatively large base of more than a thousand members.

At the height of their strength the state councils had this year 26 full-time professional employees, an increase of 18% over last year. Part-time and clerical staffs have increased proportionately.

The councils have raised about $120,000 from their members and friends--an increase of 20%. At the same time the total of their operating budgets has passed $400,000--a leap of more than 25%.

All of these facts are encouraging.

But we cannot be satisfied with arithmetic progress when the sustained crisis of this region grows by geometric progression. The beleaguered people of the human relations councils have been these dozen years--to a greater degree than is generally understood--the salt of the South. But the conditions have been altered radically since their founding, and there are those both within and without the state councils who question the need or the possibility--or both--of their continuing. I for one am convinced that their proper role is more vital than it was in 1954 and 1955, although it needs, perhaps, to be differently conceived.

All of us are keenly aware of the radical challenge which has been thrown down by the "black power" movement and of the lightning speed of the "white backlash." Intriguing to me are the assumptions of "black power" advocates as articulated by one of their able interpreters, Mr. Julian Bond:

> ...the social system, as organized is no longer capable of solving, through normal channels, the urgent problems presented to it by history.
>
> ...white Americans, generally speaking, lack the will, the courage and the intelligence to voluntarily grant Negroes their civil rights and...must be forced to it by pressure.
>
> ...people do not discriminate for the fun of it;... the function of prejudice is to defend social, economic, political and psychological interests, and...appeals to the fair play of prejudiced people are prayers said to the wind.
>
> ...communities will change discriminatory patterns if they are faced with a clear-cut choice between bias and another highly developed value--economic gain, education or civic peace.

We have to ponder seriously these assumptions. We may lament the actions and strategy of those who make them. We may be grateful that no large portion of Negro Americans has been won to them. But neither the actions nor the number of those who thus believe disproves the validity of these beliefs.

Indeed, the reaction of the nation to date, far from disproving these assumptions, seems almost calculated to do the reverse. Much of the evidence brought forth in this decade of struggle for equal rights tends to confirm their suspicions. Certainly those of us who continue to discern the promise of the South's nobler customs and to dream the American dream must discern and dream by faith, for the reality is not yet.

As biracial associations of citizens committed to social change through the "normal channels" of fact-finding, education, negotiation, and enfranchisement, the human relations councils, are uniquely situated to disprove the "black power" assumptions--if indeed they can be disproven. If the human relations

council idea has any genius and destiny, it lies not in leadership of the oppressed but in its potential for education of the oppressing majority. There is a movement among the oppressed. To be sure it needs and deserves all possible aid, and those who are not themselves victims can provide technical assistance as needed and called for. But the movement is there; whereas there is as yet no significant movement among the oppressing or acquiescing majority. The dissatisfaction of the minorities is or will be aroused. What is needed is an answering dissatisfaction from those who sleep in the presence of moral--and possibly mortal--peril.

One member of your SRC staff tells of trying to secure help for people who were living in unheated slum housing in the midst of a cold snap in Atlanta last winter. "We had some middle class folks down there," he said, "but the emotion they felt was pity for these poor persons. As long as that is what they feel, they can't help much--because the appropriate reaction is anger." That is true. And what we need in the human relations councils is more people--a lot more people--who have the large capacity to hold in constant, creative tension anger over the misery of the minority and pity for the insensible soul-misery of the majority.

If we are to "make democracy work" in the South we shall not do so with ten or twelve thousand people, scattered through eleven states, backing the effort with an average ten dollars each. We have to be more serious and more intense than that!

Our antagonists are more serious and more intense than that. One well-known right-wing organization which, in the judgment of some of us, is doing the most effective job of indoctrinating the white people of the South claimed, about a year ago, more than 100 "chapters" in metropolitan Birmingham alone. By conservative estimate that would mean about 1,500 members in that small area. Only yesterday the Atlanta Constitution carried the boast of one of their "staff coordinators" that an estimated

150 chapters have been organized in Georgia. They have organized over the nation "committees" to counteract the civil rights movement. In Arkansas, for example, they claim such a committee in every town of over 3,000 population. And in May they lamented in print that their contributions fell a million dollars short of their mark in 1965. They spent $5 million while contributions came to only $4,089,000--up only $889,000 from the $3,200,000 contributed in 1964!

There are many variables which must be weighed into this, of course. But the conclusion is incontrovertible that those folks mean business. And so must we!

I have always thought ( to paraphrase Abraham Lincoln ) that all men should be free; but if any should be slaves, it should be first those who permit it for themselves, and secondly those who permit it for others. I venture the opinion that we need not be anxious, in these days, about the former. I think it evident that the non-white citizens of this nation will never again resign themselves to oppression. But I am anxious indeed that white America, and the white South in particular, may continue to be permissive of oppression for others--thus to deserve it themselves.

We have therefore a message of great urgency to get across to the comfortable majority in the South. To this task I believe the human relations councils uniquely suited. It is no new idea, but an old one. It is no radical idea, but a truly conservative one. Lincoln said it:

> This is a world of compensation; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God, cannot long retain it.

DEPARTMENT OF FIELD ACTIVITIES
SUMMARY REPORT FOR 1966

Service and assistance to the state councils on human relations continues as the primary responsibility and concern of the Department of Field Activities. A grant of $100,000 a year for three years enabled us to increase our support of the general operations of the state councils to $150,000 in 1966, which, with $50,000 for four Rural Advancement Projects and miscellaneous grants in connection with special projects, brought our total aid to state councils to about $225,000 in the year.

We purpose, with this expanded program of aid, to enable the state councils to grow to the point of being self-sustaining in their basic operation. Substantial progress was made toward that goal. Dues-paid membership now stands at about 11,500, an increase of 23% over last year. The George Mitchell award for the greatest percentage increase in membership went to the Arkansas Council, which grew by 95%. At the height of their strength the state councils had 26 full time employees, up 18%. The councils raised about $120,000 from local sources, an increase of 20%. Their operating budgets exceeded $400,000, a jump of 25%.

Of special concern during the year has been the problem of defining the working relationship of the SRC to the state councils. In response to overtures from the state council directors and chairmen a special committee was set up to consider the problem at the annual meeting of the SRC Board in 1965. The Director of Field Activities has been working with that committee. There has been a great deal of thinking and discussion, but the committee has not yet reached the point of making concrete recommendations.

The field department was involved in several occasional projects. In the spring and early summer we cooperated with other private agencies and the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in a series of conferences on school desegregation in each of the southern states. Under the leadership of Mrs. M. E. Tilly

workshops on "Dual Justice in the Courts" were held in each state, including Kentucky.

Utilizing a grant of $25,000 from the New World Foundation, we conducted an experimental project in distribution of paperback books. More than 50,000 books were distributed to community centers, school libraries, tutorial projects, study halls in slum communities and the like. Miss Louise Cole, who joined the SRC staff early in the year, administered that program. We also had opportunity, cooperating with state councils, to help find Negro students in the eighth grade who would be apt candidates for admission to six top southern prep schools in 1967.

The field department continues to serve as the secretariat for the Southern Interagency Conference, an informal gathering, four times each year, of some forty intergroup relations agencies working in the region. We consider this a highly valuable service of the Southern Regional Council.

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

THE ROLE OF WHITE LIBERALS IN THE SOUTH TODAY

I am reminded of what Wilmer Dykeman Stokley said about me in Neither Black nor White. I was one of the anonymous people that she and her husband interviewed on a swing through the South. They described me as a schizophrenic sociologist who received half his education in Georgia and half at the University of Chicago. This qualifies you, I think, to be a Souhhern white liberal.

I might give a little more background on why I'm here today. One chapter in my book was the easiest to write because it had already been written. It was a paper on the role of the white liberal which I gave in 1962 at a conference sponsored jointly by the University of Houston and the Southwestern region of the Anti-Defamation League. The situation was very different from this except for a larger crowd with a more formal setting. Ted Freedman was the man who represented ADL at that conference. About three weeks ago he called me and asked if I would come back and re-evaluate what I said then.

It is no easier to talk about the white liberal now than it was in 1962. It seems to me that the first thing I would say is that the white liberal has not changed so much himself, but the ground on which he stands has shifted.

The spectrum of opinions, the spectrum of activities, the types of issues with which he is confronted have changed. His problem is made more severe by the fact that he has not kept up with this change, generally speaking, much as he has tried.

My definition of "white liberal" has not changed materially. I still see him as "the white man who has rejected segregation and the catergorical inferiority of the Negro as values." In a positive way he is committed to full equality for the Negro within American society. I would, however, make a little sharper distinction than I was able to make at that time between the white liberal and the white radical. I think this distinction is a little more evident now.

More than was true at that time, it semms to me, the white liberal differs from the radical as to how he thinks this full equality is to be achieved. Infact one of the ways in which he differs is his concern for the how of bringing about the change, as opposed to a simple faith that this full equality can be brought about and fervor for it.

Another important distinction is that the white liberal still sees this equality as being achieved within the framework of traditional American values and the traditional American political and economic structure.

To the white liberal the phrase that Charles Johnson used in his famous book, "into the main stream," still has meaning. But for many radicals--white and black--the phrase "into the main stream" has taken on a different connotation because the new cutting edge of the Negro revolution has not looked at this main stream as something that is desirable. It is a main stream which is sick and evil, the course of which must be changed. The "main stream" is something they reject now for the Negro. Their concern is not so much that the Negro must be changed, but that society be changed to fit the virtues that the Negro, including the uneducated Negro, represents and embodies in his behavior.

The second major point that I made at that time was that the social structure and normative order of American society support the inferior social status of the Negro. Now, this arouses some controversy, particularly the saying that the normative order supported the inferior social position of the Negro. I still adhere to this position. I heard a political scientist say the other day that we had not only a written constitution but an unwritten one. This was one of the things Myrdal was talking about in The American Dilemma.

We do not have a clear cut set of values which people interpret the same way and in which they agree. There is one set of very traditional values which defined this society as a white man's society. A lot of people might not be able to verbalize this and

would be embarrassed to come right out and say it and act as if this were true, but when they are challenged will agree that this is the way they feel. This is reflected in history books used not only in our white schools but in our Negro schools. Negroes were taught as if this were indeed a white man's society.

At the same time, I would say that the normative order has changed significantly since 1962. It has changed in direction of greater polarization. On the one hand what Allport called official morality is even more clearly on the side of equality. In the form of legislations, in the form of judicial interpretation of what the constitution means, there is more lip service to equality, at least equality of opportunity. I gathered he is all for this. Equality of opportunity and actual equality are becomeing more and more separate things, but there also seems to be a widening of pervasive beliefs in the de facto inferiority of Negroes. We see this very interestingly reflected in the polls that Louis Harris conducts in which one of the gloomy sides of the picture is the number of white Americans who, whatever they may say they believe about the rights of Negroes, still cling to stereotype beliefs that most Negroes are dirty, smell bad, are ignorant, violent and all of these things.

At the same time there is an increasing awareness, an awareness that I don't think was present as recently as in 1962, that not just prejudice but the social structure and the accumulated effects of the behavior of people long dead hold the Negro in an inferior status. There is an awareness that we have tremendous structural problems -- problems about the way our educational system is developed, problems about the nature of our economic system, problems about the ways our juries have been selected -- which although they may not have been designed to do this, nevertheless are going to continue to add to the burdens of the Negro and make change more difficult, even if people sincerely desire to

bring about this change. Now, whatever they may say in response to the attitude tests about how they personally feel that Negroes should be treated, most white Americans accept this structure as being the way things should be. They are apathetic about change. They don't envision the need for drastic change. They think American society is going to continue pretty much as it is and, if integration is going to come, the Negro is just going to become a nice middle class American who happens to have a darker skin than other people.

Now, the white liberal, who believes in full equality for the Negro must be regarded still as a deviant. In spite of official morality, in spite of official interpretation of the constitution, he still stands in opposition. His opposition is to the assumption that this is a white man's society. At the same time I feel he is less a deviant than he was in 1962 and even in 1963 in some respects. At least he is less visible as a deviant simply because more people, regardless of what their attitudes are, are externally complying with some of the forms of equality. This is particularly true in regard to desegregation of public facilities. The person who eats in a public place with a Negro doesn't stand out quite as much as he did before 1964 because there are a lot of people who have all sorts of different attitudes who are doing the same thing. He stands out only when he opens his mouth or does something else to indicate that he does this--accepts the Negroes as equals--not because somebody is compelling him to do so, but because he thinks it is the right thing to do. Then the fact that he is a deviant becomes evident.

At the same time the issues are different. New problems for the deviant are created. It seems to me that the issues on which white liberals differ now from the conservative whites are first of all, attitudes toward the problem of law and order. Secondly, the attitudes on just how drastic the racial crisis is--how much of an emergency it is. While the liberal may be concerned about law and

order, he does not see it as the primary issue, whereas his conservative fellow citizens see this as an overriding issue in our domestic concerns. The liberal still views equality as the issue and sees the problems of the maintenance of law and order as symptoms of a deeper problem rather than being the problems in itself. This doesn't mean that the white liberal, particularly in contrast to some of his radical compatriots, isn't concerned about some of the tactics being used in the Negro revolution. But again he differs from the apathetic or frankly prejudiced white American in that he is quite certain that not enough is being done to meet the emergency we face.

Now let me follow up the theme that the white liberal, particularly in the South (but I don't make too much distinction between white liberals in the South and in other parts of the nation) is a deviant. I still suggest that he is not likely to be near the top of the power structure, as did in 1962. Hereagain there has been a change. Still, in southern communities, many of them, he is not likely to on the city commission or a member of whatever this vague "power elite" is. But, he does today have more access to the power structure mainly because of reorientation of the federal structure. This is not entirely an asset. It creates tremendous problems for him. In fact when you begin to get more power you begin to become more vunerable to attack. Lewis Lomax in an article about a year and a half ago, in a special issue of Ebony, described white liberals as this nation's new power elite. When you come to be regarded as part of the power elite, then you begin to get more and more of the blame for what the power elite has not done. And this is certainly happening to white liberals. At the same time even one who has access to new power who may be able to get more response from Washington when he is concerned about something, is still part of the white side of a dualist society which limits his abilities to meet the demands of the most radical Negroes for what I described as an instant utopia, that is, utopia in which full equality is achieved now. I also commented in 1962

that the Negro leaders tended to over-estimate the power of white liberals and distrust them because they did not live up to a rather inflated expectation. This I think has drastically changed. Now instead of this disappointment and slight distrust, we see more and more the notion that the white liberal is really the enemy. He is the man who has been gaining power and has not really done anything. And we see the mood expressed that since the civil rights organizer's prupose is not to lead but to get the people to lead themselves. Being white is an insurmountable handicap. After a white organizers often wonder if they are not unwittingly developing a new breed of "Uncle Toms" to put it harshly--a "Tom" who will do and think whatever the white civil rights worker wants. Even the most sensitive whites have not been able to overcome this problem and the less sensitive do not see the problem at all, glorying in the assumption that their opinions are at one with those of the local people. Now, these are all harsh words indeed--sharp rejection of white liberal as an ally of Negro militants.

Now turn to the situation which the white liberal functions. What are the effects of these changes on white liberal's role? Originally, I had designated two separate roles for the white liberals--one I called the "martyr's" role and the other the "waiting" role.

They martyr's role involves throwing self fully into the struggle, for integration--engaging in sit-ins, walking picket lines going to jails, being defamed--all the various things that could happen.

It seems to me, though, that "martyrdom" in the past few years has, in effect, been devolved. There have been so many martyrs, particular so many Negro martyrs in the movement that martyrdom is no longer as unusual end outstanding as it seems then. And the white martyr seems to me have lost a great deal of his luster. Part of this has come from the ironic factor that there seems to be more public reaction, more indignation, over white martyrs than there was over Negro martyrs. The white martyr becomes an anti-hero By his very martyrdom, he shows the hyprocrisy of society which prefers white men even in martyrdom. Furthermore, the result of

the martyrdom of white liberals and white radicals has more often been official indignation at the highest levels of government than it has been evidence of remoree on the part of the opposition.

One of the hopes of the martyr is that he will heap coals of fire on his enemy's head, that by his suffering he will convert his enemy. There has been a great diminution of faith that this will really occur. There has been martyrs after martyrs after martyrs, and still we see the same sort of regime being elected in the states where these martydoms have taken place.

Furthermore, I think it's important to recognize that while different people may have different definitions, there are martyrs on both sides of the issues. This was illustrated, for example, in the Watts riot. Sometimes, as you read accounts of this, you would think that it was 34 white firemen and policemen who were killed in Watts instead of 1 white fireman and 34 Negroes. The white fireman who got trapped under a falling wall of a building which had been set on fire by rioters was a legitimate martyr. The fireman wasn't shooting anybody, wasn't even aiming his fire hose; he was trying to put out a fire and a building fell on him. His wife was let a widow--a lvery legitimate martyr. He provided an opportunity for a lot of people to point to him and forget the number of Negroes who died--although the coroner's jury said in all cases it was justifiable. This was the time of the trial of Coleman in Alabama and when my friends in Los Angeles would say do you think Coelman is going to be convicted, I would say, No. But you won't place any bets that any of the 34 deaths in Watts would be found to be homicide and not accidental. And I didn't find any takers for this. So today, white bystanders, police, public school superintendents who have almost been run out of little southern towns for achieving token integration and then find that they are under criticism by the Department of HEW for not meeting the guidelines--they are martyrs to local people including liberal friends who had worked on them for so long to get them to do what

they had done and then they felt sorry for them when they were criticized. You have these martyrs on the other side. This role has lost value and is not as significant as it was in 1962.

The waiting role has also changed. Back in 1962, I was looking at the situation in terms of the conflict over desegregation. The waiting role, I saw and others saw in terms of the white liberal being a potential mediator of whom was waiting for white people of the community--the white power structure--to realize that their community had a problem and would need all the help they had in attacking it. Then they would be willing to use the white liberal because he had lines of communication with the Negro community. It worked to some extent, Many Negro leaders who in 1961-1962 were placing all of their emphasis on the attack of what I call symbolic segregation are saying we were attacking the wrong things. It was noble; it was important, but the real basic things were jobs and housing.

Many people--Stokely Carmichael one of them--are saying what, if said in 1962, whould have made one sound like a conservative: "What good is it to desegregate a lunch counter if a man doesn't have enough money to buy a hamburger?" This is how much the situation has changed. Carmichael can say that. Nobody accuses him of being an Uncle Tom for saying it. In 1962, if the white person had said that, immediately people would say, "Are you really a segregationist? Until we get rid of segregation, we're not going to be able to attack these other problems."

Well, I don't think that in most cases the white liberal has to wait for people to know that they have a problem. Most conservatives are well aware that every American community is involved in the racial crisis. Even with scarcely any Negro population at all, they never know when the government might decide to put a Job Corps center outside their community. It may be in North Dakota, and suddenly they decide that the social structure of their community just wouldn't take it. The thing is brought home to them very strongly.

The white liberal no longer has much of a role as a negotiator or mediator because it has been brought home forcefully to the conservative power structure that the people they have to talk to are the militant Negroes. They might just as well talk to them directly. If in 1962 the white liberal had difficulty being accepted as a mediator by the white community, he has even more difficulty being accepted by civil rights leaders as a spokesman for them. What then can he wait for? If he doesn't choose to become a part of the Negro revolution, he must choose the role, in effect, of preventing the revolution from continuing at a run away pace and/or another role of waiting to help heal the wounds of what I regard as an inevitable conflict. I think we are in for a lot more conflict--a lot more violent conflict--and I think that in a few years, people like ourselves--who do still have some friendships across racial lines--are going to be a rare and precious commodity in this society.

Now let's talk about this first thing of doing what he can to prevent the revolution from exploding. This, I look at in terms of the issues which I have said have changed. It seems to me that symbolic desegregation is no longer the dominant issue. This is very clear in the utterances of the cutting edge of the civil rights movement. Sometimes, the most militant Negro leader sounds almost like a segregationist. While they qualify and say that it's white people that are racist, very often the words are almost identical with those used ten years ago by white segregationists. There is a more clearly revealed race consciousness amoung Negroes than there was when there was so much faith in the possibility and the value of integration <u>per se</u>. The dominant issue is basic inequality--inequality in housing--for example--which can and does involve segregation, of course, but exists anyway, leaving aside the issue of segregation. A bad house is bad no matter what kind of neighborhood it's in and a good house is a better house than a bad one even in a segregated housing project. There is basic inequality in power of all kinds, although this gap is being closed somewhat.

It seems to me that the task that the white liberal, if he does not choose to be essentially a subservient ally of whatever the black power approach is, has tasks which are very difficult and discouraging. This is nothing new to him; he has always had difficult and discouraging and seemingly fruitless tasks. First of all, where there is indeed something that resembles a white liberal power elite in community, in a state or the extent that we find this in the federal government, the white liberal may have an opportunity to be a strategist or an executor of strategy in developing programs or helping carry them out. I use the term programs deliberately because to me you might contrast the liberal and the radical in that the liberal is more programmatic. He views the solution of this, like other social problems, more in terms of social engineering than he does in terms of a revolutionary drive in pursuit of slogans. I think this is a major thing in distinguishing aim from the real radical. The radical doesn't ask so much how is this work going to work out, or is it feasible; he just has faith that if you act as if it's feasible, it's going to be accomplished.

Now briefly, I am going to mention some of the things in which I am sure many of you are involved. One is problem, the whole task, of providing employment opportunities and training to meet these employment opportunities for Negroes and for members of other groups who need them. One of the most optimistic men that I have talked to in the past few months was an Urban League secretary from a western state who was just "bobbing" with enthusiasm about what he felt he was accomplishing in his state. He knew that for a good many people in that state he was doing something. If we have faith that we can come through this crisis without, ineeffect, destroying and rebuilding American society in a wasteful way, we have to have faith that these programs, little as they may seem, have some value, and it is better to do them even though they don't seem to accomplish the whole job, than to leave them undone. The only real justification for leaving them undone is to say that the

only thing to do is to make the situation worse. If you want consciously to do that, then we shouldn't engage in employment and training enterprises, in educational projects such as tutorial programs, headstart programs, in voter education, registration programs, or in various difficult tasks. I don't know how much we have this in the South, but I have been talking to a man who has been involved in Miami of not just trying to get neighborhoods desegregated, but trying to keep neighborhoods stable now that they have gotten desegregated. We are losing ground more rapidly than we make it. As we get desegregation in a few more neighborhoods, they go thorugh a brief period of being integrated neighborhood, t then before long they are all black again. Now looking at the situation realistically these may be simply ameliorative or palliative programs, as many of their opponents would say. We can look at them with faith that in the long run they are going to add up to bringing about some of the changes we need in society without having a violent revolution. Or they may be regarded as simply insincere attempts to forestall the inevitable showdown and to try to take the sting out of the drive of the most militant Negro leaders.

An even less rewarding task for the white liberal is one of attempting to influence other white people--in effect turning back to the white society of which he is still a part inspite of what he might like to be. I have a feeling that this is one task that we have too often neglected, of trying to find some common ground of communication with those white people who, because of their racial attitudes, we often abhor, but who nevertheless represent a lot more people than we represent. Negroes and white liberals still need allies, unless there is a real possibility of achievement of black power, or the third world war is coming or whatever other unpredictable outcome there may be. It seems to me that if there is to be any hope of getting significant support--particularly political support--from white people who are not liberals, it might

be on the basis of persuading these white people to see that they do have some interest in common with Negroes.

I'll give just a couple of examples. One of these I've seen in an AFL-CIO workshop which I participated a couple of years ago. I was trying to point out to white people that the employment problems of the Negro today are going to be the problems, in just a few years, of a large proportion of the whites. Now I know a lot of the economists say that automation is going to make more jobs than it does away with, as they always say. This is a small consolation for the guy who is out of work while he is waiting for the new jobs to appear. Perhaps they don't appear in his life time. Here is a basically non-racial issue that people who are concerned about racial issues are facing more strongly today than a lot of people who should be concerned about <u>this</u> issue but are n not, partly because it is very often defined for them in racial terms. I'd like to see local councils on human relations have programs which say nothing primarily about race but discuss various standpoints, the new question which you are hearing more and more about: the guaranteed wage. Discuss it from a stanpoint of Milton Freedman as well as from the standpoint of liberal economy. I think you might get more people interested in this common problem.

Another one of my pet topics is the problem of police practices. But I don't think it takes much insight to recognize that one of the reasons for the existing problems is that occupationally police themselves are a minority group. Not nearly as many tears are shed over thelong working hours and the low pay of the average policeman as there are of those of the average school teacher. If I had to make my choice, I'd rather see the policeman upgraded than the school teacher, because if he is a bad policeman I know what the consequences are. It is a little more difficult to tell who is really the good teacher and who is the bad teacher. When that policeman gets that gun out, there is no question what the consequences are. They are immediate. I would like to see white liberal groups make the effort to convince the police that they are notjust againt them, but that they are also for them because they regard them as a crucial element of our society who need not only criticism but also very important support.

Finally, as I said I seemuch more conflict as being inevitable regardless of what we can do. I haven't really finished thinking through the possible outcomes of this.. Maybe, as some people argue, only out of conflict will white people come to have real respect for Negroes. I hope it wouldn't take as long to begin to rehabilitate people's attitudes to Negroes as it did to rehabilitate attitudes toward the Indians. We see now, of course, that the red man is noble because he fought so well, as well as being faithful. Geronimo gets good treatment as well as Tanto.

As little as it may seem in view of the forthcoming conflict, I think that preserving this claim of friendship across interracial lines is important. Much as we may criticize the mutual admiration of societies of white liberals and moderate Negroes, these friendships may some day prove to be precious commodities. In a society which is more badly divided than it is today, people who have maintained these friendships may be the ones who are able to begin to rebuild a new and fuller sense of citizenship and fellow humanity.

October 17, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Committee to Study the Relationship between SRC and the State Councils--Meeting on September 27, 1966

The Committee to Study the Relationship between SRC and the State Councils met in the SRC conference room on September 27, 1966. Those attending were Joe Hendricks, Franklin Williams (Florida), and The Reverend Hubert Beckwith, in addition to John Pecoul and I of the SRC staff.

To place our discussion in context, I read the statement which had been drafted by the state council directors and presented to the Executive Committee of SRC on June 3, 1965, and the action taken by the Executive Committee, including setting up the present special committee. (See attached copies.) Hendricks and Williams mentioned the meeting of state council presidents which was held in June of this year, said that some of the concerns expressed at that meeting were also pertinent to our subject, and expressed agreement that every effort must be made to put the state councils on a self-sustaining basis for their minimal general operations. Someone commented to the effect that the children should not only be weaned, but also should be set up as full partners.

The committee then proceeded to list the following objectives which they felt the relationship, whatever it might be, should be designed to pursue:

(1) A regional identity for the state councils and their memberships.

(2) A sizeable and representative membership body for both the state councils and SRC.

(3) Expanded and refined programs for the state councils; more technical skills on the state council staffs and available to them.

(4) Coordination of programs within SRC and between SRC and the state councils. This would mean better communication, but also consultation on program planning. The comment was made, "Something is being said in the fact that the SRC program money for state and local councils is not being gobbled up."

(5) Representation and participation for membership, including training for members to enable them to participate effectively.

Several ideas about specific steps toward these objectives were discussed. The principal ones were an expanded field department at SRC, a department of development, and a more integral relationship between SRC and the councils on human relations.

The committee felt that the Department of Field Activities needs to be greatly expanded, whether or not the formal relationship of the organizations changes. It should include a staff of specialists in the needs of state and local councils. (I took this to mean, for example, a specialist to help local councils organize and sustain affiliated student organizations; or someone who could stay for an extended period in a city to organize a fair housing effort; etc.) The committee mentioned the need for an advisory group for the field department.

In connection with field activities, the committee was concerned about the problem suggested in point four above, i.e., that there are many programs in the field not coordinated with "field activities." It was observed that the state councils were originally conceived as the agents for SRC's field activities; that the rapid growth and strength presupposed by this conception had not proven possible; and that, consequently, they are now--in effect--one of several SRC projects, all of which are field activities. It was felt that the state councils need more expert attention to enable them to attain strength to handle such needs as SRC must deal with, at present, through the special project apparatuses, although they are properly the concern of the state councils as well as SRC.

On the subject of mutual fund-raising, the committee felt the need for something like a "department of development" within SRC. It was stressed that they were not talking about a professional fund-raiser, but rather the need for one or more individuals, committed to the over-all purpose of SRC, who would develop programs as well as support for them and for the agency's general operations. "A department of development," someone summed up, "which is an integral part of the program--not a fund raiser."

A considerable amount of time was devoted to the need for a more integral relationship between SRC and the state councils, in order to achieve the objectives outlined above. One possibility would be to have each state council elect one SRC Board member each year, which would mean an eventual total of 40 out of the 100 Board members. Someone recalled a phrase Les Dunbar often used, "the SRC-human relations council movement." The committee felt that if there is indeed a movement, it needs to be structured and given leadership. They felt that the times and circumstances call for "a movement that is large, public, and regional." "In some way SRC ought to be connected with a membership--a large constituency."

The committee felt that their discussion tended to point up the interpretation that SRC has gone through constant evolution as re-evaluation and restructuring was required by circumstances. They felt that they were not really suggesting a new departure, but only a return--or partial return--to the original concept. They asked me to describe their deliberations and wanted to have placed in the context of them a set of propositions drafted by H. Franklin Williams and unanimously agreed upon:

SRC and the councils on human relations should share a regional identity.

Representative membership of active people is needed for the ends of both SRC and the state councils.

Members of the councils on human relations must feel that they participate in SRC.

SRC should regard the maintenance and extension of council on human relations membership as one of its objectives.

To this end its field service should be built up with an eye to offering training and professional advice to the staffs of the councils and to suggesting projects which involve members in active and significant participation.

There should be no interruption in other projects of SRC, but a real effort to keep the councils on human relations informed about them and involved, where possible.

The committee agreed that these propositions were not to be construed as conclusions to be proposed to the SRC Executive Committee, but rather to be submitted to the Executive Director for his response and comment. They asked that these comments be communicated to the special committee members. If it seems advisable, they will meet before or during the annual meeting to draft definite proposals.

October 24, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: The Special Committee to Study the Relationship between SRC and the State Councils

FROM: Paul Anthony

Ed Stanfield has shared with me the report on your meeting of September 27. I regret that I was unable to attend at least a portion of that meeting. We do appreciate the time you have devoted to this matter and hope that we can ask you to continue serving on this important committee. I particularly appreciate your decision to submit your recommendations to me to give us an opportunity for continued discussion and comment. I think this is a very sound approach to these deliberations and that we can hope for the greatest amount of progress at this point by following such a plan.

At the outset, let me assure you (although I hope it isn't necessary) that I have a deep commitment to the existence of the state councils and their growth. This is commitment which is shared without question by the Executive Committee and staff of SRC. I am certain that SRC can perform a valuable and essential service to the state councils through its regional operation. This ranges from services to the state councils and providing programs and specialists to continued regional and national fund raising efforts on behalf of the state councils. In turn, I feel it is essential for the operation of SRC to have this outreach into the whole region, this structure, this identity with and information from the "grass-roots." It would be the most serious mistake, in my opinion, if we did not continue the closest possible partnership, insofar as we at the Southern Regional Council are concerned. We would hope the members of the Special Committee would always consider their worth in the context of not whether or not there should be a continued close relationship but on how the partnership can be most effectively continued. Your recommendations reflect that we are of the same mind on this.

Specific comments on your recommendations follow:

1. SRC and the councils on human relationships should share a regional identity.

I quite agree with this. To a substantial measure this is already the case, but I think it is something we should be positively aware of and work toward increasing. As a part of this recommendation, I think more thought has to be given to an idea which the state council directors have discussed for several years. This is the possibility of the state councils forming at least a more formal confederation which can on occasion speak as one voice or plan special programs for the entire region. The leadership of several of the state councils have expressed considerable enthusiasm

for this idea. The leadership of several other councils have expressed some reservation about the extent to which this removes policy and program planning from the policy leadership to the state councils' staff. Since there is some remaining question about this, I think the committee should give thought to it and request that state council presidents and directors continue to think about it, preferably when they meet together. Incidentally, as a part of this regional identity I believe that the councils on human relations should consider themselves in a position to have a constant and strong voice in the planning of future SRC programs and projects. To a reasonable degree, we here consider this now the case but I think there is room for more emphasis on this. Certainly, we will be very responsive to the requests for needs, services, programs and direction from the state council leadership.

2. Representative membership of active people is needed for the ends of both SRC and the state councils.

Here again we are in complete agreement. Several years ago the members of SRC at an annual meeting voted that one of the considerations to be taken into account on the election of new members was the involvement of the persons under consideration in the council on human relations from their state. This policy has been followed regularly and each year. A majority of those persons nominated have been actively involved in the state council. This consideration will continue to be a part of the deliberations of future members of future nominating committees. It is unlikely at this point that the Executive Committee of SRC would look with favor on any proposal that would automatically give to the state councils the election of a certain number of SRC members. This procedure was deliberately abandoned in 1957 when the councils became autonomous, and at this time the Executive Committee strongly supports the concept of autonomy.

3. Members of the Councils on Human Relations must feel that they participate in SRC.

4. SRC should regard the maintenance and extension of Council on Human Relations Membership as one of its objectives.

Again we are in complete agreement. For the past several years we have attempted to emphasize this and, for instance, toward that end the George Mitchell Award was instituted. (Incidentally this award with a cash value of $1,000 a year is a pretty heavy burden on SRC, but was deliberately chosen in that amount to be a real inducement.) In the future, I would like to see us give particular emphasis to suggestions, program assistance and financial resources, which will help to maintain membership and the involvement of Council members in the programs of the several state councils.

5. To this end its field services should be built with the idea of offering trained and professional advice to the staffs of the councils and in suggesting projects which involve members in active and significant participation.

Again we are in complete agreement. There is quite frankly a limit to which we can expand the field services but certainly they are inadequate at this time. I feel that Ed Stanfield is doing a remarkable job as Field Director and particularly in assisting the state councils. Quite obviously this is a job which one man, no matter how good, cannot adequately fill.

6. There should be no interruption of the projects of SRC, but a real effort to keep the councils on human relations informed about them and involved where possible.

All of the statements made heretofore in this memorandum refer to this. They do, of course, reflect complete agreement with you again. We have not done as good a job as possible in keeping the state councils informed about SRC projects and a real effort is underway here to improve that. Beyond that I would place more emphasis perhaps than this Committee has on the matter of involving state and local councils in SRC projects. It would be my hope that with rare exception there would be considerable involvement in SRC projects on the part of state and local councils and as mentioned before, indeed, substantial planning in them before they are initiated.

Beyond the above response to your several recommendations it might be good if you knew more of some of our thinking here as we go through what is in effect a period of significant transition for the Southern Regional Council. In the past year we have grown tremendously. (Incidentally, for the first time the rate of growth of our financial assistance to the state councils has been proportionate to the remainder of our growth.) While that opinion might well change because of the changing conditions, it is my strong opinion at this point that we have reached the "saturation point." I believe for a substantial further growth on the part of the Southern Regional Council in terms of number of staff, number of projects, or of money available would be very questionable. We are not here interested in building an empire and the relatively modest staff and budget in comparison with the results gained over the past fifteen years gives me considerable pause before we undertake any additional substantial expansion. Quite frankly, I would hope the trend is in the other direction. That to a gentle and gradual degree we begin to slowly cut back to a point where we are perhaps twenty percent smaller in staff and budget than we are at this time. You should know that in part I reached this opinion because in oversize fashion we share a particular problem with the state councils. Namely, we have great difficulty in finding adequate support for our general operations and we, like the state councils, must give this first priority and must be concerned that at no time do we over-extend ourselves.

Further, we here at SRC are not anxious to become over-extended in field programs. There are certain functions such as our Voter Education Project which we have no choice but to undertake. These are, however, specific functions for a limited amount of time and they are not seen as a permanent part of the agency. In general, we feel state councils particularly, but other agencies as well,

are in a far better position to undertake program work on the local level. Our unique function is on an entirely different level and I believe it would be a mistake not to recognize that uniqueness and the danger of considerable duplication if we become too involved in programs.

I hope it will be possible for this Committee to meet before or during the Annual Meeting and should you wish there will certainly be an opportunity for the Committee to report to the members of the Council on your thinking and deliberation at this point.

The Council now has a number of special committees at work on future SRC policies and programs. I am certain I speak for the full Council in expressing the opinion that this Committee is one of the most important. This will be dicussed with the Executive Committee of SRC. I personally hope this Committee will continue to function indefinitely and that each of you will continue to be agreeable to serve.

We look forward to seeing you on November 16.

PA/cl

ES — FYI — you might want to keep available

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

December 1, 1965

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Vernon Jordan

FROM: Barbara Patterson

RE: Negro Voter Registration in the South

| | 12/64 | 12/65 |
|---|---|---|
| ALABAMA | 111,000 | 148,000 |
| ARKANSAS | 105,000 | 104,000 |
| FLORIDA | 300,000 | 289,792 |
| GEORGIA | 270,000 | 282,000 |
| LOUISIANA | 164,700 | 202,062 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 28,500 | 57,800 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 258,000 | 270,000 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 144,000 | 142,780 |
| TENNESSEE | 218,000 | 225,000 |
| TEXAS | 375,000 | 380,000 |
| VIRGINIA | 200,000 | 205,000 |
| TOTAL | 2,174,200 | 2,306,767 |

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## Some Annotations on Negro Voter Registration Figures

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ALABAMA | -- | This estimate includes some 22,000 listed by federal examiners and put on the rolls by an 11/23/65 3-man federal court decision. |
| ARKANSAS | -- | Negro registration probably declined in the state, 12/64 to 12/65. Knowledgeable local persons are in agreement and the official total registered figure is lower than it was a year ago. Estimate. |
| FLORIDA | -- | Officially recognized as a decline over 12/64. Lists have been officially purged. Official. |
| GEORGIA | -- | Registration has increased only slightly and has not been fully documented. Estimate. |
| LOUISIANA | -- | Does not include 10,926 listed by federal examiners as of 10/25. Official. |
| MISSISSIPPI | -- | While an estimate this figure has been attributed to local state officials although official registration data has not been announced. It does not include an additional 22,934 listed by federal examiners as of 11/27/65. |
| NORTH CAROLINA | -- | Estimate. |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | -- | Released official figures for the first time in 6/65; 142,780 is a slight decline over SRC estimates for a year ago. (While an estimate, SRC had its most precise reporting from this state.) Does not include 3,100 listed by federal examiners as of 11/28/65. |
| TENNESSEE | -- | Very low estimate. State has had an increase but we had not documented it. |
| TEXAS | -- | Probably has had little change. Also not documented. Estimate. |
| VIRGINIA | -- | This is low estimate. Official data is anticipated, 12/65. |

The total we talk of is roughly 2.3 million. This is a 6.09% increase over the SRC total for one year ago. If the number listed by federal examiners in three states were added to the 1965 total the increase over 1964 as of approximately 11/65 would be approximately 7.79%.

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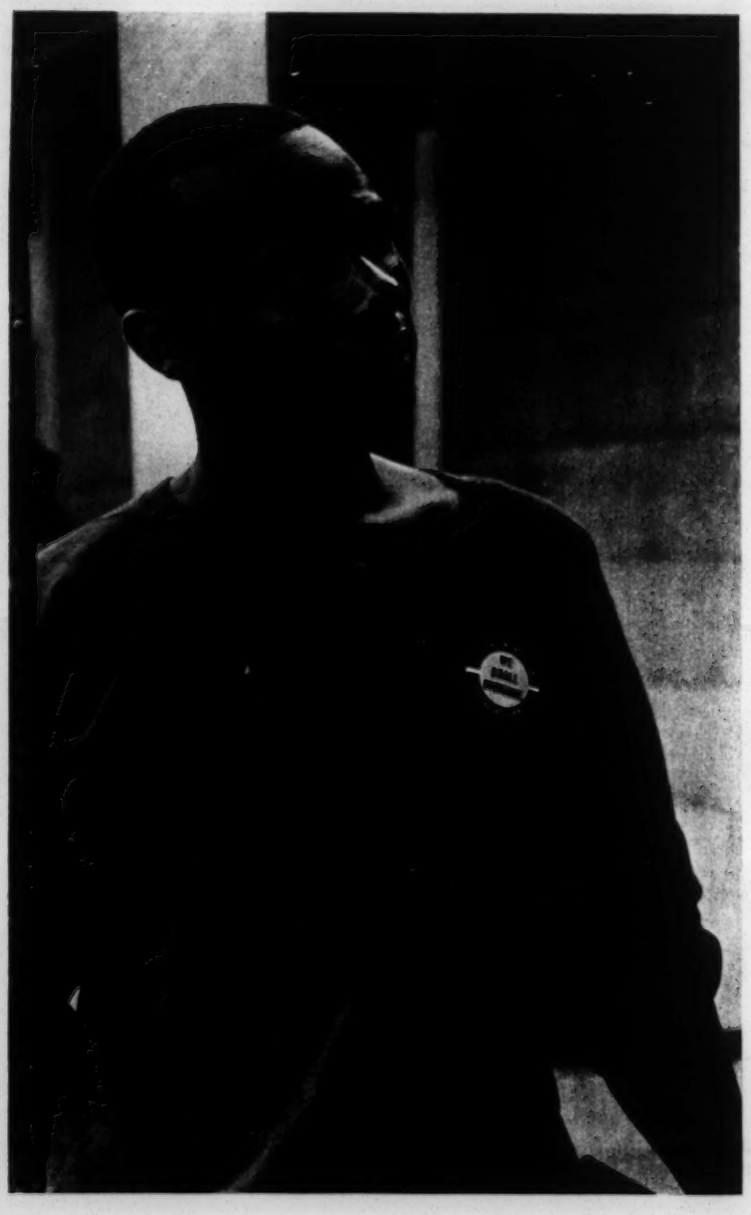
SNCC

# SNCC: Rebels With A Cause

## Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is a spearhead of Southern Freedom Movement

BY LERONE BENNETT JR.



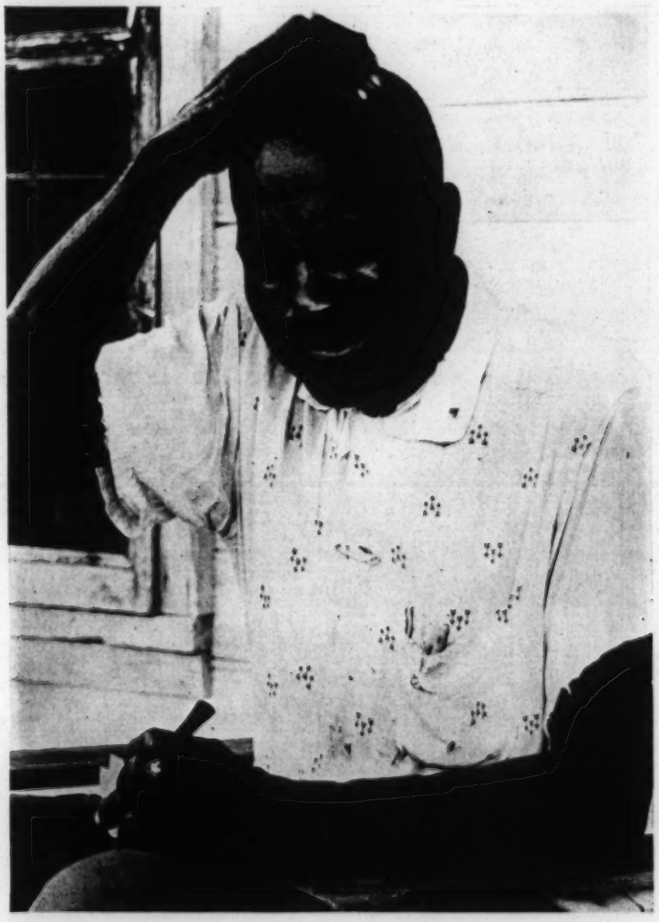
WHEN, in calmer times, men come to write the history of our raucous era; when they seek the cry that called a New Left, the rasp that twitched the nerves of Negro youths and the image that convulsed American campuses; when they try to set down in words once and for all the forces that pushed America to a desperate confrontation with herself, it seems likely that they will devote a considerable amount of attention to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee which has emerged within the last year as a major force of the Freedom movement, to the dismay of many persons of power—not all of them white.

A product of the sit-in movement which it, in part, led and a major force of the New Left which it inspired and, in part, leads, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee—abbreviated SNCC and pronounced SNICK—is the most radical, the most controversial and perhaps the most creative of all civil rights organizations. Strictly speaking, however, SNCC is neither an organization nor a civil rights movement. An organization in revolt against organization, a formless form, SNCC is a revolutionary action agency dedicated to the proposition that racism is only one symptom of a deeper sickness at the heart of our society. By establishing toeholds deep in Black Belt hells and by carrying the revolution from door to door (see pictures this page) in a unique in-depth approach to community organization, SNCC has raised fundamental questions not only about Negro rights but also and perhaps more significantly about the meaning of leadership, education, and democracy in American life. Raising these questions in and through action, SNCC has created a radical, non-compromising climate which has exerted continuing pressure on civil rights organizations.

**Canvassing for potential voters** in Hattiesburg, Miss., Johnny Waters (l.) tries to persuade a skeptical prospect (above) that voting is key to power and freedom.

Tough, abrasive, and avowedly revolutionary (in a nonviolent way), SNCC has played a large and unheralded role in a quasi-revolution it wants to make "a real revolution." SNCC was primarily responsible for raising the whole issue of "One Man, One Vote" in Black Belt areas of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. It also helped to create scaffolds of revolt in Selma, Albany (Ga.) and other focal points of the struggle. Beyond all that, SNCC has infused new life into the Freedom move-

ment by creating new forms (the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, statewide Negro student organizations, sharecroppers unions, Freedom schools). No other civil rights group has been so endlessly inventive in local organization; nor has any other group grown so fast. From a nucleus of sixteen ex-students in 1961, SNCC has grown into a direct-action giant with a budget of almost $1 million and the largest field staff of any civil rights organization. From SNCC headquarters on the edge of downtown Atlanta, the organization's Secretariat (Chairman John Lewis, Program Secretary Cleveland Sellers, Executive Secretary James Forman) directs a staff of 200 organizers, most of them Negroes, most of them Southern-born, almost all of them former college and high school students who have adopted rebellion as a profession. Agitators for equality, SNCC practices equality. All members of the staff are members of the policy-making Coordinating Committee which elects the executive staff and executive committee.



**Thinking the idea through,** weighing the dangers, prospect scratches his head. Waters redoubles his efforts, points to the need for self-assertion on part of Negroes.

Though structured, SNCC is more a secular religious order than an organization. On entering the group, one resigns, in a manner of speaking, from society; and almost everything SNCC people do or say is designed to reinforce or reflect a willed distance from a society almost all SNCC people consider rotten to its very core. SNCC staffers want to transform American society. They are critical of the acts and values of the middle class—Negro and white. Detached from a society which they reject, living on subsistence wages of $20 a week, scorning the ties of family and conventionality which stay the arm of the adjusted, SNCC workers are full-time rebels with a flaming cause.

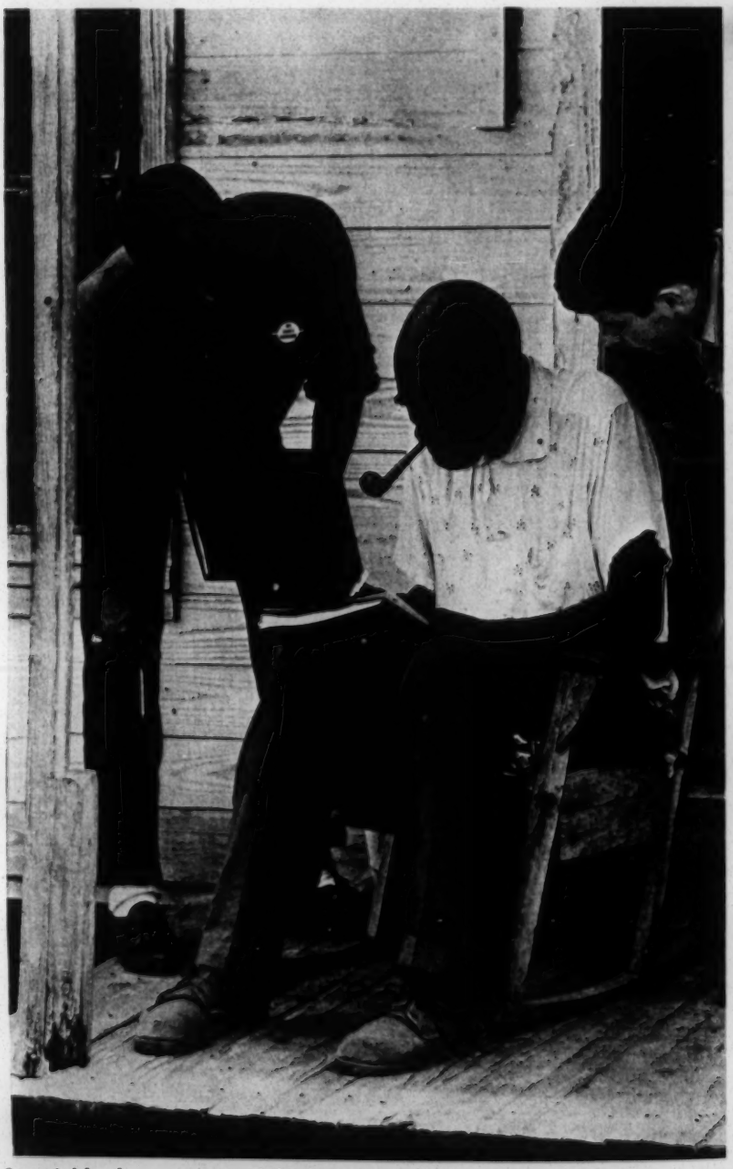
Who are these rebels?

What do they want?

How do they intend to get it?

The SNCC rebels, to take the first question first, are intense, nervous people who know the insides of many jails, people who have seen the bottomless cruelty of man, people who have seen their best friends beaten to pulp and killed, people who have been tested, who have looked on death and despair a long, lonely time. Most are veterans of the sit-ins and freedom rides which stirred them greatly. The sit-ins, Charlie Cobb says, marked "the first time I had ever seen any black people doing anything that was not controlled by white people." Cobb, like most of his colleagues, is also in flight from a middle-class America he considers hopelessly corrupt. Cleve Sellers spoke for almost all of SNCC staffers when he explained why he abandoned Howard University and a potential career as a mechanical engineer. "I couldn't make it in that society. I couldn't breathe."

What sustains these rebels is a *mystique* of total commitment. SNCC workers take vows of total poverty and total devotion. They identify themselves totally with the people—i.e., the poor, the despised, the downtrodden, the humiliated. Sharecroppers with eyes, victims with voices, they thrust themselves into the ditches of desperation so they can speak more clearly for the inhabitants thereof. SNCC workers dress poor, think poor and act poor. Most of them wear the rough overalls and large working shoes of Negro farmers and laborers. "Basically," James Forman has said, "we're dealing with poor people, and these are the people we identify with. It even affects our salary scale. One reason it's so low is just lack of money, but another reason is that we think you can't come out from a nice hotel every day to work with these people and then go back at night. Besides, in Mississippi, as a practical matter, you have to look like a rural Negro in order to get to talk to a rural Negro. And then we have to move a lot, and there's no use



**Converted** by the persistence and the dramatic example of the SNCC youth, prospect yields and signs canvassing sheet. SNCC concentrates in Black Belt areas of South, stresses grass-roots organization and development of indigenous leadership.

wearing a coat and tie if you're likely to end up sleeping on the floor. Another thing that's operating here, too, consciously or unconsciously, is: Why should we have to comb our hair and put on a coat and tie to get what are basically our rights? The student (sit-in) movement was positive, and without it we couldn't have had this, but it was also defensive—to show people we were clean. This is a different game. Also, there's a certain mystique about the dress, a certain morale factor. Maybe we've overdone it; it's almost a uniform now."

Another element in the SNCC mystique is a deep, almost religious, faith in the ability of people to govern themselves. "The people," Prathia Hall says, "are also our teachers. People who have struggled to support themselves and large families, people who have survived in Georgia and Alabama and Mississippi, have learned some things we need to know. There is a fantastic poetry in the lives of the people who have survived with strength and nobility. I am convinced of how desperately America needs the blood transfusion that comes from the Delta of Mississippi."

In the SNCC view, it is evil for a leader to manipulate people and tell them what to do. What is required, they believe, is "a waiting for the motion of the people, a working with them to the point where they can develop a program." Bob Parris, the philosopher-poet of the people concept, has said: "What we have begun to learn and are trying to explore about people is how they can come together in groups, small groups or large groups, and talk to each other and make decisions about basic things, about their lives. . . . Our problem with people who might want to do this . . . is that they would first think that in order to go to people and get them together, they would have to have something for them to talk about. So they would have to have a program to carry to them or they would have to have something to organize them around. But it doesn't turn out to be true, from our experience. You could in the North, in the ghettos, get together 10 or 20 people and out of their getting together and giving them a chance to talk about their main problem would come programs that they themselves decided on, that they thought about. If that happened and began to happen around the country, that would be the key to spreading some of the things that have happened in the South to the rest of the country."

SNCC's philosophy of leadership is grounded on its deep faith in people. SNCC believes that leadership is specific to the situation and that one does not have to be articulate, college-educated, or clean in order to exercise it. "We believe," John Lewis says, "that the leader is one who should emerge from particular situations and problems. SNCC people say the press creates leaders in America. These leaders have to have certain characteristics. They have to be articulate, college educated. Then you are a leader, as long as you keep in line. But SNCC people are saying that even the people in Mississippi must emerge as leaders. *They must be able to speak for themselves.*"

This is not, it should be noted, an intellectual pose. Bob Moses, who became famous as leader of the Mississippi Project, left the state and changed his name (to Parris) because too many people knew his name. "My position there," he said, "was too strong, too central, so that people who did not need to, began to lean on me, to use me as a crutch."

SNCC's position on leadership is a direct criticism of the entire civil rights movement. "We are in revolt," John Lewis says, "not only against segregation but also against the type of leadership, the so-called old guard leadership, where you have had a select few to speak for the Negro people and to make deals. No one person can be picked, no one organization can be picked to speak for the Negro people. People must be allowed to speak and decide for themselves. Even the civil rights movement must become democratic."

**Absorbing violence, SNCC leader** John Lewis falls to ground after attack by state troopers who stopped first attempt to march from Selma to Montgomery. SNCC made first large-scale penetrations of Albany, Georgia, and Selma. Organization also played large role in focusing attention on conditions in Black Belt enclaves in the South.

Leaders with contempt for leadership, organizers who despise imposed organization, heroes with contempt for heroism, SNCC staffers find it necessary to spend a great deal of time disputing the view that they are the James Bonds of the civil rights movement. Bob Parris has said that the SNCC staffers are "very afraid of the people in the South and that they have had to fight and struggle against [it]." He added: "But suppose, then, that they had no choice, that is they can, through many different ways, see that their backs, so to speak, were against the wall and they had to move within that fear. And then suppose that what they are trying to do is explore how to move within the boundaries of fear and that what they've got to learn about fear is that it paralyses you so that you don't move—you don't do what you think you should, be it to ask a question or take a person to register. And suppose also about the Mississippi people that they're not heroes and that

we're not heroes, that we're trying very hard to be people and that is very hard. If anything what we're trying to do, or have to do, is to see how you can move even though you are afraid."

Making few compromises with themselves, SNCC staffers refuse to accept compromises from others. This has led to no end of hard feeling within the civil rights movement where SNCC has repeatedly denounced the "realistic" policies of allies.

SNCC refuses to play the game. It has consistently condemned gestures and conciliations. It was cool toward the March on Washington and largely hostile to the Selma-to-Montgomery march, both of which it considered gestures largely without context and content.

The intransigence of SNCC staffers stems not only from the pains they have suffered but also from their peculiar vantage point. Having made themselves into sharecroppers and laborers, viewing life from that vantage point, SNCC staffers believe, with Jean-Paul Sartre, that truth is the perspective of the truly disinherited. "When a man has risked his life to vote," Prathia Hall says, "you can't offer him anything less than what he needs and be relevant."

In the rhetoric of Negro leadership, it is permissible to ask for the whole cake with the understanding that the white man will give only a slice, if that. But when SNCC asks for the whole cake, SNCC wants the whole cake and is prepared to create nonviolent havoc to get it.

What distinguishes SNCC from other civil rights organizations is its tough, power-oriented, wholistic approach. The moral issue, it believes, cannot be realistically separated from the political and economic issues. Nor, it believes, can Selma be divorced from Saigon or Santo Domingo. More and more, in recent months, SNCC has taken the lead in denouncing American foreign policy in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

At the same time, there has been a shift in SNCC's position on nonviolence. SNCC still champions nonviolence as an offensive tactic, but few SNCC staffers believe that getting themselves clobbered on the head will change either George Wallace's policies or his morals. "Since the founding of SNCC," Lewis says, "there has been a great deal of debate on nonviolence. The discussion now is perhaps at its highest peak. The majority of staff people accept nonviolence as a tactic and technique. That's all we require of people."

SNCC's objective is a fundamental change in the social, economic, and political structures of America. How does it propose to achieve this objective? By creating "pockets of power" outside established institutions, by organizing and stimulating local or indigenous movements, by going to the people and sharing their agony and their danger and their hope. "Our job," Lewis says, "is to help educate, help prepare people for political action. Our job is to organize the unorganized into a vital force for radical, social, economic, and political change. Our job is to create what I like to call pockets of power and influence, where the people can say, 'This is what I want and need.'"

In pursuit of its objectives, SNCC sends workers (field secretaries) into backwoods areas to live with the people and to show them a new way of living and a new way of resisting. Field secretaries live wherever they can find a bed. They share the food, the dangers, and the privations of the people. Talking to the people in poolrooms, in kitchens, in cotton fields, in bars, they win their confidence and begin the slow and painful process of developing "indigenous" leadership. Day after day, they knock on doors and urge Negroes in Black Belt counties to assert themselves, to organize, register, and vote. Many doors, in the beginning, are slammed in their faces. But the SNCC field secretaries keep coming back, and a man here or a woman there throws caution to the wind and invites them in. Slowly, painfully, dangerously, SNCC workers sow the seeds of assertion and humanity, giving men, women, and little children the courage to defy sheriffs, nightriders, and the organized power of the state.

**Spreading love, SNCC workers conduct** Freedom School in yard of Mississippi home. SNCC, which grew out of sit-in movement, attracted national attention with organization, in 1964, of Mississippi Summer Project and Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. More political than most civil rights groups, SNCC organizes communities "in depth."

Deep in the America nobody wants to see, SNCC staffers have learned a great deal about themselves and about others. The organization's whole program, in fact, is a reflection of experiences paid for by blood and pain since the sit-in movement. Organized in October, 1960, at a conference of sit-in students on the campus of Atlanta University, SNCC concentrated in the beginning on lunch counter desegregation. "But we soon discovered," Prathia Hall says, "that that was not where it was at. Then we went into the Black Belt with voter registration. The people there couldn't eat at lunch counters because they were only making twenty-three cents an hour. That was where it was at." Starting with a Bob Parris-inspired project in Mississippi in 1961, SNCC shifted its emphasis from hamburgers to political power, using voter

**James Forman,** 36, executive secretary, is oldest member of three-man Secretariat (executive secretary, chairman, program secretary) of the organization. Forman is a former Chicago teacher who resigned his position to enter Freedom Movement.

**Cleveland Sellers,** 20, program secretary, coordinates field programs in South. Sellers quit Howard University and joined SNCC, has been told that he is the "youngest executive in America." SNCC staff members work for subsistence wages.

**REBELS WITH CAUSE** *Continued*

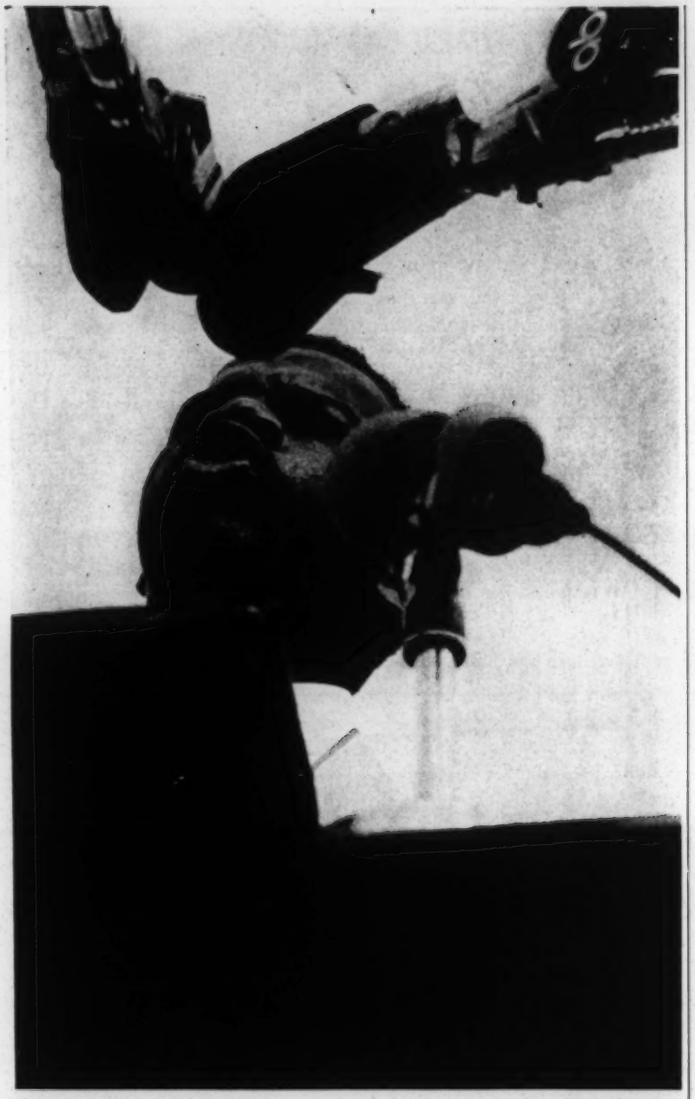
registration as a tool to reorganize communities and re-structure them around new axes. In out-of-the-way places, without trumpets, the original sixteen clawed toeholds and hung on. They went from one filthy jail to another, from one shack to another—and as they moved, singing, their numbers grew. By 1962, there were some 150 dedicated field secretaries.

The longer SNCC struggled, the more it learned, and the more attention it attracted. But it suffered from inadequate public relations (a term SNCC staffers loathe, preferring the omnibus "communications") and the tendency of white reporters to lump the organization with King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. SNCC acquired high visibility for the first time in the summer of 1964 with the organization of the Freedom Democratic Party (FDP) which challenged the bona fides of the lily-white Democratic Party in a melee that almost stopped the Democratic convention. The Atlantic City confrontation was, in some respects, a turning point for SNCC which has always distrusted people who wear ties and eat three large meals a day. ("If you're *comfortable,*" SNCC staffers say, "you're out of it.") When national civil rights leaders suggested that FDP accept a compromise of two-at-large seats, SNCC exploded. Its anger has not yet died down. "All these people," John Lewis said, "said they were supporting us, but at the eleventh hour they said they could go no further. It was an eye-opener, a sign of the men standing up and the boys sitting down." Prathia Hall adds: "(Atlantic City) indicated to some of us that you cannot get too close to the power structure and expect to change it. So that's why some of us are guarding against being absorbed by the Establishment. We want to be outside the Establishment. We speak from that vantage point."

Operating outside the Establishment, on the uncharted frontiers of power, SNCC has moved to the forefront of the Freedom movement. Mississippi, which is criss-crossed today with a beehive of indigenous political and economic movements, is a tangible testimonial to the group's community organization concept. SNCC workers are now fanning out over Arkansas, Alabama, and Georgia, in a series of Black Belt projects modeled loosely on the successful Mississippi Project. The organization is also making experimental probes in urban centers. Bob Parris is developing an urban project in Alabama. Even more important perhaps is SNCC's first foray into the North with the organization of a community center in Chicago.

Program Secretary Cleveland Sellers says SNCC will continue to stress political and economic issues and the development of local leadership. SNCC will also press, he says, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's challenge to the lily-white Mississippi Democratic Party.

SNCC's vision for the future transcends voter registration. What the organization is trying to do is to create new communities and new men. "What we are trying to do," Sellers says, "is to make people important and necessary again." Sellers adds: "The idea of SNCC will always be with us. SNCC is a moving force in this country, a force that has only people and the interests of people at heart. We're raising basic questions about our society. We're trying to get people to see that when you talk about civil rights you have to go deeper than hamburgers, deeper maybe than even the vote. You have to go really deep into the



**John Lewis,** 25, chairman, is Baptist preacher and veteran of sit-ins and Freedom Rides. An action agency, SNCC has no members. Coordinating Committee (roughly Board of Directors) is composed of entire staff of some 200 Negroes and whites.

whole thing about relationships. That's what makes SNCC unique. I don't think any other organization wants to deal with these basic things. I think we have to go even further, however, to be most unique. We're trying to find ways now so we can deal with man as man, *because he is who he is,* and not in terms of money or his father's background."

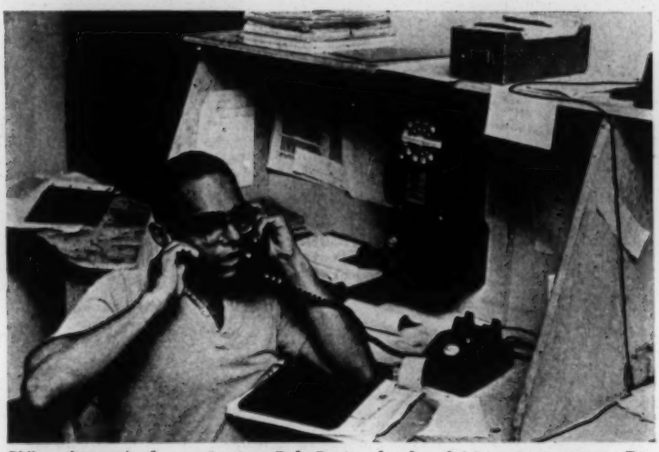
Although SNCC has fashioned a formidable instrument, it is far from perfect. As Howard Zinn pointed out in the excellent book, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists,* SNCC is not "scrupulously well-organized; letters may go unanswered, phone calls go unreturned, meetings start late or never or without agendas. It is so quick to act that it often does not stop and plan actions carefully to get the most value from them. It does not take enough time to work out long-range strategy. It is not groomed in the niceties of public relations. . . . It exasperates its friends almost as often as it harrasses its enemies." It should be noted, however, that a great deal of this disorganization is organized. SNCC staffers tend to see structure and organization as hypocrisy and they are determined to defy the iron law of organization which says that the more an organization wins the more conservative and bureaucratized it becomes.

Will success spoil SNCC?

This question is discussed often nowadays by SNCC staffers who are grappling with two major problems—one internal, the other external—stemming largely from the organization's success. The internal problem revolves around the relations between Negro staff members and the large number of whites who gravitated to the organization after the successful Mississippi strike. Some whites with special skills have drifted into leadership positions to the dismay of a large number of

## Here's how you can help

- Get together with others where you live or work. Talk about your common problems. Find ways that you can work together to help people gain a voice in the decisions that affect them.
- Money. SNCC needs it. "Subsistence" salaries often go unpaid. People have to eat. Send contributions to: SNCC, 360 Nelson St. S.W., Atlanta, Ga., 30313.



**Philosopher-poet** of organization, Bob Parris, developed Mississippi project. Parris' ideas on leadership and "participatory democracy" (the concept of direct participation by the people) have influenced the entire non-Communist left in U. S.

**In new Atlanta office,** Jack Menses, research director, organizes files. Organization has research staff of seven who provide field staff with detailed pictures of power structure of local communities. SNCC also has large printing office.

**Betty Garman** coordinates fund-raising, interpretative and action efforts of Friends of SNCC in North and Canada.

**Ruby Doris Robinson** is personnel chief of organization. She is also administrator of the Sojourner [Truth] Motor Fleet.

**No. 1 exhibit,** Fannie Lou Hamer, is one of several powerful local leaders developed in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia.

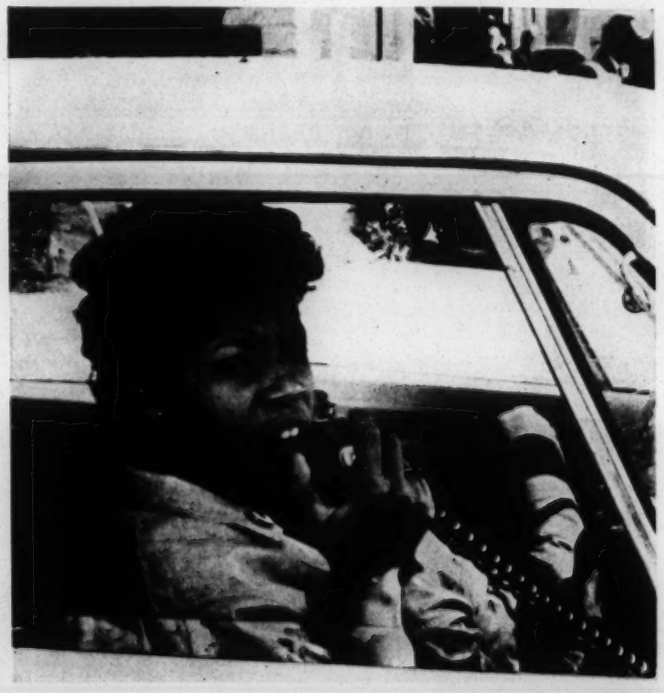
**Communications Dir.** Julian Bond dramatized SNCC program in recent race for Georgia House of Representatives.

**Freedom Democratic Party (FDP)** is product of Mississippi Project. FDP, one of most creative efforts of Freedom movement, is challenging legitimacy of white party.

## REBELS WITH CAUSE *Continued*

Negro staff members who say the organization must be "black-led, black-controlled, and black-dominated." At the last general staff meeting, John Lewis and other leaders took the position that "whites must consent to let Negroes run their own revolution without being alarmed at the sacrifices and difficulties involved." SNCC leaders say "the majority" of the white staff understand why "black domination is a must," but the issue is far from settled and it is potentially explosive.

Beyond all that, SNCC is threatened by dangers without. Powerful forces—not all of them white—are alarmed by the growth of the organization and SNCC staffers believe they are organizing to crush it by isolating SNCC from the direct-action coalition (SNCC, SCLC, CORE) and by waving the "red" flag. SNCC is not now, nor has it ever been, an un-American organization. But its refusal to impose a loyalty oath on staff members has given critics a weapon which they have been using with increasing effectiveness. To disarm critics, friends have urged the organization to issue a routine "public relations statement" denouncing Communism and Communists. SNCC, so far, has refused, citing the SNCC answer that ends all arguments—"It would be dishonest."



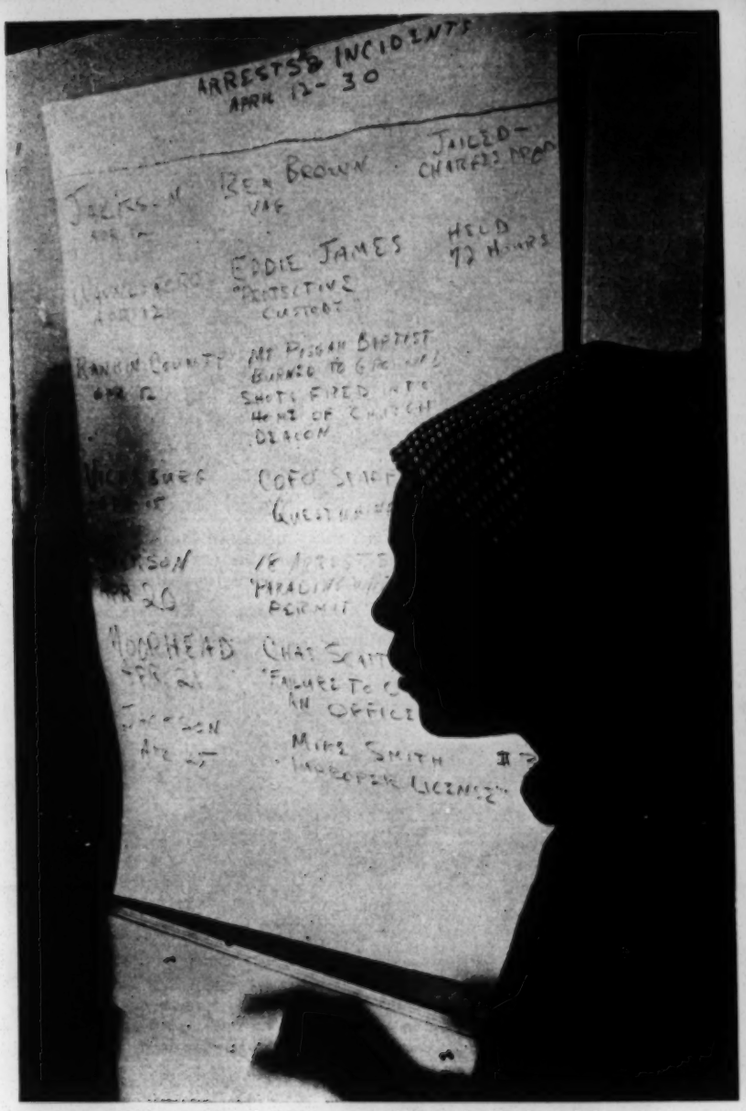
**Battle-oriented,** SNCC has fleet of radio cars. Organization has continuing educational program for staff members who learn how to operate radios, business machines.

**At Mount Beulah School,** in Edwards, Mississippi, SNCC staffers participate in training session for Mississippi youth who signed up for projected "Freedom Corps."

"We have a positive program of nonviolent direct action," Executive Secretary James Forman says. We stand on our affirmative program. We don't ask people what they are. We don't have a security check or a loyalty oath."

The external pressure is likely to increase in the coming months. Can SNCC keep its soul and its effectiveness? Bob Parris says "the coming months will be crucial. We've been hated for a long time in the South, but we could always go to the North and be heroes. Now we may find ourselves isolated and destroyed in the North. We have to prepare ourselves for that. Somebody may have to be ploughed under. But, after all, that's what a revolution means."

And revolution, a nonviolent revolution, is what SNCC means. SNCC, John Lewis says, intends to go the distance. "We're going to be consistent with what we consider right. We're going to be honest. *We are what we are.* We are not the Students for a Democratic Society. We are not the Salvation Army. We are not the American Friends Service Committee. We are an organization, yet a movement of people with different backgrounds, ideas, hopes, aspirations, working for a just and open society. We are the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee."




**In Jackson, Mississippi, office** of SNCC-supported Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), Lorne Cress discusses organization's battlefield-like operations near poster (of arrests, incidents) which dramatizes dangerous life she has chosen to live.

**Stopping traffic** in Chicago's Loop, SNCC's Chicago director Fanny Rushing (r.) and SNCC supporters sprawl in street.

**SNCC slogan, "One Man, One Vote,"** dominates placard carried by Selma demonstrator. Chairman John Lewis says SNCC is "a spark to begin the flame for basic social, economic, and political changes."

STUDENTS

NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, MARCH 10, 1966.

# U. of North Carolina Forbids Talk by Aptheker

## Communist Forced to Leave Campus for a Speech to 2,000 Students

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., March 9 (UPI) — A leading American Communist was barred from speaking at the University of North Carolina today, but spoke to about 2,000 students off the campus.

The Communist, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, director of the Institute of Marxist Studies in New York, previously had been barred twice from the campus because of a state law restricting speeches by Communists at state-supported colleges and universities.

Paul Dickson, president of the student body and chairman of the Committee for Free Inquiry, led Dr. Aptheker as far as a Confederate monument, where the talk was to be given, when the campus security chief, Arthur Beaumont, said:

"Paul, I want you to tell Dr. Aptheker that if he speaks he is breaking the law."

"Can I explain this to the students?" Dr. Aptheker asked.

"If you speak you'll be breaking the law," Mr. Beaumont said.

"I thought I had the rights of a citizen of the United States," Dr. Aptheker said. He headed for the sidewalk across a low stone wall separating the campus from the town.

"I'm sorry my appearance has turned into a spectacle and a circus," he said. He told the students that the state law was "medieval and absurd."

"The supreme law relative to this case in our land is the Bill of Rights," he said. "The trustees [of the university] and the chief of police are violating the law of the United States."

When Dr. Aptheker was introduced by Mr. Dickson, he was greeted by hoots, boos and applause. When he finished speaking, the students — estimated at 2,000 by campus police — applauded him for about one minute.

Mr. Dickson announced that Dr. Aptheker had received permission to speak at the nondenominational Community Church. He also had been granted the use of the town hall by Mayor Sandy McClamroch Jr.

In a special session last year, The North Carolina Legislature amended the law to allow trustees and administrators of the schools to use their discretion in permitting Communists access to campus facilities.

The university's trustees and its acting chancellor, Carlyle Sitterson, have twice rejected requests by campus groups to permit Dr. Aptheker speaking privileges since the law was amended.

STUDENTS



# Educators Warn of New Protests on Campuses

## Kerr Finds Students Again Drifting Toward Activism

By PETER BART

Special to The New York Times

HOLLYWOOD, May 9—Leading edcucators warned today that the American university had entered a period of high peril that could lead to renewed student protest.

The warnings were sounded at a consultation on "the University in America," sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, attended by some 1,500 educators.

Several prominent university presidents and professors proposed possible remedies to cope with student disaffection. But a panel of student activists bluntly rejected these and proposed a drastic overhaul of present university structure.

Clark Kerr, president of the University of California, said the present crisis in university life stemmed mainly from the widening "gap between the new mission of many professors and the new desires of some students."

Faculty members, Mr. Kerr said, have increasingly been withdrawn into specialized research at a time when "more students meanwhile wanted to gain from their education a personal and social philosophy as well as or even instead of a vocational skill."

### Apathy to Activism

Faculty and students, he added, have therefore been drifting in opposite directions until "apathy has turned to activism."

Saul Landau, a graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley, said the revival of "a meaningful tradition" in university life would result only from the continued "guerrilla warfare" conducted by students and the "displaced intelligensia."

These rebels, Mr. Landau said, would conduct "intellectual warfare" against those universities that were set up solely to meet "the operational needs of the corporations and government" rather than "the needs of the moral man."

### Viewpoint of Rebels

These points were echoed by other students addressing the convocation. They emphasized that students were rebelling against knowledge devoid of social meaning, and were seeking a greater role in the conduct of their university life.

Students have awakened to the fact that "the most vital part of their education lies beyond the classroom," said Margaret Anne Levi, a student at Bryn Mawr College.

While acknowledging the existence of a "crisis," Dr. Kerr said it was only a limited crisis confined largely to the humanities and social sciences. The more vocationally oriented facets of the university have been largely unaffected, he said.

"Much is being done—perhaps more than ever before," Dr. Kerr said, to deal with the limited crisis. Among the reforms, he said, were freshman seminars, better advising procedures, devotion of more faculty time to undergraduate students and introduction of pass-fail grading to eliminate unhealthy competition for marks.

Perhaps the most dramatic reform, he continued, has been the introduction of the principle of the "cluster college" now being applied at the university's new San Diego and Santa Cruz campuses.

Dr. Rosemary Park

This concept calls for the establishment not of a monolithic campus but of a cluster of smaller colleges, sharing some common academic facilities—a structure used by Oxford and Cambridge.

"A university cannot be small but it can seem small to its indicidual participants," Dr. Kerr said.

Turning to the trend toward greater student activism, Dr. Kerr warned that "too often now this involvement takes the form of simplistic slogans and even occasionally that of violent or potentially violent action."

"Neither the slogans nor the actions are at a very high intellectual level," he observed.

This view was reiterated by Dr. Rosemary Park, president of Barnard College, who urged fellow administrators "to insist

## Remedies for Disaffection in Universities Are Debated

that it is a privilege to be a student, not a right, that the university is no welfare state open to all but only to those who will develop an intellectual conscience and accept the discipline which comes with specialized knowledge."

Dr. Park emphasized, however that the university now found itself "in dangerous times when student dissatisfaction with education has never been more strident nor faculty disinterest in the institution they serve more apparent."

She noted that university administrators today "find ourselves in a paradoxical situation, respected outside but within our institutions suspected by those we must serve."

The concern voiced by Dr. Kerr and Dr. Park about the present status of the university was echoed by, among others, J. Douglas Brown, dean of the faculty, Princeton University; John Weiss, associate professor of history at Wayne State University; Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, and W. H. Ferry, vice president of the center, which is sponsoring the convocation.

John Seeley, professor of sociology at Brandeis University, took a more generous view of student thinking.

"As youth calls for freedom now," he said, "so also it calls for an end now to the mountainous structure of institutionalized pretense and choking hypocricy within which we find ourselves in the last gasps of suffocation."

"Call such innocence primitivism, if you wish," he went on, "but let it carry then not merely the note of recall but renewal, not only a simplicity but a fresh start."

STUDENTS

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of
The Crozer Foundation
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Sincerely yours,

Ronald V. Wells

Ronald V. Wells,
President

RVW:lm

Enclosure

# THE UPLAND INSTITUTE

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Administration file STUDENT WORK

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

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Would you be interested in working with other Georgia students to improve human relations in our state?

Would you be interested in working with an organization of Georgia students dedicated to this purpose?

In an organization called the Georgia Students for Human Rights, the foundations have been laid. The GSHR was formed in February, 1964 by a group of interested students from several college campuses in the Atlanta area. The formation of the group stemmed from the need for communication and participation in the civil rights movement among college students. As interest in the GSHR grew, the Atlanta meetings were attended by larger numbers of both white and Negro students, some of whom were interested in direct action, others were interested in community work projects, and/or surveys and research.

Many students attending other colleges throughout Georgia, particularly the University of Georgia, expresses interest in expanding the organization on a state-wide basis. The organization did become state-wide. They held a conference and started work on specific programs. However, when the year ended many of the officers and members graduated and the organization became inactive.

Now, in 1966, Georgia students are again feeling the need for the GSHR. Georgia students are seeing the Georgia Students for Human Rights as a way to step toward progress and moderation.

Why have a state-wide organization? A state-wide organization is valuable on three levels: the state, the region and the campus.

State-wide, the organization could serve to coordinate activities. For example, "Operation Search," a program to recruit capable people to attend college, could be initiated or a program to assist poor people in making application for welfare or related programs could be run by students. The state-wide functions could also include publishing a newsletter.

On a regional level, the program could include exchanges between campuses in an area, as well as work on employment or school desegregation problems.

At the campus level, the group could work on specific campus issues such as, academic freedom, university reform, etc. and benefit from ideas and techniques used on various campuses.

Is there a need for such an organization? Many Georgians, both adult and students, say, "yes." They feel that in 1966, the need for students to work for better human relations is as great as, if not greater than in past years.

Are Georgia students willing to work with such an organization? To be frank we don't know. Therefore, we are writing you on behalf on the many people, across the State who have expressed an interest. Enclosed is a response sheet on which we are requesting that you tell us what you think about the GSHR.

Thank you

Sincerely,

Paul Wahrhaftig

Paul Wahrhaftig
Georgia Council on Human Relations

Bill Roberts

Bill Roberts
Southern Student Human Relations

August 12, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: STATE COUNCIL EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

FROM: J. MERVIN STANFIELD

SUBJECT: RECRUITMENT OF NEGRO BOYS TO ATTEND TOP SOUTHERN PREP SCHOOLS

We have been asked to help find eighteen (18) Negro boys to integrate the top six prep schools in the South. (It happens that all of the schools, which were chosen on the basis of academic ranking only, were boys' schools.) All six have agreed to cooperate in order to break the color barrier at the same time. The program, including all necessary scholarship aid, is being financed by a wealthy individual.

The problem is to find eighteen boys who are both interested and qualified to enter the ninth grade of one of these schools in September of 1967. That means that they must be boys in the eighth grade this fall. Each must have an IQ of 115 or more and must be from the South.

The program will provide, as needed, up to full expenses -- including tuition, fees, books, room and board, laundry, and other incidental costs -- for completion of the student's secondary education at one of the prep schools. Applicants need not be from low-income families, however, and where the family is able to pay all or part of the cost complete expenses would not be offered.

Provision is also being made for two months of orientation and tutoring beginning in June of 1967.

All students recommended will be sent simple tests to be taken at home. The most promising will then be interviewed at their homes by a representative of the donor, and the choices will be made after the interviews are completed. For purposes of this procedure a good field of candidates is desired, but not a flood of candidates -- lest too many disappointments be caused. This is why we are being asked to recommend students instead of their being recruited through public announcement.

Those responsible for this program do not perceive it as primarily to help the eighteen students. It is frankly designed to help the prep schools come to terms with social change.

Could we have your first recommendations within three weeks?

file

September 12, 1966

The Reverend Aubrey Brown
The Presbyterian Outlook
521 East Main Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Aubrey:

Emory Via, Director of our Labor Project, and I would like to have more information as early as possible about the role we are to play in the Virginia conference on religion and race.

By the way, I was in the regional office of the National Catholic Council for Interracial Justice last Thursday, and they share my feeling that your conference is going to turn out to be first rate.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield

JES:mlm

September 14, 1966

Mr. August VandenBosche, Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
6241 N. W. 17th Avenue
Miami, Florida 33147

Dear Auggie:

With reference to my memorandum of August 12, do you plan to submit the names of any Negro boys who might enter a southern prep school next fall?

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:mlm

September 15, 1966

Dr. Joseph Witherspoon
Citywide Committee of Individuals
and Organizations for Human Rights
P. O. Box 4404
Austin, Texas 78751

Dear Dr. Witherspoon:

This is just to follow up on my correspondence with you and Mr. John J. Doyle in August. We are interested in Austin and in Texas and are eager to render any service we can to your organization.

As you know, Mr. Marvin Wall of our office visited Austin while you were away and talked to Mr. Doyle and others from CCIOHR. His report was highly complimentary.

I hope to be in Dallas in the near future to explore the possibility of a human relations council in that city. If possible I would like to visit Austin also, and I wonder if you have a regular meeting date on which I could arrange my visit.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:mlm

Attch.

Systematic
Training
And
Redevelopment

# STAR INC.

First National Bank Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Mailing Address:
P. O. Box 2295
Jackson, Mississippi 39201
Telephone 948-3113

March 11, 1966

~~LPA~~
VJ
PF - file
STAR
agency

Mr. Edwin J. Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

The enclosed material describing the STAR, Inc. program in Mississippi is for your information.

I hope that you will find this helpful and will feel free to contact me if you have any questions regarding our program.

Sincerely,

Jeanne George

(Miss) Jeanne George
Director of Public Relations

JG:ifj

enc.

P.S. many thanks for your letter and for providing us with the mailing list.

# FACTS ABOUT

# the

# SYSTEMATIC TRAINING

# and

# REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

# NO. I

(1) WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STAR, INC. ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM?

The purpose of this program is to:

1. Prepare low-income and undereducated adults in Mississippi for vocational training and employment opportunities now being made available by the State's rapid industrial growth.

2. Mobilize the State and local resources of Mississippi and its people to combat, on a continuing basis, poverty and illiteracy.

To accomplish this, 15 training and redevelopment centers will be established throughout the state to conduct classes in basic education -- reading, writing, arithmetic and social studies -- with an emphasis to preparing for jobs. In addition, the centers will provide counseling services, job placement and training referral, and will carry out extensive work in local job development and community action.

(2) WHAT IS THE NAME AND ADDRESS OF THE STATE AGENCY DIRECTING THE PROGRAM AND WHO IS ITS DIRECTOR?

STAR, Inc., located at 1201 First National Bank Bldg., Jackson, Mississippi, is the state agency directing the program. Dr. W. T. Bush is Executive Director of STAR, Inc. This is a private, non-profit corporation which is run by a Board of Directors representative of the civic, religious, business, government, labor and minority elements of the state. The Executive Director, Dr. Bush, is a native Mississippian with a wide background in education and administration.

(3) WHAT IS THE OFFICIAL NAME OF THE FEDERAL LEGISLATION CREATING THE STAR PROGRAM?

The federal legislation under which STAR operates is the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the Manpower Development and Training Act.

(4) WHO IS THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATOR AND WHAT IS HIS ADDRESS AND TITLE?

The national administrators are: Sargent Shriver, who is the national Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, D. C., and Curtis C. Aller, who is Director of the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, U. S. Department of Labor.

(5) WHAT IS THE TOTAL AMOUNT OF MONEY INVOLVED IN MISSISSIPPI?

At this time, approximately $8,000,000 is approved for the STAR program. This excludes the local contribution made by the Diocese of Natchez-Jackson as the local sponsor of the program.

(6) WHY IS THE CATHOLIC CHURCH INVOLVED IN THIS PROGRAM?

The Catholic Diocese of Natchez-Jackson has the type of statewide organization and physical facilities at its disposal which a program such as this requires. Additionally, the diocese has a long history of concern for the poor; it is intimately aware of the conditions and problems of poverty in Mississippi, and is prepared and willing at this time to involve itself to the fullest extent permitted by the Federal Government in just such a program as STAR, Inc. In view of this, the Diocese took the initiative in submitting the original proposal for STAR with the approval of both Mississippi and Federal Government officials.

(7) IS THERE ANY MONETARY ADVANTAGE TO THE CHURCH, AND IF SO, HOW MUCH?

There will be no monetary gain to the Catholic Church from this program. In fact, the Church is actually contributing some $500,000 to the STAR program in the form of physical facilities (classrooms and office space and equipment, building facilities, etc.) as well as making available to the program the services of its professional members and established organizations such as the diocesan newspaper.

(8) WILL PARTICIPANTS BE GIVEN ANY RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION?

The STAR, Inc. program is entirely non-sectarian in content and purpose. As required by law, participants will not under any circumstances receive religious training or proselytization. Any religious objects and instructional material will be either covered or removed from the diocesan buildings during the time they are in use by the STAR program, if this is at all possible.

(9) WILL ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL, STATE-WIDE OR LOCAL, BE RESTRICTED TO MEMBERS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH?

Program personnel in every instance will be hired on the basis of his own qualifications without regard to his religious beliefs or affiliations and in strict compliance with the Equal Opportunity Act of 1965.

(10) HOW DOES THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT RECONCILE THIS COUNTRY'S TRADITIONAL POSITION ON THE PRINCIPLE OF SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE WITH STAR, INC. BEING HANDLED BY A RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION?

The welfare of the poor has always been one of the major concerns of all religious bodies. Recognizing the long history and experience which churches and church-related organizations have in dealing with the multiple problems of the poor, the Federal Government, in designing the Economic Opportunity Act, did not exclude these organizations as sponsors of Economic Opportunity projects but rather included in the guidelines, special provisions relating to situations in which the church or church-related organizations would be involved to assure that the principle of separation of Church and State would not thereby be abused. Briefly, these guidelines state: none of the OEO grants shall be used for the teaching of religion, religious proselytization or worship and that such will not be connected with any program supported in whole or in part by OEO grants; that admission shall not be based directly or indirectly on religious affiliation; that textbooks and facilities used in OEO programs will be devoid of sectarian content or influence; and that grant funds may not be used to pay any cost which would ordinarily be incurred by the church or organization in their regular operation.

It should also be added that the Diocese of Natchez-Jackson does not have administrative control of the STAR program; control rests entirely with the Board of Directors of STAR, Inc., the legal corporation chartered to administer the program.

(11) HOW WILL REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER FAITHS BE BROUGHT INTO THE PROGRAM?

The STAR program will make no appeal based on faith to either personnel or trainees. All recruitment of trainees will be impartial and based on need and eligibility.

(12) WILL CHURCH FACILITIES BE USED AS MEETING PLACES? IF SO, HOW WILL THE PROGRAM AVOID THIS BEING A DETERRENT TO PARTICIPATION OF THOSE OF OTHER FAITHS?

Church facilities will be used at most of the training centers as part of the STAR facilities. Program officials will seek to avoid this being a source of conflict by establishing good relations and communication with local communities in order to familiarize them thoroughly with the STAR program, assuring them that STAR is for their benefit and that their religious convictions will not affect their participation in the program. As mentioned previously, areas used in STAR programs will be devoid of religious articles or references.

(13) WILL LOCAL COMMUNITIES HAVE ANY VOICE IN THE POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE STAR CENTER LOCATED IN THEIR AREA?

A local Advisory Committee will be appointed from every community where a STAR center is located. This group will serve the center in its area as a local advisory and coordinating agency between the center and the community.

(14) WHO WILL SERVE ON THE LOCAL ADVISORY COMMITTEES AND HOW WILL THEY BE APPOINTED?

The local Advisory Committees, or Boards, for STAR Training Centers will be appointed by STAR, Inc. after

the members of these Boards have been approved by the Board of Directors of STAR, Inc. In approving members to serve on the local Advisory Boards, the Board of the Corporation will act in strict compliance with the guidelines set forth in the Community Action Guide, Vol. I, issued by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Basically, these guidelines state that there must be broadly based representation from the local community, including representatives from private and public agencies (including at least one representative of the chief elected official or officials), concerned with the welfare of the general community; other elements in the community as a whole, and the population to be served by the Community Action program. "Particular attention should be paid to ensuring adequate minority group representation in cases where minority group members comprise a large proportion of the population of the 'target' areas..." CAP Guidelines also state: "In the selection process, there should be maximum possible involvement of the groups and persons to be represented. The selection process should be designed to encourage the use, whenever feasible, of traditional democratic approaches and techniques such as group forums and discussions, nominations and balloting."

As for the number of members on each local Advisory Board, the board should be large enough to insure the broad representation mentioned above but should not exceed 15 who will be actively involved.

(15) HOW MANY TRAINING CENTERS ARE THERE IN MISSISSIPPI? WHERE ARE THEY? HOW WERE THEY SELECTED?

There will be 15 centers with classes being conducted at 19 different locations. (The Jackson Center will conduct classes at two locations in Jackson. The DeLisle Center will conduct classes at DeLisle, Pass Christian, Bay St. Louis and Kiln.) Centers are located at:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Biloxi | Canton | Natchez | Greenville |
| Gulfport | Carthage | Clarksdale | Yazoo City |
| DeLisle | Philadelphia | Mound Bayou | Holly Springs |
| Jackson | Meridian | Greenwood | |

Their selection was made on the basis of local need and desire for such a program, the lack of a comparable CAP program in the area and available facilities.

(16) WHAT TYPE PERSON WILL BE ELIGIBLE FOR TRAINING THE STAR, INC. PROGRAM?

Eligibility for STAR training programs is determined by the following basic criteria:

(1) Adults between the ages (generally) of 18-60, especially those who are family breadwinners;

(2) Income for individual or family is below poverty level;

(3) Little or no education or whose education is so critically deficient as to render person functional illiterate;

(4) A desire to take part in STAR basic literacy courses and job preparation training;

(5) That individual be able to benefit from these courses. (STAR, Inc. must exclude from its training program those who are so physically or mentally handicapped that they could not be trained in the ordinary manner of the class. This restriction is necessary because of staff deficiencies and limited time.)

(17) WHO DETERMINES HIS ELIGIBILITY AND HOW IS HE RECRUITED?

Eligibility is determined by testing, screening and personal evaluation under the direction of professional social workers and counselors. As for recruitment, local Recruiters will be hired by STAR, Inc. for this purpose. These Recruiters will in most instances be low-income people living in the local community. Volunteer recruiters are also requested by STAR and will be utilized. Methods will include direct contact, speaking engagements, public announcements and publicity, etc.

(18) WHO INSTRUCTS THESE PEOPLE? WHAT QUALIFICATIONS ARE INSTRUCTORS REQUIRED TO HAVE?

Each STAR training location will have a full-time teaching staff. They will include a Supervising Instructor, three Instructors and four Assistant Instructors. It is desired that the Supervising Instructor and three Instructors at each center have a degree in education and experience in teaching and/or professional fields; for Assistant Instructors, a high school education is the educational requirement. However, STAR, Inc. recognizes the shortage of such highly qualified teachers and will adjust to this by accepting related experience and personal qualifications which lend themselves to the needs of the program. All STAR, Inc. Instructors will receive special training and orientation in preparation for the specialized teaching required of them in the STAR program. As other programs throughout the country have proven that qualification is as much a personal matter as a technical one and that a teacher's certificate is not always the only valid measure of talent and ability, the administrators of STAR, Inc. believe that this is the most satisfactory method of obtaining qualified local people as instructors without, at the same time, encroaching upon the needs of the local public school system and other public and private agencies in the community. The Director of Education ahd his associates at the Central Office of STAR, Inc. will maintain close contact with the Instructors to assure maximum effectiveness of teaching methods and materials.

(19) HOW LONG IS THE COURSE OF INSTRUCTION? WHAT IS ITS ULTIMATE GOAL?

The courses presently are scheduled to run in 3-month cycles. If this is found to be inadequate for the aims of the program, modifications will be made as necessary and as possible. The ultimate goal of the courses is to provide the trainee with the reading, writing and comprehension skills, as well as an associative knowledge in other fields, which will enable him to get a job and stay in a job that provides a living wage. Academically, the goal is to bring the student to a sixth grade achievement level.

(20) WHAT IS A "GRADUATE" OF STAR CLASSES ABLE TO DO WHEN HE FINISHES THAT HE WAS NOT ABLE TO DO BEFORE?

The results of the courses depend very much on the individual himself -- his own limitations, native ability and motivation. However, it is the intention of the STAR program to place its trainees in jobs, or training leading to jobs, after they have completed the basic education courses. In almost every instance, these jobs would not have been available to the individual because he could not read or mentally grasp instructions for performing the job, because he did not know how to apply for the job in the first place, and because he lacked the confidence, and in many instances, the initiative, to meet the demands of the job and work productively with others.

It is also the intention of STAR that its trainees will be imbued with a sense of their own personal worth as individuals, and that as a result of STAR's training, they will be able to move within realistic grasp of a life of dignity and security and opportunities for personal growth and development.

(21) WILL TRAINEES OR STUDENTS BE BROUGHT IN FROM ALL PARTS OF MISSISSIPPI TO THE RESPECTIVE CENTERS, OR WILL MORE CENTERS BE ESTABLISHED?

Each STAR, Inc. training center will serve an area of 50 miles in radius generally. The conditions of the STAR, Inc. program and the funds available to it at this time do not provide for coverage of the entire state. STAR, Inc. in this respect, can only do part of the total job that needs to be done as regards poverty in Mississippi. It is the hope of STAR, Inc. that similar programs will be set up by local community action groups according to local needs in those areas where no such program is now available. To this end, STAR, Inc. is making available its professional advice and service and is prepared to give every possible assistance to those desiring to obtain Federal funds for a local Community Action or Development program.

(22) IS A TRAINEE OR STUDENT PAID ANYTHING WHILE BEING TRAINED? IF SO, HOW MUCH AND FOR HOW LONG?

Under the terms of the STAR program, trainees may be provided a small weekly subsistence, based on relative need during the time they are enrolled in and attending classes.

(23) FOR WHAT ADDITIONAL TRAINING IS A GRADUATE ELIGIBLE? WHERE DOES HE GET IT? IS HE PAID FOR THIS ADDITIONAL TRAINING? WHAT IS THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF THIS POST GRADUATE TRAINING?

Graduates are eligible for on-the-job training, any training program sponsored by OEO or OMAT or MDTA, state sponsored training programs, and any other training or education which they might wish to pursue, depending on personal initiative and capability. At this time, STAR, Inc. has only one center where a separate Vocational Training component will be conducted. This is at Greenwood, Mississippi. Otherwise, STAR, Inc. will refer graduates to existing state and federal programs, providing follow-up services and counseling. Students involved in STAR sponsored vocational training will be eligible for the maximum weekly subsistence. The ultimate goal of this is that the person obtain a decent job which pays a living wage.

(24) HOW MANY MISSISSIPPIANS ARE ELIGIBLE FOR THE STAR TRAINING PROGRAM? ARE RURAL PEOPLE INCLUDED?

According to the 1960 census there were 2,178,141 people in the state of Mississippi. Of these, there are 1,064,976 over the age of 25. Of this number, 160,015 have less than a 4th grade education and 40,640 have no formal school training at all. Another statistic states that 51.6% of the families in Mississippi have an annual income of less than $3,000. From this, it can be deduced that there are some 100,000 or more who are eligible for the STAR, Inc. training programs. The 1960 census also reveals that 1,357,336 Mississippians live in the rural areas. This is 62.3% of the total populations. In view of this, it can be further deduced that a large percentage of those taking part in the STAR, Inc. programs will be from the rural areas. In addition, many of the STAR centers are located in areas which are predominately rural.

(25) HOW MUCH STAFF PERSONNEL IS INVOLVED AT THE TRAINING CENTER LEVEL? HOW ARE THESE PEOPLE SELECTED? ARE THEY NATIVE TO THE COMMUNITY INVOLVED?

The average Center will be staffed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Center Director | Community Action Specialist |
| Supervising Instructor | Job Development Specialist |
| Three Instructors | Four Recruiters |
| Four Assistant Instructors | Executive Secretary |
| Two Counselors | Custodian-Maintenance Man (part-time) |
| Social Worker | |

The Center staff, as well as all STAR, Inc. personnel, will be hired on the basis of individual qualifications and experience, and with the exception of clerical personnel, must be approved by the Executive Director and the appropriate department head at the Central Office. Whenever possible, people from the local community will be hired for the Center staff.

(26) WHAT DOES THE PROGRAM REQUIRE AS TO INTERRACIAL PARTICIPATION IN SUPERVISORY PERSONNEL, TEACHERS, ADVISORY COMMITTEES, AND STUDENTS?

All STAR, Inc. staff and personnel, its Advisory Committees and student trainees will be selected in strict adherence to the principles set forth under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Equal Opportunity Act of 1965. i.e., there will be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, color, sex or national origin. This adherence is demanded by both the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training.

(27) IF THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY THROUGH ITS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE WANTS TO BE DESIGNATED AS A TRAINING CENTER, WHAT MUST THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DO?

In order for a community to obtain a funded Community Program or a STAR, Inc. component program, the first necessary step is the forming of a sponsoring organization which would be representative of all elements of the community -- business, religion, labor, minority groups, representatives of the poor, etc. The next steps would be to draft a suggested program

and submit it in proposal form to the proper agency. The local Office of Economic Opportunity, which is directed by Mr. Martin Fraley, should be consulted at the beginning for advice, guidance and direction.

(28) WHAT FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES ARE PLACED UPON COMMUNITIES DESIGNATED AS LOCATIONS FOR STAR TRAINING CENTERS?

The basic local responsibility of communities in which a STAR, Inc. Training Center is located is to provide the physical plant - classrooms, office space, meeting rooms, rest rooms, etc. No financial contribution as such is required by STAR, Inc. from the local community.

(29) IS THERE ANY DIRECT COOPERATION REQUIRED OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS - MAYORS, BOARDS OF SUPERVISORS, ETC.?

STAR, Inc. depends heavily upon the support and cooperation of local public officials and agencies to realize the overall objectives of its program. In its fight against illiteracy and poverty, STAR, Inc. will seek to mobilize the resources of Mississippi and its people against these twin evils. Public officials can play a major role in helping local communities to relate to STAR, Inc. and also in helping STAR to best serve the needs of the area. Coordination between STAR and public agencies such as the Health Department, Guidance Centers, Welfare Departments, etc. is also needed in order to serve best those people who have long lived under the stress and deprivation of illiteracy and involuntary poverty.

(30) IS THERE ANY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STAR, INC. AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

STAR, Inc. is hopeful that public schools will initiate adult education courses wherein graduates of the STAR, Inc. training program will be able to pursue educational advancement and to which students who do not qualify for STAR training but who need additional education can be referred.

(31) HOW LONG IS THE STAR, INC. PROGRAM SCHEDULED TO LAST?

Under the terms of its present funding, STAR, Inc. is scheduled to run until August, 1967. There is a possibility that the program will be extended beyond that time.

(32) WHAT SIZE STAFF IS CONTEMPLATED STATEWIDE?

STAR, Inc. will employ approximately 365 persons to carry out the various aspects of the program. Most of these will be native Mississippians. In some instances, however, when properly qualified personnel are not available, these positions will be filled by persons from outside the state.

(33) WHERE DOES THE FINAL AUTHORITY REST FOR DETERMINING WHO SHALL BE EMPLOYED ON THE STATE AND LOCAL STAFFS?

The Executive Director of STAR, Inc., except for his own position, will be responsible for the appointments to any position in the Central Office with the approval of the Executive Board of Directors. The Executive Director and the Executive Board will also be responsible for the appointment of all Center Directors and the top administrative Center staff. Center staff appointments, of course, will be made in consultation with the appointed Center Director. Appointments to lesser positions can be made by the Center Director himself. STAR, Inc. will be an Equal Opportunity employer for all applications throughout the state and all personnel will be employed only on the basis of merit, training and qualifications for the position applied for.

(34) TO WHOM SHOULD AN OEGANIZATION OR GROUP OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE COMMUNITY GO FOR INFORMATION?

The Center Director of the local center should be contacted for specific information regarding the training program and other activities of that center. For information regarding the overall STAR program, and its policies, contact the Central Office of STAR, Inc., 1201 First National Bank Building, Jackson, Mississippi, telephone: 948-3113.

Agency file

# The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights is an independent, bipartisan agency established by Congress under the 1957 Civil Rights Act and authorized by the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964 to:

### Voting

. . . Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion or national origin.

. . . Investigate allegations of vote fraud.

### Equal Protection of the Laws

. . . Collect and study information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution.

### Clearinghouse

. . . Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information.

### Reports

. . . Submit reports of its activities, findings and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

The Commission is not an enforcement agency and has no power to provide specific remedies in individual cases. It refers complaints of denials of rights to the appropriate Federal administrative agency for corrective action.

Six Commissioners, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, determine policy for the agency. A Staff Director, also a Presidential appointee, supervises the professional and clerical staff of more than 100.

The Commission's field offices in Memphis, Tennessee and Chicago, Illinois, aid the agency in all of its programs.

## STAFF ORGANIZATION

Commission programs are implemented through four major staff divisions. The *Federal Programs Division* evaluates Federal civil rights policies and their implementation and serves as liaison with other Federal agencies on civil rights matters. The *Field Services Division* directs field activities for the agency and is responsible for the coordination of field offices and the supervision of the 51 State Advisory Committees. The *Research Division* maintains a library of civil rights materials and develops short term as well as more extensive research projects. The *Office of the General Counsel* handles the agency's legal work and directs its voting projects. Complaints alleging denials of equal protection of the laws should be forwarded to the Office of the General Counsel.

The Commission also includes an Office of the Staff Director, an Office of Business Administration, and an Information Office which maintains liaison with news media, public and private groups, and the general public and, edits Commission publications.

## PUBLIC HEARINGS

The Commission travels throughout the nation for fact-finding hearings relating to civil rights problems. Such hearings have been held in Jackson, Mississippi; Montgomery, Alabama; New Orleans, Louisiana; Atlanta, Georgia; Chicago, Illinois; Washington, D. C.; Los Angeles and San Francisco, California; Detroit, Michigan; Phoenix, Arizona; Newark, New Jersey; New York, New York; and Indianapolis, Indiana. Hearing rules safeguard the rights of every individual who appears before the Commission. Using the subpena power granted by Congress, the Commission seeks facts from local officials and other citizens representing diverse interests and points of view. The Civil Rights Act of 1960 and 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and some presidential executive orders reflect findings and recommendations resulting from Commission hearings and studies.

## REPORTS

Major investigations and research projects have been conducted by the Commission staff relating to the denial of equal protection of the laws in voting, education, employment, housing and the administration of justice. Published Commission studies also deal with differences in the opportunities available to Negroes and whites in the armed forces and in programs of the Departments of Agriculture; Health, Education and Welfare; Labor and other Federal agencies.

## CONFERENCES

The Commission sponsors national, regional and state conferences as part of its fact-gathering function and as a method of disseminating information to specialized audiences. These conferences bring together Federal, State and local officials, representatives of business, labor and civil rights groups, and community leaders to consider school desegregation, employment, equal housing opportunities, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and other civil rights matters.

## STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES

More than 600 citizens from every state and the District of Columbia who are familiar with state and local civil rights problems serve without compensation on the 51 Advisory Committees to the Commission. These committees constitute a unique resource for securing information based on the experience and insight of persons with first-hand knowledge of problems in every part of the country. The committees also disseminate information on Federal law and policies.

The Commission often publishes reports prepared by the State Advisory Committees.

## CLEARINGHOUSE

The Commission is a national clearinghouse for information relating to denials of Federal rights because of race, color, religion or national origin, including—but not limited to—the fields of voting, education, housing, employment, the use of public facilities and transportation and the administration of justice.

Under the clearinghouse function assigned by the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Commission collects, publishes and disseminates information to promote a better understanding of constitutional and statutory requirements relating to civil rights. Commission conferences and staff consultations help Federal, State and local governments as well as private institutions and individuals develop techniques for dealing with specific problems in the civil rights field.

## PUBLICATIONS

A complete listing of Commission publications—statutory reports, interim reports, staff reports, state advisory committee reports, and transcripts of hearings and conferences—can be obtained by writing the Information Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Most of the agency's published works are available in depository libraries throughout the country.

## FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

**Write** U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Field Offices:

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Federal Office Building
167 North Main Street
Memphis, Tennessee 38103

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Federal Office Building
219 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60604

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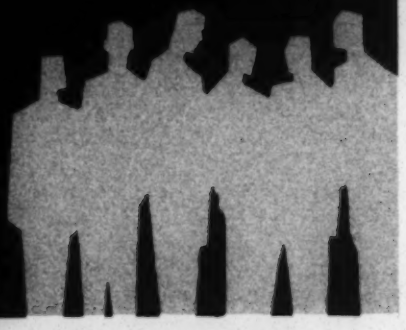
# MAN POWER:

New Source of Skills for Business and Industry



### TYPE OF TRAINING

**STAR's basic education will include reading, writing, arithmetic, social studies, and skills needed for obtaining employment.**

### WHO IS ELIGIBLE

**Unemployed and underemployed adults between the ages of 18 to 60 who have less than 6 years of formal education.**

### CONDUCTING AGENCY

**STAR, INC—is the private, non-profit corporation chartered to carry out the training program which is sponsored by a grant from the U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity and the Office of Manpower Automation and Training of U. S. Department of Labor. The Catholic Diocese of Natchez-Jackson initiated the program and has contributed space for training centers, but does not exercise administrative control over the STAR project.**

**STAR, Inc. is administered by a statewide representative, non-denominational Board of Directors.**

# A Basic Step Toward Developing MANPOWER For Mississippi's Future

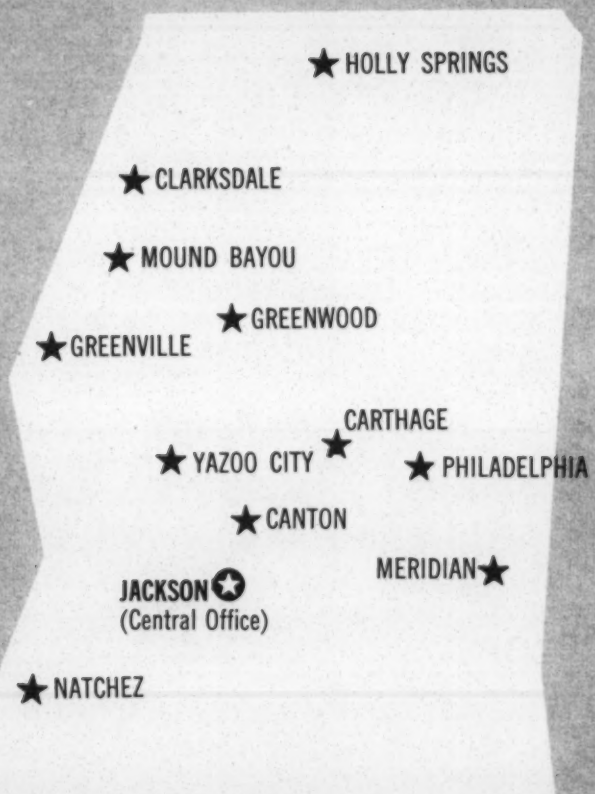
**DURING** the last two decades new methods of farming in Mississippi have significantly decreased the jobs available in the state, causing a serious threat of unemployment in many areas. Between 1950 and 1960, the state's non-farm rural population increased by 16% as opposed to the national increase of 2%.

**AT THE SAME TIME** Mississippi has experienced rapid industrial development. During the last five years alone more than 450 new industries have surged into the state bringing over $500,000,000 in capital investment and creating almost 40,000 new jobs. Expansion of existing industries has created an additional 20,000 positions. Mississippi's predominantly agricultural labor force is not prepared for these jobs.

**EDUCATION** is the key to this dilemma. Forty-eight percent of the state's citizens over age 25 have only an eighth grade education or less; some 4% have no education at all. Thousands of these people have always depended upon farming as the only means of earning their living and are totally unprepared for the demands of modern industry. They lack not only technical skills required by industry but more importantly, they lack the basic education needed in order to qualify for on-the-job-training or for the vocational training programs offered by the state and federal governments.

**THE PURPOSE** of STAR, Inc. is to bridge this educational gap and thus to help Mississippi develop her greatest potential resource—MANPOWER. By providing basic literacy education and the personal guidance and training necessary for job training, vocational training and gainful employment, STAR, Inc. will help to redevelop Mississippi's displaced farm workers and other unskilled work forces into a well-trained and professionally competent labor force which can meet industry's demands.

**STAR, INC. will provide Basic Education at 15 Training Centers located throughout the State of Mississippi**

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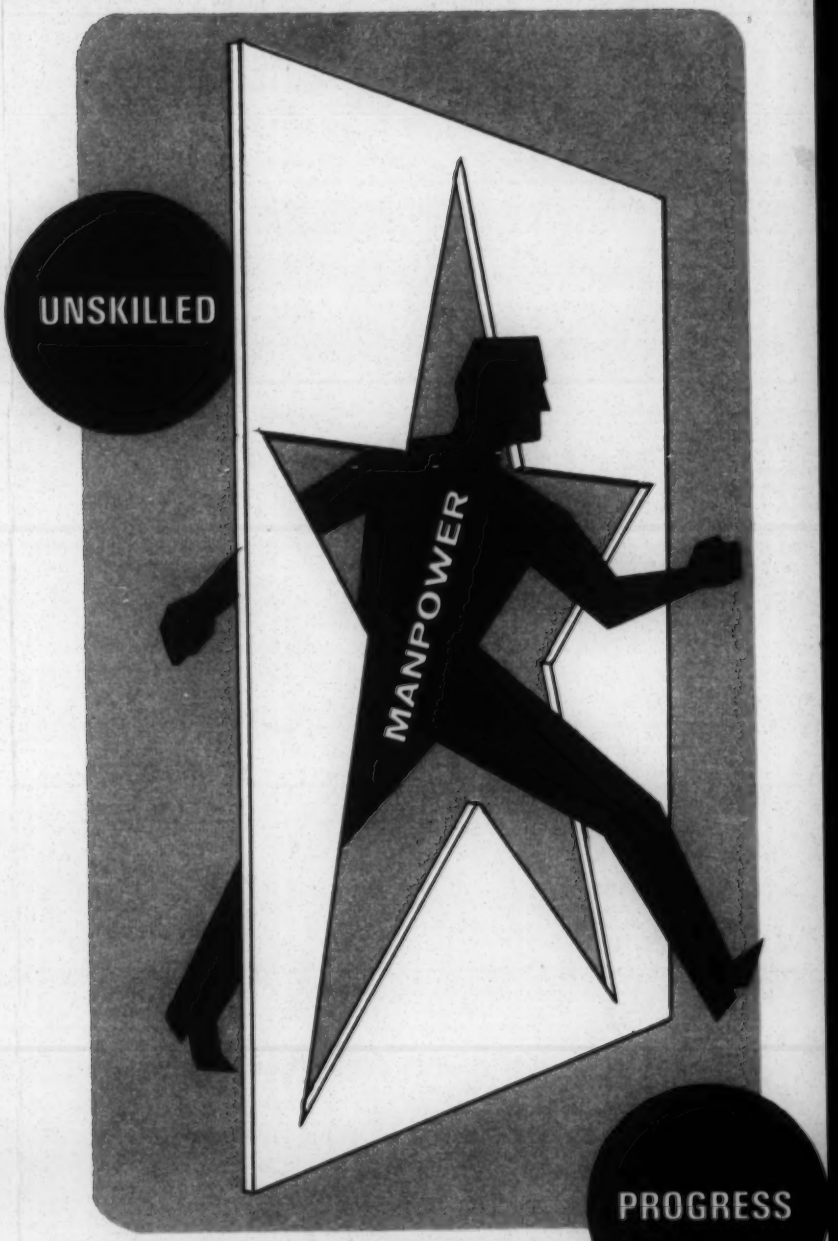


# TRAINED MANPOWER

**MISSISSIPPI'S GREATEST RESOURCE**

## Tennessee 3/13/66

The U.S. Supreme Court rejected former Sheriff Leslie Jett's appeal on conviction of income tax evasions arising from personal use of campaign funds from his race for sheriff. He is serving his 18-month minimum sentence in Florida . . . John D. Murchison of Dallas has been named chairman of the board of Life and Casualty Insurance Co. Murchison Brothers bought a controlling interest for some $40-odd million some years ago . . . A Davidson county chancellor held the section of the 1965 legislative reapportionment act dividing into the four urban counties into subdistricts for the election of senators as unconstitutional. Except for this point, the first one-man, one-vote legislature in the state's history is ready for elections this year.

# Equal Tax Evaluation Issue Has Long History of Defeat

3/13/66

TENNESSEE

By JOE HATCHER

Staff Writer, The Nashville Tennessean
Special to The Journal-Constitution

NASHVILLE, Tenn. March 12 — Either the legislature or the people, or both, have blocked every effort made in Tennessee since 1834 to change the constitutional provision for assessing property for taxation at full value.

Under the system grown up over 100 years, the state suffers from everything but equal assessments, ranging from 7 to 50 per cent according to the counties. Now it faces up to a federal court decree that the railroads and utilities cannot be assessed at full value and other properties at whatever rate the local assesser decides.

Now Gov. Frank Clement brings the 1965 legislature into extra-session Monday to take at least one step toward doing something about the state's predicament, although his proposals appear to do little more than postpone a showdown until 1970 at least, and perhaps years beyond.

**THE GOVERNOR** proposes an amendment to the constitution that will permit classification of property for taxation ad valorem. Thus far in legislative history such a proposal has been interpreted as a means for a state income tax, denied under the provisions that all property must be assessed alike and equal.

Thus Gov. Clement's main purpose in calling the extra-session is seen politically as a smokescreen on taxes to extend the issue beyond his term while scattering around the $20 million surplus in the treasury to help his own campaign for the U.S. Senate.

Unlike Georgia, there was no machinery in the state whereby equitable adjustment can be made in assessing property for taxation.

Moreover that's the last thing the legislature itself wants to do. At least three legislatures must be elected on the tax issue before any constitutional tax relief can be granted. Thus there can be no stigma to any of Gov. Clement's action in merely proposing change at some future, indefinite date.

**THE STATE** has tried to make adjustments at times in the past. In 1919 the legislature declined to approve a proposed amendment for classifying property. Gov. A. H. Roberts then got a law whereby he could penalize counties that did not assess at full value. He was immediately beaten by a Republican, the last the state has had.

Then in 1925 Gov. Austin Peay got legislative approval of a propasal to classify property for taxation, but the 1927 legislature refused the two-thirds vote of approval necessary to submit the plan to the people.

In 1945 a tax commission made an exhaustive study and proposed a number of tax amendments. The legislature first refused to approve a limited constitutional convention, then voted down the entire series of tax proposals.

**GOV. GORDON BROWNING** in 1949 got legislative approval of a limited convention call, but the people voted that down by a narrow margin — because it included a tax revision provision. Then without the assessment section, the people did approve the 1953 convention which changed the charter for the first time since 1870 — but with no charges in the tax structure.

Since that time two rather insignificant conventions have been called, making sure that no tax proposals were included or could be considered. The constitution forbids submission of amendments oftener than five years. Thus the 1965 convention, which is still in technical session, defers action until 1970 at best.

TENNESSEE

# Images Clash in Tennessee Race

By Bill Kovach
Special to The Washington Post

NASHVILLE, April 12—The scene is set for head-on conflict, admitted or not, between

*Campaign '66*

Johnson and Kennedy factions of the Democratic Party in Tennessee's gubernatorial race.

Buford Ellington, 58, former Governor and recently resigned as head of the U.S. Office of Emergency Planning, brought the Johnson image into the race when he formally announced today.

He has placed himself and his organization in the path of 36-year-old Nashville attorney John Jay Hooker Jr., who announced last month for the Democratic nomination in the August primary. Hooker is a personal friend of the Kennedy family and worked on the national level in the late President's campaign.

In their announcements, both candidates firmly denied that they would receive "outside" help in their campaigns. Both flatly stated they would neither ask for nor encourage such support.

ELLINGTON BUFORD

JOHN J. HOOKER JR.

**. . . rival standard-bearers in gubernatorial race**

But such strong statements of independence have quickly been upstaged by the posture taken by each candidate in the developing race.

It is, says Hooker, a confrontation between "forces of the future" (his organization) and "forces of the past" (Ellington's organization). Every Hooker speech is dotted with references to personal conversations with the late President. His mannerisms recall the Kennedy delivery. His basic theme "to get Tennessee moving" echoes the 1960 presidential campagin.

Hooker's identification with the Kennedys was underlined last week when E. William Henry resigned as Federal Communications Commissioner, a post to which he was appointed by President Kennedy, to return to Tennessee to aid the Hooker campaign.

In much the same way, Ellington has firmed up his Johnson image through his theory of the issues. He is bringing to the voters, he says, the "highest experience" and most of all "calmness."

Unlike his opponent, who sees "problems on every hand," Ellington says he finds only opportunities.

An avowed "old-fashioned segregationist" when he ran successfully in 1958, Ellington is now soft pedaling the race issue. He would not, he says, make such a statement today. Ellington has not pursued the matter further, perhaps because the largest Negro organization in the State formally endorsed Hooker's candidacy last week.

Like his friend in the White House, Ellington will have problems with the tax issue in the developing campaign. Admittedly his strongest issue in the 1958 race was his pledge not to raise taxes—a pledge he kept. With Tennessee facing a revenue crisis because of recent court rulings that have disrupted the entire system of property taxation in the state, the former Governcould make no such pledge yesterday.

His present position is that he will keep "a close watch over your taxes."

Most observers in Tennessee today believe that both candidates will lean more and more heavily on the issues that identify them with the Johnson or Kennedy philosophies: Hooker because he and his supporters believe the voters are ready for change after 14 years of the Ellington-Frank Clement administrations; Ellington because he and his supporters feel the calm, experienced, Southern image will win out in Tennessee.

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## Raiders Enter Israel

JERUSALEM, April 12 (UPI)—Jordanian raiders slipped across the Israeli border and attacked a water pump station near Ein Yahav in the Negev desert, authorities reported today. No injuries were reported. Israel lodged a formal protest with the United Nations Mixed Armistice Commission.

TENNESSEE



# Friend of Johnson to Face Kennedy Ally in Tennessee

Special to The New York Times

NASHVILLE, April 12 — Buford Ellington, former Governor of Tennessee and a close friend of President Johnson, announced today he would be a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor in the primary on Aug. 4.

Mr. Ellington was the second candidate to enter the race for the nnomination, which is normally equivalent to election. Three weeks ago John Jay Hooker Jr., a Nashville lawyer who is a close friend of Senator Robert F. Kennery of New York, announced his candidacy and since then has been campaigning.

Many political observers view the upcoming contest as a preinary test of strength between supporters of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Kennedy.

Associated Press

Buford Ellington

Mr. Ellington said he did not expect help from the President, but insinuated that "outsiders" were taking a hand in Mr. Hooker's campaign.

"I think the people of Tennessee are capable of making their own decision," he declared. "I am capable of making this race without any assistance from outside no matter who it may be. When I was Governor before, the people knew I was Governor in fact, and it will be that way again this time."

Mr. Ellington, who was elected in 1958 to a four-year term, declined to say whether he had written a letter to the President protesting the backing of Mr. Hooker by E. William Henry. Mr. Henry resigned last week as chairman of the Federal Communications Commission declaring that he intended to return to Tennessee to help Mr. Hooker, a 35-year-old lawyer who is making his first race for public office.

At the news conference at which he made his announcement, the 58-year-old Mr. Ellington was asked about his description of himself in 1958 as an "old-fashioned segregationist." What he meant then, he said, was that we should obey the laws as they existed at the time.

### 'Hearts Have Changed'

"I would not make that statement today because we have different laws," he continued. "The laws have changed and the hearts of men have changed."

He recalled that, at Mr. Johnson's request, he had toured the South to promote compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Mr. Ellington said he expected to build his own campaign organization, an indication he is trying to separate himself in the public's mind from the present Governor, Frank G. Clement. Mr. Clement is regarded as a prospective candidate for the United States senatorial nomination in the same Democratic primary, seeking the seat now held by Ross Bass. Mr. Clement is not permitted by state law to succeed himself as Governor.

Mr. Ellington said he had not talked with Mr. Clement since returning from Washington in February, following his resignation as director of the United States Office of Emergency Planning, a position in which he served for approximately a year.

## U.S. Dominican Envoy Hailed

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic, April 11 (AP)—More than 35,000 troops of the 82d Airborne Division put on a colorful farewell review today for Ambassador William Tapel Bennett, who is to leave Wednesday.

## FIGHTING MARS TALK BY LYND IN LONDON

LONDON, April 11 (AP)—Slogan-chanting and scuffles between anarchists and ban-the-bomb marchers at a Trafalgar Square rally today nearly drowned out a speech by Prof. Staughton Lynd of Yale University.

Mike Reynolds of New York, co-secretary of the War Resisters League, also spoke at the rally, which ended Britain's traditional Easter ban-the-bomb march. About 15,000 took part, including about 500 anarchists who waved a banner saying "The State is our Enemy" and chanted, "Anarchy, Anarchy."

Fighting broke out when the anarchists tried to force their way onto the speakers' platform.

One of the anarchists charged that the Easter march had become an ineffectual ritual and its participants a laughing stock.

# Will Temper Tantrum Cost 'Big Mouth' Bass His Seat?

5/1/66

By JOE HATCHER

Staff Writer, The Nashville Tennessean
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

NASHVILLE, Tenn., April 30 — How deeply a single "temper tantrum" can influence a U.S. Senatorial race is a problem for U.S. Sen. Ross Bass of Tennessee.

The time and place of Sen. Bass' flare of temper is the important issue. It took place at the Democratic National Committee's banquet honoring the Democratic women leaders from all over the nation.

Although the flare was confined to Sen. Bass and one woman, it became a national story that gave all the indications of a public outburst before some 4,000 Democratic women. But not even his wife

**TENNESSEE**

seated in the audience knew of the incident until later.

It started like this:

"He's known in the Senate as Big Mouth Bass,
"What's more he has a pretty lass,
"The Senator From Tennessee, Ross Bass—
"Avanell's husband."

Acknowledging the introduction, Bass says he turned to the woman who read the couplet, and remarked: "I am a senator. I am no bigmouth. I think I should leave. I am leaving."

Commenting on the event in a press conference in Nashville, Bass said: "I have always resented a slur on anyone's name, their looks, their color, their religion, their physical condition, or their position in life."

**THE STORY,** however, has invaded every nook and cranny of the state, and the big question arises as to how seriously the incident will handicap his race for re-election in both the primary and in the general, if he makes it.

Sen. Bass has no announced opposition, but there seems little doubt that Gov. Frank Clement will make the race again against the senator, who defeated him near 100,000 votes in 1964. Bass has not announced but has indicated he will make the formal entry later in May.

The Big Mouth Bass idea is a carry-over from Bass days in the House where he served with Perkins Bass of New Hampshire. One was known as Big Mouth and the other as Small Mouth, for the two well - known species of fish.

Sen. Bass laughed off the designation in those days, boasting that a big - mouth, a little-mouth, or a Ross Bass was a fighter from the word go.

**PERHAPS HE** has heard it too often. As a senator, he says he expects dignity and courtesy. Perkins Bass has since departed from Congress.

At the first test of how serious the incident was Bass won hands down, with the indorsement of the labor organization's COPE, which has approved him unanimously.

At the same COPE conference the past week, John J. Hooker Jr. of Nashville was also unanimously indorsed over Former - Gov. Buford Ellington. Labor supported Bass generally in 1964 against Gov. Clement. Sen. Bass also has received indorsement from the state's largest Negro political organization. However, the Knoxville chapter split off from the state committee and indorsed Gov. Clement for the Senate and Hooker for governor.

Three congressmen received labor's indorsement, Richard Fulton of Nashville, William Anderson, of Nautilus submarine fame, and George Grider of Memphis.

Gov. Clement has given no indication of when he will make his announcement for the Senate race.

# New TVA Board Member Has Conservation History

5/15/66

By JOE HATCHER
Staff Writer, The Nashville Tennessean
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

TENNESSEE

NASHVILLE, Tenn., May 14 — TVA has a brand-new member of the three-man authority in Donald Opie McBride of Oklahoma.

The Valley leaders hoped for a member from the TVA region dedicated to the growth of TVA. McBride comes as a conservation expert, but has devoted study to TVA's power and transportation operations over the years of his experience.

He is married to the former Mary Lou Patterson of Tellico Plains which lies in the heart of the region, and has made many trips there and to the TVA projects in his water conservation and control projects.

McBride was the late Sen. Robert Kerr's executive assistant, and worked for years with the Senate public works committee. He helped Sen. Kerr write his book on "Land, Wood and Water." President Lyndon B. Johnson wrote the introduction to Sen. Kerr's book.

IN FACT the McBride career has been largely devoted to conservation and water resources development, not only in Oklahoma but in Nebraska, in Arkansas and the Red River Valley.

He points out that when he went to Washington, Oklahoma did not have a single federal project, and that it is now dotted with such developments. He worked at length on the development of the Arkansas, White and Red river valleys, based largely on the TVA system.

He went to Oklahoma in 1926 with an engineering firm specializing in water systems, and later chairmaned the Oklahoma Planning and Resources board.

Aubrey (Red) Wagner, chairman of the authority, is a career man with TVA and a power expert. Frank Smith is a former Alabama congressman, the third member.

TVA IS FACING a crossroads for expansion. Congress placed a limit on bonds TVA could issue for expanding its power facilities. This has largely been exhausted and the need has grown by leaps and bounds. Lifting the limitation will be asked in order that TVA may meet the demands.

In its last report, TVA listed an increase of $24.5 on power sales alone for the first nine months of the present fiscal year. The total power sales amounted to $246.8 million for the first nine months with a new record certain by June 30, 1966.

There's a growing sentiment in the area that TVA be assigned the Tombigbee project to connect the TVA region with the Gulf through the Mississippi and Alabama canal from the Tennessee to the Tombigbee and thence to the Gulf.

The biggest boost in the power sales came from the city of Memphis which turned its facilities for steam power over to TVA.

McBride's choice was that of President Johnson, with whom he was closely associated as senator and majority leader before he became President.

# Rural Bloc Loses Ground In Ruling on Redistricting

5/22/66

By JOE HATCHER

Staff Writer, The Nashville Tennessean
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

NASHVILLE, Tenn., May 21 — Tennessee's rural bloc so long in control of the legislature lost still another diehard effort to hold that strength this week with the state supreme court's decision that the subdividing of urban counties in districts for Senate races was unconstitutional.

In meeting demands of the U.S. District court, the 1965 legislature reapportioned the state on a one-man-one-vote base, but subdivided the urban counties into districts in which the candidates must live and vote.

The federal court declined to overthrow the districting as not violating the U.S. Supreme

TENNESSEE

Court ruling, but left the decision to the state courts on the basis of the state constitution.

A sentence in the constitution provides: "When a district is composed of two or more counties, they shall be adjoining; and no county shall be divided in forming a district."

**THE RURAL** bloc interpreted the sentence as applying only to districts with two or more counties. The urban forces contended the semicolon definitely applied the counties with more than one Senate seat. That the Supreme Court upheld in a 4-1 decision.

The decision was handed down with the avowed purpose of clarifying the situation before candidates for the legislature were required to qualify for the August primaries. Under the court's ruling, the Senate candidates in the four big counties will run at-large.

The court held in effect that subdividing would deny voters a full choice in electing senators who would necessarily represent the entire county rather than one particular division. The subdividing of the house districts was not contested since the state constitution said nothing on that subject.

**THE HOPE** of the rual bloc now is that a proposed constitutional amendment to be voted on this year will make constitutional the subdividing of both senate and house seats.

The rural bloc will decide whether to appeal the state court's decision to the U.S. Supreme Court for a final ruling.

The big question is whether the federal court might uphold the state court's ruling and nullify the chances of amending the constitution, and at least delay the effectiveness of the proposed amendment for reapportionment again in 1967.

**THE RURAL** bloc still has a slight edge in the membership in both houses, but a number of near-urban areas which might be affected could easily give the urban members a majority to prevent changes.

The rural bloc frankly admitted that subdividing would tend to weaken the urban bloc votes, and bring into the legislature a number of Negro members from the big urban areas. The one Negro House member from Shelby county supported the subdistricting in the 1965 reapportionment.

The net result is that the legal fight may yet continue for years, or until the urban areas grow into complete population control.

# Foes Lined Up For Major Races

6/5/66

By JOE HATCHER
Staff Writer, The Nashville Tennessean
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

NASHVILLE, Tenn., June 4—Tennessee's 1966 political picture was virtually completed the past week with the U.S. Senate, the gubernatorial, and most of the congressional races now set up for the run for the roses.

Gov. Frank Clement was the last entry in the field, but there has never been much doubt about his ambition to try again for the U.S. Senate seat for which Sen. Ross Bass beat him in 1964.

Now it's Sen. Bass, who deferred his own announcement until the deadline approached, and Gov. Clement in a "return match." And ex-Gov. Buford Ellington and Nashville Attorney John J. Hooker Jr. seem to have the governor's race all to themselves.

## TENNESSEE

THE REPUBLICANS appear concentrating on the congressional seats, including the congressional seats, including the U.S. Senate and at least six of the nine House seats.

Rep. W. E. Brock III of Chattanooga will seek reelection to his House seat, after having considered for a time the governor's race in November. The other two Republican congressmen, James Quillen in the First and John Duncan in the Second join with Brock in the solid Republican phalanx in East Tennessee.

But Republicans will seek the Fifth (Nashville), the Seventh (Jackson) and the Ninth (Memphis) seats as well. Republican candidates in the Seventh and Ninth districts pose a threat to the Democratic majority in the House delegation. The race against Rep. Richard Fulton of Nashville will be hotly contested but Fulton does not appear anywhere close to being threatened.

TWO YOUNG Republican attorneys, Kenneth Roberts of Nashville and Howard Baker Jr. of Knoxville are contesting the GOP senate nomination to face either Sen. Bass or Gov. Clement in November. Both have sound backgrounds in Republican ranks.

Roberts managed the Goldwater pre-convention and the November campaign. Baker opposed Sen. Bass in November, 1964, and got some 48 per cent of the vote, the biggest ever cast for a Republican candidate in the state. Either may draw strong Democratic support in November, whether opposing Bass or Clement.

All the issues are not clear-cut as yet between either the Democratic and/or the Republican candidates.

NEWS OF THE
# SOUTHEAST Empire

# House Approves TVA Expansion

6/19/66

By JOE HATCHER
Staff Writer, The Nashville Tennessean
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

NASHVILLE, June 18—TVA was given approval last week by an overwhelming voice vote in the House to continue its greatest power expansion program—up to $1.75 billion in revenue bonds.

TENNESSEE

The Senate is expected to give strong approval.

The bonds are secured entirely by the agency's power revenues, which also will add additional mllions to the available expansion funds.

The TVA is now authorized to issue $750 million in revenue bonds, but the demands for power in the TVA area have increased, requiring the minimum of $1.75 billion by 1972, TVA officials told the Congress.

A total of $345 million in the revenue bonds have been issued, and another $155 million is needed to complete the present projects.

The agency is planning two more huge power plants, one to be completed in 1970 and another in 1971.

Present capacity is 17.1 million kilowatt hours with another 2.2 million kilowatt hours under construction.

Power use has increased about 1.5 million kilowatts yearly. Another two billion will be needed to meet demands in the next six or seven years. Power revenues will provide some $800 million, with the $1 billion increase in bonds needed for the completion.

REP. RICHARD FULTON, Nashville, was presiding over the House for the approval of the bond extension bill, and the margin was so overwhelming that no roll call was asked.

TVA only recently announced the payment "in lieu of taxes" of more than $10 million to the state and local agencies. The publicly owned distribution systems will add another $18 million "in lieu" for a total of some $23 million in cash to the various units of government in what are actually tax revenues.

TVA Chairman Aubrey Wagner sees no reduction of the demands for more and more power from the TVA system, with new and major industries coming into the state steadily.

The entire Tennessee delegation, including the three Republicans, endorsed the TVA bond expansion program. It will be handled in the Senate by the TVA area senators from Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi.

Donald O. McBride of Oklahoma, federal conservation expert, took over his post as TVA commissioner on May 15. McBride, former executive aide to Sen. Robert Kerr, announced his support for expanding the TVA.

Arnold R. Jones, serving out his nine-year TVA term, will become a member of the business administration faculty at the University of South Florida at Tampa.

UPI Telephoto

## PLEASED WITH RECEPTION

KNOXVILLE, June 18—John J. Hooker Jr. appears pleased with the reception he received here when he opened his local campaign headquarters in his race for the Democratic nomination for governor of Tennessee.

Tenn

Clips

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# HUMAN RELATIONS NEWS

*Published by The Commission on Human Relations* *Nashville, Tennessee*

Volume I June, 1966 Number 2


## HEW CALLS FOR PROGRESS

The U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare is calling for significant progress in its efforts to desegregate public schools. Mr. Richard Fairley, from the Office of Education, outlined, at a workshop at Lane College, the steps of compliance that local school boards will follow if they expect to receive federal funds during the 1966-67 school year.

The one point Mr. Fairley continued to underscore was that the responsibility for desegrating schools rests with the school boards, and not with parents and children. He said that boards will be called upon to justify their choice of plans on the basis of "end results." By implication, he suggests that the Department has issued a single mandate: Schools must be integrated. The methodology is left to the discretion of school boards.

## NAIRO SEEKS NASHVILLE CHAPTER

Frederick Routh, Executive Director of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, met with a group of professional persons to discuss setting up a chapter of NAIRO in Nashville. The April 24th meeting with Mr. Routh revealed a need for professional association among intergroup relations workers, beyond the "casual and infrequent get-togethers." The chapter would be comprised of persons whose commitment and professional relations make them a vital resource to the community.

Frederick Routh

## MEMPHIS FIELD OFFICE

On May 24, the members of the Tennessee Commission on Human Relations voted to open a field office in Memphis. It will be headed by Mr. Warren N. Moore, who has been assistant director of this Commission for the past seven months.

This office will accommodate Memphis and the West Tennessee counties, where 50% of the Negro population is concentrated. Mr. A. W. Willis, chairman of the Commission, said, "While there are racial problems throughout Tennessee, the concentration of Negroes in West Tennessee causes our staff to spend much of its time in that area." It was noted that a major portion of the complaints investigated come from this vicinity.

Southern Regional Council
Paul Anthony, Ex. Dir.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

FROM THE DIRECTOR'S DESK:

Reports from every school system in Tennessee, compiled by the State Department of Education, show that in the 1965 school year fully 85%, or 150,000 of the 175,000 Negro students attend all-Negro schools, and 92% of the Negro teachers are on all-Negro faculties. This is eleven years after the Supreme Court held that segregated education is inconsistent with the Fundamental Law of our society, and two years after the Congress of the United States, by an overwhelming majority declared that integrated schools are necessary for the public welfare.

During this Spring period the school systems in Tennessee are preparing their desegregations plans for the 1966-67 school year.

Some citizens are asking, "Why should we continue to be concerned about integrated education?" They argue that most children have the right to attend the school of their choice and that we should not be interested in numbers, but simply the legal rights of the children.

We must continue to be concerned about integrated education, because racial isolation at the student or faculty level is harmful to children. Segregation impedes the ability of Negro children to learn. No one has stated this fact more clearly or more forcefully than the Supreme Court, in its landmark Brown Decision in 1954. The Kansas Court found that:

> "Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children...for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation ...therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children."

Modern psychology teaches us that motivation is one of the main elements in the ability of children to learn. When Negro children are isolated according to race, they perceive the implication of their inferiority, though the schools may be academically equal. This form of statement, that the Negro children are inferior, reduces motivation to learn and therefore reduces their ability and their actual achievement.

Racial isolation is also harmful to white children. If separateness implies the inferiority of the Negro, it can impart to the white children the equally damaging suspicion of their superiority. In our pluralistic country and world, we do a severe injustice to our children if we do not develop in them at an early age, the ability to live and work with persons from different ethnic groups.

Faculty Integration

Educational integration is, at most, half complete if it includes only students. Bi-racial faculties and administrative staffs are necessary to achieve the full values of the program. White children must become accustomed to relating to Negroes in positions of authority. Negro children must see members of their group in responsible positions, so they can have life models to emulate.

Our office urges all Tennesseans to work for full integration in all the school systems of our state. We do not do this because the Federal Government requires it. It is Tennesseans who are hurt by segregated schools. It is Tennesseans who must work to eliminate this handicap with which so many children start their lives.

LABOR CONSULTS COMMISSIONS

A joint labor conference was convened in Chicago by UAW, USW, URW, UPW, and OCAW. The Tennessee Commission was among several state Fair Employment Practice and Civil Rights Commissions invited to attend and participate.

The International Union Officials indicated to the state commissions their willingness to bridge the gap between unions and civil rights agencies by setting up a jointly supervised conciliation procedure. The consensus of the represented commissions was that close relationships could be developed between unions and civil rights agencies, as long as the prerogative to act independently is not forfeited.

The two-day conference ended with the establishment of a Continuing Committee and a roughly drafted outline of Union-Commission co-operative action in the area of complaint disposition.

## KNOXVILLE HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEE LAUNCHES PROGRAM

The Employment Sub-Committee of the Knoxville Human Relations Committee has mailed questionnaires to 270 of the largest private employers in Knoxville in an effort to determine accurately the facts about utilization of minority group manpower in the community. A cover letter from Mayor Leonard Rogers was attached to the questionnaires encouraging co-operation with the survey. Mr. D. A. Ward, a TVA employee, is chairman of the Sub-Committee.

The Knoxville Human Relations Committee is composed of 60 prominent citizens appointed by Mayor Rogers in late 1965. The committee has been divided into eight subcommittees which cover every area of community life, including education; employment; housing and public accommodations; public relations, research and publicity; youth and recreation; medical and health care facilities; law enforcement; and government and civic affairs.

An Executive Committee consists of the chairmen of each sub-committee. Mr. Hal Ernest, the Mayor's Public Relations Director, is chairman of the Executive Committee. Mr. Clifford Seeber, a local businessman, is serving as Secretary of the committee.

### Mayor Wants Action

At the organizational meeting in February, Mayor Leonard Rogers told the body that he wants it to be an "action" group. "I want you to study the problems in human relations in Knoxville, to pinpoint where action is needed. You are to initiate necessary programs yourselves and to recommend to me and to other officials proper action."

The staff of the State Commission is working closely with the Knoxville Committee. Mark Israel, State Director, arranged for Mr. Fred Routh of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, a national expert in human relations, to meet with the Executive Committee and Mayor Rogers in April to discuss program and functions of the Committee.

### Committee to Lead to Commission

Mayor Rogers told the April meeting that he hoped that successful operation of the Committee would lead the way to establishment of an official commission by an ordinance similar to the one in Nashville.

The chairmen of the sub-committees are as follows:

Dr. John Page - Second Presbyterian Church - Education Committee
Rev. Frank Gordon - Shiloh Presbyterian Church - Gov. & Civic Affairs Committee
Dr. W. T. Crutcher - Mt. Olive Baptist Church - Public Relations, Research & Publicity Committee
Charles Miller - U. T. Legal Aid Clinic - Law Enforcement Committee
Dooley Lothrop - Real Estate - Housing & Public Accommodations Committee
Mrs. Juanita Walker - Red Cross - Hospital Committee
D. A. Ward - TVA - Employment Committee
David Blumberg - Businessman - Youth & Recreation Committee

## COMMISSION STAFF EXPANDS

The Commission has moved to unburden its secretary, Mrs. Jennie Shute, who has done a great job in keeping the office together during the past year. Mrs. Bobbie Foriest has recently been appointed as senior typist and is doing a fine job. Mrs. Foriest, a Nashvillian, is the mother of two children.

Mrs. Foriest

Mrs. Shute

If you would be interested in receiving the free literature listed below, please write the:

Tennessee Commission on Human Relations
C3-305 Cordell Hull Building
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

"Memo to Managers"
"Guidelines for Municipal Human Relations Committees"
"Fair Employment is Good Business"
The Federal Dollar and Discrimination"
"Equal Opportunity in Hospitals and Health Facilities"
"The Voting Rights Act of 1965"
"The Civil Rights Act of 1964"
"Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs"
"The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights"
"How to Turn Talk into Action"
"New Rules to Help Jews Unlock Executive Suites"
"Dixie Teachers Report Their Pupils Learn Well in Mixed-Race Schools"

OUR NEXT PROJECT!

COMMISSION MEMBERS

Ballard, J. Emmett, Jackson - Lawyer, NAACP Counsel.

Barrett, George, Nashville - Lawyer, former President of Tennessee Council on Human Relations

Commission Members (cont'd)

Bird, Mrs. Frank, Maryville - Instructor, University of Tennessee.

Boling, Dr. Edward J., Knoxville - Vice-President, University of Tennessee.

Dehoney, Rev. Wayne, Jackson - President, Southern Baptist Convention.

Ferguson, E. R. (Bert), Memphis - Executive Vice-President, WDIA Radio Station.

Gibson, Dr. Elmer P., Morristown - President, Morristown College.

Gordon, Rev. Frank R., Knoxville - President, State Conference of Branches, NAACP.

Graham, Dr. Arthur, Oak Ridge - Minister, Unitarian Church.

Harris, Bennie J., Chattanooga - Lawyer

Hooks, Judge Benjamin L., Memphis - Judge, Division IV, Criminal Court, Shelby County.

Johnson, Dr. Charles W., Nashville - Professor of Microbiology, Meharry Medical College

Kearney, Monsignor Merlin F., Memphis - Immaculate Conception Church.

Lynch, Matthew, Nashville - President, State Labor Council.

Robb, Dr. Felix C., Nashville - President, Peabody Cdlege.

Sarratt, Dr. C. Madison, Nashville - Vice-Chancellor, Vanderbilt University.

Williams, Rev. Charles F. Memphis - Grand Master, Prince Hall Grand Lodge.

Willis, A. W., Jr., Memphis - State Representative, Shelby County; Secretary, Tennessee Voters Council; Acting Chairman, Tennessee Commission on Human Relations.

Winchester, Lee, Jr., Memphis - Lawyer

Zucker, Rabbi Max, Knoxville - Heska Amuna Synagogue; Secretary to Tennessee Commission on Human Relations.

Proffitt, David W., Maryville - Owner of Proffitt's Department Store.

# August Primary Expected To Draw Record Voting

7/17/66

By JOE HATCHER
Staff Writer, the Nashville Tennessean
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

NASHVILLE, Tenn. July 16 — Tennessee voters now promise to set all-time records for voting in August primaries in the gubernatorial and U.S. Senate races, both keeping apace in heat with the hot-dry weather ahead of schedule.

The record primary vote in a governor's race was 1962 with some 728,000 and in the U.S. Senate race of 1964 at 650,000.

The governor's race between ex-Gov. Buford Ellington and Nashville Attorney John J. Hooker, Jr. is almost certain to pass the 800,000 mark despite the fact that upwards of 100,000 Republicans who usually vote in the Democratic primary will be voting in their own U.S. Senate primary this year.

**THE U.S.** Senate races rarely attract the attention of the governor's races in the state. The race between Gov. Frank Clement and U.S. Sen. Ross Bass in 1964, for the unexpired term of the late Sen. Estes Kefauver, topped the 650,000 mark. It should do as well this year, although the interest is strictly secondary to the governor's race.

Lost behind these two major races are any local elections and primary races across the state for August 4.

## TENNESSEE

In several counties the ballots will be the longest in history.

There is particular local interest in the new legislative races based on the 1965 reapportionment act which mathematically equalizes the representation for the first time in almost 100 years or more.

**MANY OF** the entrenched "professionals" in the legislature face entirely new constituencies and new opposition, although pitting the old regulars against each other was largely avoided so far as possible by the legislators.

Under the Tennessee system, the county general elections and the general elections for the judiciary are held simultaneously with the August primaries.

This further complicates the entire field to include the general and the two party primaries.

Knox County, for example, where there are full Republican and Democratic slates, will have the longest and most complicated ballot in history. The same situation exists in several other counties where the parties are somewhat equally powerful.

**THE PARTY** lever on the voting machines in machine-voting counties speeds up the general elections to some extent.

For the first time in history, the Republicans will have control of the election machinery in 37 counties, which resulted from Gov. Frank Clement's trade with the Republicans to elect him Senate speaker in 1965. This has encouraged Republican slates in these counties in particular.

The Republicans rarely hold statewide primaries, preferring to let the Democrats fight it out in August and then nominate candidates to oppose the nominees in November by convention.

**BUT A SHOWDOWN** battle over the U.S. Senate nomination forced a Republican primary this time. The Republicans anticipate at least a 300,000 primary vote in this race, at least half of which will be subtracted from the Democratic primary totals because of the cross-over voting particularly in Republican East Tennessee.

The bulk of this east state GOP vote in Democratic primaries usually go along with the incumbent Democratic administration where favor may be traded for GOP votes in primaries.

All in all, the situation creates a major interest in the Tennessee August elections.

TENNESSEE

# Ellington and Baker Win, Clement Leads in Tennessee

AC 8/5/66

NASHVILLE, Tenn (AP) — Former Gov. Buford Ellington won the Democratic nomination for governor of Tennessee Thursday, and Howard H. Baker Jr. scored a landslide victory in the Republican Senate primary.

Ellington, 59-year-old political ally of President Lyndon B. Johnson and former director of the U. S. Office of Emergency Planning, defeated wealthy Nashville Attorney John J. Hooker Jr., 35, a friend of the Kennedy family.

But Sen. Ross Bass and Gov. Frank Clement, running neck-and-neck throughout the night, were locked in a tight battle for the Democratic nomination to the U. S. Senate.

With 1,950 of 2,741 precincts reporting, Ellington lead Hooker 273,625 to 227,133, and Clement was ahead of Bass 231,026 to 224,377.

In the Republican primary, Baker defeated Kenneth Roberts, Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign manager in Tennessee.

Baker was leading Roberts, 276,132 to 21,791, with 1,046 precincts reported.

When the returns from Tennessee's four largest counties began registering, Ellington's slim lead began to grow. Ellington lost all four counties when he was elected governor in 1958.

Hooker, who once served under Sen. Robert Kennedy in the Justice department, made a strong bid for labor and Negro support, but Ellington apparently cut into that vote.

At 11:02 (Atlanta time), Hooker conceded the race to Ellington and said: "I thought we were going to win. I don't know why we didn't win. But there'll be another day."

Hooker promised to support

Continued on Page 14, Column 1

# Ellington, Baker Win In Tennessee

Continued from Page 1

Ellington and other Democrats in the November general election. The Republican have no candidate for governor, but could enter one later.

Baker, a moderate conservative who came close to a Senate victroy in 1964, led in each of Tennessee's nine congressional districts. He is a son-in-law of Sen. Everett Dirksen, R.-Ill.

Roberts pledged to support "my friend" in November and predicted Baker would win the Senate seat for the Republicans. It would be the first time in 97 years than Tennessee has sent a Republican to the Senate.

The Ellington-Hooker contest carried Johnson-Kennedy overtones. Ellington, a former adviser to President Johnson, promised "experienced and responsible leadership" in his bid for a second four-year term as governor. He held office in 1958-63.

Tennessee

SATURDAY, AUGUST 6,

# TENNESSEE BLOC OF LIBERALS FAILS

## Local Issues Also Cut Vote for Hooker and Bass

8/6/66

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

NASHVILLE, Aug. 5—The Democratic primary yesterday demonstrated that a combination of Negroes and white liberals is still not potent enough to assure the election of liberals in Tennessee, especially when local politics interfere.

John J. Hooker Jr. of Nashville, a liberal running for Governor, and Senator Ross Bass, a sponsor of the 1965 voting rights bill, who has one of the most liberal voting records in Congress, were assured of heavy support from both Negroes and labor.

Neither won. Mr. Hooker lost to a former Governor, Buford Ellington, and Senator Bass lost to Gov. Frank G. Clement.

One thing that hurt Senator Bass—some say it cost him the election—was the defection of thousands of Negro voters in the populous Negro wards of Memphis and Shelby County. He carried the Negro vote heavily elsewhere.

But in Memphis, Governor Clement cut into it deeply, carrying 20 predominantly Negro precincts and trailing close behind in 50 others.

A well-placed political appointment offers the most plausible explanation for this phenomenon. Last year Governor Clement appointed the Rev. Ben Hooks, a well known Negro leader, as a Criminal Court Judge in Memphis. He was the first Negro in modern Tennessee history to hold such a post.

The appointment was popular among the Negroes of Memphis and Shelby County, and many now credit it with swinging several thousand Negro votes. Negroes voted solidly against Governor Clement two years ago when he tried unsuccessfully to defeat Senator Bass for the Senate.

However, Negroes voted solidly for Mr. Hooker, an unbashed oponent of segregation. He received enough Negros support in Memphis to carry Shelby County by a slight margin, even though he had been expected to lose it to Mr. Ellington by several thousand votes.

One of Mr. Hooker's problems seemed to be the labor vote, which he thought was solidly for him. Most labor leaders worked for him, but many rank-and-file union members obviously voted for Mr. Ellington, despite Mr. Hooker's pledge to work for a state minimum wage law.

Three well-known labor precincts in Nashville that Mr. Hooker had expected to carry went solidly for Mr. Ellington.

The minimum wage issue may have backfired on Mr. Hooker. His opposition revealed during the campaign that he once had accepted a $20,000 lobbying fee to help defeat a Federal minimum wage bill for laundry and dry-cleaning workers.

Other factors undoubtedly helped defeat Senator Bass and Mr. Hooker.

For one thing, Senator Bass never quite lived down a political faux pas he made in Washington last spring. He walked out of a Democratic women's meeting in a huff after being referred to in a piece of program doggerel as "Big Mouth Bass."

The walkout was widely publicized in Tennessee. Governor Clement called attention to it obliquely in his advertising by pledging to bring dignity to the Senate position.

Mr. Hooker, to the surprise of most observers, lost his home county of Davidson (Nashville), 59,260 votes to 38,461. He had expected to carry it by a large majority.

Politicians here offered various explanations for the reversal, which was almost enough to make the difference between winning and losing the primary.

Republicans, who seemed to like the more conservative Mr. Ellington, passed up their own primary in large numbers in Davidson County and elsewhere to vote for the former Governor.

### G. O. P. for Ellington

Mr. Ellington carried Mr. Hooker's home precinct in the posh, predominantly Republican Belle Meade community by 1,030 votes to 260. Only 86 persons voted in the Republican primary in that precinct, whereas, in a Presidential election, hundreds always vote for the Republican candidate.

Mr. Hooker also appeared to have been damaged by resentment against The Nashville Tennesseean, the morning newspaper here, according to politicians and other observers.

The Tennesseean promoted Mr. Hooker both in its news columns and on its editorial page, while the rival afternoon paper, The Nashville Banner, worked in the same manner for Mr. Ellington.

The resentment may have stemmed from The Tennessean's greater size—its circulation is one-third higher than The Banner—its success, influence and respectability.

The Tennessean had enjoyed notable success in promoting candidates in three local elections earlier this year, and there was considerable feeling that the paper in this primary was trying to extend its influence to the Capitol.

A small-business owner said today:

"People are tired of The Tennesseean trying to cram some politician down our throat."

There was a feeling that Mr. Hooker, who is 35 years old, might have alienated some older voters by his bold appeal to youth and by his open imitation of President Kennedy's style. He also mentioned in every speech that his wife, Tish, was pregnant with their third child.

Mr. Ellington, 59, said the state needed a mature, responsible Governor. He pointed ou that he had experience. He was Governor from 1959 to 1963. His campaign slogan was, "A man of his word."

It possibly was satisfying to President Johnson to see his old friend and hunting companion, Mr. Ellington, defeat Mr. Hooker, a friend of Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York.

# Hot Democratic Primary Contrasts With Cool GOP

8/21/66

By JOE HATCHER

Staff Writer, The Nashville Tennessean
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Aug. 20—Whether the upsurge of Republican sentiment in Trennessee gained or lost in the August 4 primaries in Tennessee has become the biggest political puzzle of the era.

The Republican showing in the primaries was unquestionably weak, but somewhat by design. No ill feeling was engendered in the GOP senatorial primary which Knoxville's Howard Baker Jr. won almost 3 to 1 over Goldwaterite Ken Roberts of Nashville.

On the other hand, the Democratic primaries were not only embittered but downright vicious in both the senatorial and gubernatorial primaries.

Obviously many Republicans voted in the Democratic primary and held the balance of power that nominated both Gov. Frank Clement for the Senate and former-Gov. Buford Ellington for governor again.

**BOTH DEFEATED** candidates, John J. Hooker Jr. for governor and Sen. Ross Bass, have pledged support of the nominees in November but how far that will go to heal the wounds is highly problematical. Sen. Bass merely said

## TENNESSEE

he would give Gov. Clement the same support Clement gave him in 1964, That could mean much or little, however Bass analyzed the Clement backing when he almost lost to Baker in the November general election.

The rank and file followers of Hooker and Bass certainly didn't take the loss pleasantly by any means. It may take a lot of healing balm to assuage their feelings built up in the 14-year regime of the Clement-Ellington machine.

**THE REPUBLICANS'** leadership has apparently decided against making a strong fight, or any fight whatsoever, against Ellington, reasoning that many Democratic voters will not go to the polls in November without the drawing power of a governor's race. But elsewhere down the line, the Republicans are making a battle for congressional and legislative seats.

Outside the three east state Republican districts, the GOP will have congressional candidates in four other districts, with strong chances in only one of the Districts.

The Republicans hold eight Senate and 24 House seats, and will be contesting for 17 Senate and 64 House seats under the new reapportionment lines. Odds are they will add a number of House seats at least. These races will bring out Republican votes in many areas.

**THE REAPPORTIONMENT** act cut up the urban counties into house districts, and thereby embrace new districts that are dominantly Republican in the suburban silk-stocking areas.

One disappointment to Republicans is that Sen. Everett Dirksen has indicated he will not be able to come to East Tennessee and perhaps Memphis in the interest of his son-in-law, Baker. Sen. Dirksen says he will be undergoing another operation for his broken hip and will not participate in Republican campaigns. He might well have been of major strength in the Republican areas of the state, but his daughter may well portray his support of his son-in-law.

Baker polled some 48 per cent of the vote in November, 1964, to give Sen. Bass a close shave. If he can maintain that 500,000 vote total again, he might well be the first elected Republican senator since Reconstruction.

# Aroused Miami Area Asks Crime-Corruption Probe

Miami News Politics Writer
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

FLORIDA

MIAMI, Fla., Sept. 10—Citizen groups in South Florida are urging U.S. Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach to investigate organized crime and corruption in this area.

Pleas to the attorney geseral went out from the Greater Miami Crime Commission and the Palm Beach County Citizens Crime Committee.

James O. McGown, president of the Miami Crime Commission, told Katzenbach that local grand juries have listed widespread vice activity and witnesses have testified as to corruption of law enforcement officials.

Joseph J. Heine, of Lake Worth, head of the Palm Beach County crime group, in a wire to Katzenbach, declared "nothing short of a federal grand jury action can stop the corruption . . . the rot (and) the intimidations incurred in Palm Beach County."

**A RECENT** series of events have aroused south Florida over its crime picture like nothing since the Kefauver Crime Committee hearings of the 1950s when multi-million-dollar bookie crime syndicates were uncovered.

These included statements over TV in Miami of a confessed, retired "bag" man that he had paid off personnel of high law enforcement agencies, and the disclosure over a Miami radio station of supposedly "secret" testimony before a grand jury.

Editor Bill Baggs of the Miami News said that "every cop in the county (Dade) has a little black cloud over his head."

**BAGGS URGED** the same application to "this mess here in 1966" as was used by the late Sen. Estes Kefauver in the 1950s—a probe by a committee of the U.S. Senate.

The Miami Hearld observed that Dade County (Miami) was a "cesspool of crime." The paper said some of the nation's most notorious hoodlums make their home in Dade "secure from the heat of police surveillance. Expert jewel thieves hit Miami on a schedule that would make any airline proud."

Miami Beach socialite Phoebe Morse said the other day she is giving up on the city and buying a home in Palm Beach. Mrs. Morse, the wife of a wealthy New York banker said she had been robbed in Miami Beach four times in the past 15 years.

**GOV. HAYDON BURNS,** asked to supply an outside state attorney for Dade County to work with the grand jury, refused, charging politics was involved.

The charges of crime and corruption have spilled over into several of the November general election races.

Meeting with 37 of the state's 67 sheriffs, Robert King High, the Democratic gubernatorial nominee, said he realized there "is a crisis of crime in this state," and promised, if elected, the sheriffs would have his "encouragement and blessing."

Claude Kirk, GOP nominee for governor, said Miami's high crime rate was the result of "listless and purposeless leadership." He was hitting at High, mayor of Miami.

TENNESSEE

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1966.

# 2 Tennessee Senate Candidates Woo Negro Vote

By ROY REED
Special to The New York Times

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Oct. 2—Probably no Tennessee voters raised their eyebrows on learning that Gov. Frank G. Clement, the Democratic nominee for the United States Senate, had appeared before a group of Negro leaders here yesterday asking for their support.

But many must have been startled to find that his Republican opponent, Howard H. Baker Jr., had been there too, speaking just as enthusiastically of Negro rights and pleading just as earnestly for Negro votes.

When the Democrat admitted to the hosts, "I need your support," the Republican declared, every bit as forthrightly, "I want your help."

Governor Clement finally got the endorsement of the group, the Tennessee Voters Council, the most influential of the political organizations representing the state's 16 per cent Negro voting bloc.

But he got it only after seven hours of bitter debate, and the divided vote indicated that the Democrats, for a change, will not be able to take the Negro vote for granted in this November's general election.

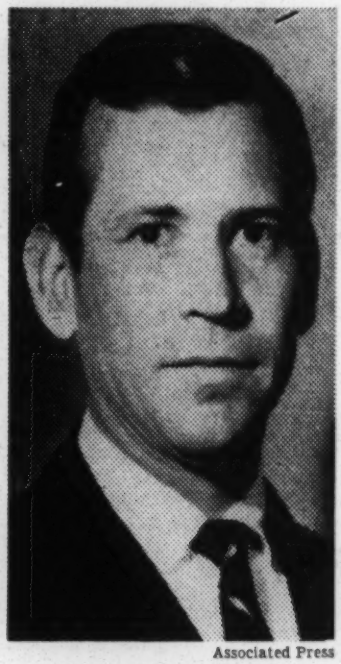
Mr. Baker's appearance before the Voters Council was unusual for a Republican. It is part of a strong effort by the Tennessee Republican party, particularly its liberal wing, to win back the Negroes who were virtually drummed out of the party in this state during the Goldwater period.

State and national Republican officials are spending a good deal of time this fall trying to persuade Tennessee Negroes that the Republican party is not a racist party.

The Republicans hope to entice enough Negroes and exploit enough sentiment against inflation and President Johnson to make substantial gains in Tennessee this fall.

Besides campaigning for Mr. Baker, a boyish, 40-year-old Knoxville lawyer, they are working hard to add two Congressional seats in traditionally Democratic western Tennessee to the three they already have in traditionally Republican eastern Tennessee.

Gov. Frank G. Clement



Associated Press

Howard H. Baker Jr.

All the Republicans are underdogs, but at least one House candidate is given a fair chance of winning.

With neither party making a move to stir it, the race issue, thus far, has been almost entirely absent from this fall's campaign. Democrats and Republicans are campaigning as if they had never heard of Lester G. Maddox, the pistol-waving segregationist who last Wednesday took the Democratic nomination for Governor in neighboring Georgia.

In spite of this, some observers believe that a fairly strong segregationist sentiment still exists in Tennessee, especially in the western section that borders Mississippi, and that it will benefit the candidates who strike the more conservative posture.

That seemed to be true in the Democratic primary in August. Former Gov. Buford Ellington, a racial moderate, defeated his somewhat more liberal opponent, John Jay Hooker Jr. Governor Clement unseated Senator Ross Bass, who has a more liberal reputation than Mr. Clement.

Both Governor Clement and Mr. Baker seemed to be anxious not to repeat Mr. Hooker's mistake of wooing the Negro vote more eagerly than his opponent. Both men displeased the Negro leaders yesterday by refusing to take a stand for open housing.

Mr. Baker may attract some conservative support because of his father-in-law, the Senate minority leader, Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois. Senaor Dirksen's opposition to the open housing section of the 1966 civil rights bill is well-kown to the Negroes here, and presumably among the whites, as well. He may visit Tennessee and campaign for Mr. Baker, who is the son of a former Tennessee Congressman.

Unlike some of his Republican colleagues, Mr. Baker may have difficulty tying his opponent to President Johnson. Governor Clement has stayed at arm's length from the President and in the primary campaign he denounced Senator Bass as a "rubber stamp" for Mr. Johnson.

It is reported that the President will visit Tennessee before the election. A few Democrats, like Representative George W. Grider of Memphis, who has voted with the President consistently, are eager to have him. But others are said to be hoping that he will not come.

### Nixon Has Stumped State

The Republicans are unhesitatingly bringing their big-name speakers. Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon toured the state a few days ago for Republican candidates. Others are expected to follow.

Mr. Grider is opposed by Dan H. Kuykendall, a former Memphis soap salesman who is running hard against President Johnson and the great society.

Mr. Kuykendall has developed a gimmick for calling attention to inflation. He carries a basket of groceries onto the speaker's platform and hoists each item into the air, quoting its price before the Johnson Administration and its price now.

In the races for House seats, the Republicans are concentrating on trying to elect Mr. Kuykendall and Julius Hurst. Mr. Hurst appears to be their best hope. He is the nominee for the seat now held by Representative Tom Murray, a conservative west Tennessee Democrat who was defeated in the primary by a young state Representative, Ray Blanton. Mr. Hurst opposed Representative Murray in 1964 and almost unseated him.

Mr. Kuykendall and Mr. Hurst are more conservative than Mr. Baker. However, they too, are making some effort to get Negro votes.

# Ghost of Goldwater Image Rises to Haunt Republicans

By JOE HATCHER
Staff Writer, the Nashville Tennessean
Special of The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

TENNESSEE

NASHVILLE, Tenn., April 2 — The ghost of the Goldwater image is arising again to haunt the efforts of the Republican party in Tennessee to grow into a two-party factor in the state.

While the state GOP executive committee met in Memphis to move toward the new image of "progressive Republicanism," the Republicans in the state capital were falling under the domination of the John Birch Society with a new Goldwater-type county organization.

Quietly and unexpectedly, the extreme rightists in Nashville moved into the county convention with an entirely new candidate and sufficient votes to overturn Chairman Charles Anderson, an offi[illegible] of the Life and Casualty [illegible]surance Co. Two other elected officials of the organization quickly withdrew themselves as candidates for reelection, charging the John Birchers had completely taken over the committee.

**AT THE MEMPHIS** committee meeting, State Chairman Julius Hurst of McNairy county, the first West Tennesseans ever to hold the GOP post, resigned presumably to run for Congress in the Seventh District. Ernest Koella, manufacturer of Maryville, Tenn., was unanimously elected chairman to return the control of the Old Line Republican leadership in East Tennessee.

Koella is considered a moderate, and has been allied with the late U.S. Rep. Howard Baker in the Knoxville area. Baker's son is a candidate for the Republican nomination to the U.S. Senate.

Nashville Attorney Kenneth Roberts, who managed the Goldwater fiasco in the state, is opposing Baker for the nomination, and the Birchite takeover in Davidson county is expected to strengthen Roberts in his home town so far as the county organization is concerned.

**HOWEVER,** the takeover in the Nashville committee, so like the Goldwater takeover in the state in 1964, may well further alienate the old line Republicans in the capital in favor of young Howard Baker's moderation.

The Republican state committee abandoned the idea of perhaps avoiding a state primary in favor of a convention indorsement in the senate primary, and in other contested races above the county level.

Thus it appears Baker and Roberts will go to the polls in the senate race. Likewise, Hurst has now drawn opposition for the congressional race from a Memphis State University professor who will seek the big Shelby county Republican vote.

**THE REPUBLICANS** will hold a state convention in Nashville June 2-4 to nominate candidates for the state supreme and appeals courts, and probably indorse a candidate for governor if there are no entries in the governor's race before that time which will force a primary.

U.S. Rep. W. E. Brock III of Chattanooga is the favorite of Republican leaders to make the bid for the governor's race — if he can be persuaded to leave the comparatively safe congressional seat. Brock did not close the gate on his becoming the candidate for governor while attending the Memphis conference.

TENNESSEE

—Staff photo by Jimmy Ellis

**Racial Talk:** Baxton Bryant, left, executive director, Tennessee Council on Human Relations, explains the work of his organization to Stephen Tippens, president, Nashville chapter of the Religious Public Relations Council, Inc., and Dr. W. C. Fields, right, national president of the council.

**Religion in Life**

# Races Held Uncommunicative

By W. A. REED JR.
Religion News Editor

IT IS TIME for us to get out of our shells for time is running out, the executive director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations said last week.

Baxton Bryant, speaking at the first meeting of the Nashville chapter of the Religious Public Relations Council, Inc., urged members of that group to "tie their convictions about human betterment to warm-hearted theology" and help in race relations.

He said there was more talk between races today than ever before but less real communication. Bryant warned that there was a danger of retrogression rather than progress.

"We had better get acquainted with our neighbors," he urged.

Bryant pointed out that, in days of civil rights compliance, the Edgehill area, in South Nashville, was an encircled one in which there was little chance for integration. He called the Oak Ridge neighborhood of Scarborough, the most segregated community in the state.

He pointed out that integration movements led by Negroes that were once moving at a pace of five miles an hour are now running at 100 miles an hour. The director said many whites do not realize that what a Negro may say to a white is not exactly what is going on in the community.

"We had better get out of our shells of self-conceit for time is running out," said Bryant.

He described the Tennessee Human Relations Council as an organization that served as a rallying place for persons who strive for intelligence, tolerance and fair play in race relations.

"We seek to foster an environment in which citizens may live together in decency and dignity free from discriminatory practices," Bryant said.

Bryant pointed out that real concern for persons of other ethnic groups and the poor was an expression of persons validating what they really believe is the mission of the church.

"Jesus told us to free the captives, console the broken-hearted and help the poor," Bryant told the council members.

# National Issues Loom Large In Baker-Clement Showdown

By JOE HATCHER
Staff Writer, the Nashville Tennessean
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

NASHVILLE, Tenn. Sept. 3. Tennessee's U.S. Senate race on Nov. 8 is rapidly becoming a backdrop for the national inter-party fight for the shift in congressional strength and the 1968 presidential contest.

Howard Baker Jr., son-in-law of Sen. Everett Dirksen, is spending more time in Washington lining up Republican support than in Tennessee thus far.

The contest between Baker and Gov. Frank Clement, the new Democratic nominee, is heading for a showdown on national rather than state issues, with the party banners and issues the major factors.

Gov. Clement has started his active campaigning far earlier than usual for the November battle, confining his efforts to the homefolks rather than a bid for national party support, however.

**BAKER HAS** already enlisted Richard M. Nixon for the campaign in Tennessee, with the likelihood that his father - in - law will defer his surgical plans until after at least some campaign efforts in the state. Sen. Truston Morton of Kentucky, as chairman of the GOP senate campaign committee, is also

## TENNESSEE

expected to give both financial and personal aid to the Tennessee campaign.

On the other hand, Gov. Clement is handicapped when it comes to soliciting high-level Democratic aid in the state. The big question is what the national Democratic figures can do for his cause in the state. Obviously he cannot invite the Deep South senators into the campaign, since Tennessee has not participated with them in the civil rights fights. Gov. Clement will depend on the state's heavy Negro and labor vote as the balance of power in the state's voting. Likewise it's doubtful that Vice - President Hubert Humphrey would be of benefit among the state's more conservative Democratic voters. Nor would a number of other Democratic leaders in the senate. More valuable will be the Democratic leaders in the senate. More valuable will be the Democratic congressmen in the state with only two of the six having serious November opposition.

**BAKER**, along with two Republican congressional nominees, is basing early efforts on criticisms of the national administration and attacking President Johnson's foreign and domestic policies.

Dan Kuykendall of Memphis, who unsuccessfully opposed Sen. Albert Gore in 1964, is challenging U.S. Rep. George Grider in Memphis, and sounding the Republican battle cry to start his campaign. He is blaming the Johnson administration for laxity in supplies for Viet Nam, with advocating repeal of the right-to-work laws, the war on poverty, and the Great Society, and the inflationary action of the federal administration. Julius Hurst in the Seventh district has indicated similar programming, and so has Howard Baker.

Gov. Clement must follow Democratic lines to a large extent. He must necessarily court the more liberal followers of Sen. Ross Bass, whom he narrowly defeated — nearer 20,000 in the final tally of votes in the August primaries. Bass and Clement did not differ basically in the August campaign, making it rather a battle of personalities than basic issues. Clement will have the support or the influence of an incumbent governor with state-wide organization and state favors to grant before he is to leave the office.

The campaign could develop into a fullscale national contest.

# BLACK KEEPS BAN ON TEXAS POLL TAX

## Heartened Liberals to Push Big Drive for Voters

By MARTIN WALDRON
Special to The New York Times

AUSTIN, Tex., Feb. 23—Justice Hugo L. Black ruled today in Washington to allow a court-ordered suspension of the Texas poll tax to stand, a decision that could have a decisive effect on Texas elections this year.

A top Texas labor leader said labor groups in the state would try to register an additional one million "liberal" voters during a special 15-day registration period ordered this week by the State Legislature. About 375,000 of the state's two million voters now are considered liberal.

"We have been on the telephone all day, organizing our people in the major population areas," said Roy Evans, secretary-treasurer of the Texas American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. He said the Texas A.F.L.-C.I.O. would concentrate its efforts in "labor and minority group precincts."

### Senate Race This Year

Texas will elect a Senator and 23 Representatives in addition to a Governor and a reapportioned Legislature this year. A majority of Texans lives in the eastern part of the state where labor is strongest.

A three-judge Federal Court ruled on Feb. 9 that the Texas poll tax was unconstitutional, but Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr has appealed the decision. A group of Austin Republicans had asked Justice Black to suspend the three-judge court ruling pending this appeal. In Washington today, Justice Black declined without comment to do so.

In anticipation of Justice Black's action, the State Legislature, in its special session, which ended yesterday, passed a law providing a 15-day period in March for registration of adults who did not pay their 1966 poll taxes by the Jan. 31 deadline. The voters registered during this 15-day period could not have voted this year if Justice Black had stayed the three-judge ruling pending its appeal.

### Texas to Press Plea

About two million people are estimated to have paid their poll taxes before the Jan. 31 deadline. Mr. Evans said another 4-million adults did not but now become eligible to vote if they can be registered.

Gov. John Connally, who is running for re-election and generally is not supported by labor, said the state would push its appeal of the court ruling outlawing the poll tax.

In addition to providing for the special 15-day registration period, the Legislature yesterday passed an annual voter registration plan advocated by Governor Connally. Under it, Texans would have to register by Jan. 31 of each year to vote in that year's election.

The Governor called it "an honest, fair and responsible bill calculated to encourage the right to vote."

Many liberal legislators assailed the plan as being designed to keep the number of voters down.

TEXAS

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1966.

# TEXAS LABOR SET TO BACK LIBERALS

## Hopes to Influence Change in State Democratic Party

Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Feb. 26—Texas labor, which hopes to turn the Texas Democratic party from a conservative to a liberal bent, will try to raise $100,000 additional next week to use for favored political candidates this year.

Texas COPE, the Committee on Political Education, will meet here Thursday, Friday and Saturday to vote on a recommendation that the political dues of about 200,000 Texas union members be raised from 5 cents to 10 cents a month for the remainder of the year.

Roy Evans, secretary-treasurer of the Texas Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, said the COPE convention might also endorse some candidates.

The Texas labor endorsement has sometimes been viewed as a liability in a state where only 13 per cent of the labor force belongs to a union.

One union local president recently said in a county COPE meeting called to endorse legislative candidates:

"Let's face it, the best thing we could do for our friends is to endorse their opponents."

But Mr. Evans, who coordinates statewide political activity for the union from his Austin headquarters, said Texas labor carried the state for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket in 1960 by getting out the vote for the Democrats. The Kennedy-Johnson ticket got 1,167,000 votes to 1,121,000 for Richard M. Nixon and Henry Cabot Lodge.

Texas labor has swung whatever power it posseses behind Mr. Johnson since his election to the Senate in 1948, Mr. Evans said. In 1948, the C.I.O. endorsed Mr. Johnson while the A. F. of L. endorsed his opponent in the primary, Coke Stevenson, a former Texas Governor. Mr. Johnson won by 87 votes.

In addition to raising $100,000 additional for political purposes, Texas labor officials will take advantage of an antipoll tax ruling to begin a voter registration drive March 3.

The drive will be concentrated in east Texas, where the major portion of the state's 10 million persons live.

### Poll Tax Wiped Out

A three-judge Federal Court struck down the Texas poll tax last Feb. 9, and Justice Hugo L. Black refused to suspend the ruling pending its appeal. The State Legislature provided in a special session this week for a 15-day period to register those who did not pay their poll taxes or file for a poll tax exemption before the Jan. 31 deadline.

Mr. Evans predicted that one million more voters, most of them liberals, could be registered. State officials estimated 100,000.

The COPE convention will probably endorse a candidate in the Democratic primary for Governor, Mr. Evans said. Gov. John B. Connally is being opposed for nomination to a third term by Stanley Woods, a Houston oilman. Mr. Woods is expected to get the labor recommendation.

There may be no endorsement in the United States Senate race. The main national goal for Texas labor has been repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the section that allows states to outlaw compulsory union membership. Texas is one of 19 states that has such a law.

Senator John G. Tower, the Republican who succeeded President Johnson in the Senate, is a bitter opponent of the repeal of 14(b). His chief Democratic opponent this year, State Attorney General Waggoner Carr, said he considered it a state issue.

Texas union members, normally Democrats, may be urged to support an independent, Ronnie Dugger of Austin, for Senator to register disapproval of the conservative Texas trend of the state Democratic party. Mr. Dugger, a liberal, is editor of The Texas Observer, a bimonthly magazine.

Two Democratic candidates for Congress have been endorsed by labor, State Representative Robert Eckhardt and William Kilgarlin, former chairman of the Houston Democratic party.

B Altman

TEXAS

NYT 3/3/66 THE

# CONNALLY ASSAILS KATZENBACH EDICT

## Order to Monitor Registration Angers Texas Governor

Special to The New York Times

AUSTIN, Tex., March 2—Gov. John B. Connally of Texas today denounced as a "great disservice to the people of Texas" a Department of Justice order that the Federal Bureau of Investigation monitor a special registration of voters that opens tomorrow.

"I can ony interpret this to mean that for whatever reason the Department of Justice and the United States Attorney General, who I presume ordered it, intends to instigate trouble in this state where we've had none," Governor Connally said. Waggoner Carr, a Democratic primary candidate for the United States Senate seat held by John G. Tower, Republican, told reporters earlier in the day that he was "fighting mad" over the order.

### Writes Katzenbach

Mr. Carr wrote United States Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach:

"Quite frankly, we feel our state is capable of handling our internal affairs. Our reports will be made to the Federal court having jurisdiction over this matter and to no one else unless the court directs us to do it.

"Your assignment of the F.B.I. to maintain surveillance over the Texas government is an insult to every public official and every citizen of Texas. No citizen of Texas, any more than any citizen of any other proud state, will cower under such misuse of authority. If you have any complaint against Texas, state it in court, don't threaten with the F.B.I.

"Texas will cooperate with you in every reasonable way in this or any other matter, but we will not subject this state to humiliation resulting from an 'overlord' attitude."

### Governor Agrees

Governor Connally, at a hastily called afternoon news conference, backed up Mr. Carr's angry words with some of his own. "I'm not privy to all that went on," he said, "but I approve [of Mr. Carr's statement]."

The Governor declared that the Department of Justice action "puts a great service, the F.B.I., in a very difficult position."

The registration period was ordered by the Texas Legislature last week in a special session, called after a Federal court held the Texas poll tax unconstitutional.

From March 3 to March 18, those who fail to pay their poll taxes will be allowed to register free, by mail or at county tax collectors' offices or at deputy registrars' offices set up at stores or public buildings.

Justice Hugo L. Black of the Supreme Court refused to stay the three-judge court's decree pending appeal to the Supreme Court by the State of Texas.

Mr. Carr then went back to the three judges in Houston Saturday and got a stay of judgment for 30 days, to allow the special registration and preparation of lists of qualified voters ahead of regular municipal and school elections the first week in April and the party primaries May 7.

Governor Connally recalled he had recommended abolition of the poll tax and the Legislature submitted it to the voters in 1963. Repeal was rejected by Texans, he recalled, but he again recommended abolishment in 1965 and repeal will be on the ballot this fall.

### Katzenbach 'Astonished'

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 2—Attorney General Katzenbach said he had talked to Mr. Carr by telephone before his news conference and was "astonished that he would express such views."

# CONNALLY WIDENS JOHNSON BREACH

TEXAS

## Makes Angriest Attack Yet on Justice Department

4/3/66

By MARTIN WALDRON

Special to The New York Times

AUSTIN, Tex., April 2—Gov. John B. Connally Jr. this week issued his bitterest attack so far on the national Administration since his "split" with President Johnson about a month ago.

The Governor, who has refrained from attacking the President directly, accused the Justice Department of "either frivolous harassment or an attempt to take over the authority of the state government."

Mr. Connally was speaking of a Justice Department suit to require Texas to give adults another chance to register as voters before the May 7 Democratic and Republican primaries. The suit was filed in Austin Wednesday night.

Political observers have viewed the attacks by Governor Connally as serving two purposes.

### A Spark for Conservatives

According to this view, the attacks, first, have kept alive the determination of conservative Democrats, who are led by Governor Connally, to maintain control of the state Democratic party and thus control the Texas delegation to the 1968 national Democratic convention

Second, the attacks are said to give a possible campaign issue to the Democratic State Attorney General, Waggoner Carr, in his race against the Republican Senator, John G. Tower, this fall. Mr. Carr has joined Governor Connally in the attacks on the national Administration for the last four weeks.

Most of their criticism has been directed at the Justice Department because of its activity in getting voters registered in Texas.

In a special 15-day registration period ended 10 days ago, 635,000 additional voters registered after a three-judge Federal Court abolished the Texas poll tax as a prerequisite for voting.

### Katzenbach Is Target

When the Justice Department ordered Federal Bureau of Investigation agents to monitor the registration period, Governor Connally and Mr. Carr began daily attacks against United States Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach.

And the Governor told a group of reporters in an off-the-record news conference that a political rift had developed between him and President Johnson after 15 years of close association.

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And the Governor told a group of reporters in an off-the-record news conference that a political rift had developed between him and President Johnson after 15 years of close association.

The Governor said the President had not been consulting him in making Federal appointments in Texas. And Mr. Connally added that the President was getting "bad advice from Eastern liberals."

Mr. Carr generally has adopted the same viewpoint.

Many Texas political figures say that the Governor's attack on the national Administration is part of Mr. Connally's continuing feud with United States Senator Ralph W. Yarborough, a liberal, over who will head the Texas Democratic party.

Texas liberal Democrats have started a campaign to try to capture the state Democratic party this year with an eye toward changing the strongly conservative viewpoint the state

**Kennedy an Issue**

There is a feeling in Texas that if liberals do get in control of the state party, Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York will have considerable influence in the Texas delegation in the 1968 National Democratic Convention.

National convention delegates will be elected at a state convention of county Democratic officials.

Both the liberals and the conservatives are striving to get control of the state party by winning precinct seats. Precinct elections will be held on the evening of May 7.

"The Governor wants to keep control of the state party to prevent Bobby Kennedy from having any influence in 1968 in Texas," said a long-time Texas politician. "Fussing at the Federal Government makes a good campaign issue."

Mr. Carr has also been getting considerable political advantage out of attacking the Administration, even though President Johnson had given the appearance of having endorsed Mr. Carr for the Senate seat.

Although Senator Tower also denounced the F.B.I. monitoring of voter registration last month, he was not as vigorous or as repetitious as Mr. Carr in doing so.

In the suit that provoked the newest attack on the national Administration by Governor Connally and Mr. Carr, the Justice Department said more than two million adult Texans still had not registered to vote and that more time was needed.

The Justice Department asked the three-judge Federal court to open up the registration books for a two-week period before the May 7 primary, and a two-week period preceding this fall's general election.

Three Federal judges will hear the suit at 10 A.M. Tuesday in Austin.

# REBELLION JOLTS TEXAS DEMOCRATS

TEXAS

## Liberals Bolt State Parley —May Support Tower

9/21/66

By MARTIN WALDRON

Special to The New York Times

AUSTIN, Tex., Sept. 20 — About 850 liberal delegates bolted the Texas State Democratic convention today and threatened to endorse Republican Senator John G. Tower, a Barry Goldwater supporter, for re-election in November.

The liberals, most of them from Houston, marched from the Austin City Auditorium to the State Capitol where they heard speeches attacking Gov John B. Connally Jr., and other state Democratic leaders.

The liberal delegates are believed to represent about 15 per cent of the 3 million registered voters in Texas.

Governor Connally, a conservative, and his supporters were in control of the state convention that was honoring Attorney General Waggoner Carr, the Democratic nominee for Senator.

"To hell with John Connally and his whole bunch," shouted Mrs. David Hill, one of the Houston delegates. Mrs. Hill stood on an automobile and urged liberal delegates to boycott the convention.

The Houston delegates, joined by about 40 from elsewhere in the state, then began their march through downtown Austin. They carried signs that said: "Liberals will not deal" and "Don't trade in a Tower for John's used Carr."

The open split between liberal and conservative Democrats in Texas, which has

Continued on Page 30, Column 2

# Revolt Jolts Texas Democrats; Liberals Bolt State Convention

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

threatened for several months, was viewed as a significant gain for Senator Tower, who was elected to succeed President Johnson in 1961 by a combination of liberal Democrats and Republicans.

For several years liberal leaders in Texas have advocated support of Republicans as a protest against conservative domination of the Texas Democratic party.

Senator Tower also has drawn the tacit endorsment of organized labor in Texas this year despite his opposition to repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allows states to outlaw union shop contracts.

Last night the liberal delegates refused to attend a $25-a-plate dinner honoring Mr. Carr. They organized a rival dinner and dance and pledged to send the proceeds to a relief fund of striking farm workers in south Texas.

The walkout began when the State Executive Committee ruled that half of Houston's eight seats could be filled by conservative Democrats. Liberal candidates defeated conservatives in Houston precinct elections on May 14, but the election was challenged at the convention.

The Republican State Convention, also held today at San Antonio, 75 miles from Austin, turned into a campaign rally for Senator Tower who delivered the major speech.

The 2,220 Republican delegates gave Senator Tower a 20-minute ovation as he attacked Mr. Carr, contending he was "unqualified" to be a United States Senator.

### Tower Assails Carr

Senator Tower, who asserts that he is President Johnson's top target in the November elections, said Mr. Carr would not be allowed to exercise any independent judgment if he should be elected.

"If I am re-elected, I will oppose the Administration when I think its actions are not in the best interest of the American people," Senator Tower pledged. "On the other hand, when I agree with the Administration, I will give it vigorous support."

Senator Tower said he was "wholeheartedly" behind President Johnson's policy on the war in Vietnam.

While the liberal delegates who walked out were marching toward the State Capitol, Governor Connally was delivering the keynote speech to 5,300 other Democratic delegates. The major portion of his speech was devoted to urging the need for a new State Constitution.

Governor Connally, President Johnson and two former Texas governors endorsed Mr. Carr's candidacy last night at the dinner, which was attended by about 3,500 persons.

Mr. Johnson said in a telesram that he would vote for Mr. Carr "because I think he will make a good Senator."

In an apparent answer to Republican charges that Mr. Carr would vote as the President told him to if elected, Mr. Johnson said he believed that the Democratic nominee "would listen to all voices and then vote as his conscience told him to."

Price Daniel former governor and former Senator, and Allan Shivers, former governor, helped introduce Mr. Carr at the dinner.

Mr. Shivers was governor of Texas when the State Democratic Party endorsed Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower for President in 1952.

After the walkout, the remaining delegates at the State Democratic Convention adopted a proposal to put four liberals and four conservatives from Houston on the State Executive Committee.

The Democrats and the Republicans meeting in San Antonio both endorsed proposals to give special attention to the plight of South Texas farm workers who ended a 400-mile march from the Rio Grande River to the State Capitol on Labor Day.

The farm workers, most of them Mexican-Americans, had asked for a $1.25-an-hour state minimum wage.

# Liberals Bolt Texas Democrats

TEXAS

AC 9/21/66

By MARTIN WALDRON

(Copyright 1966 by The New York Times Co.)

AUSTIN, Tex.—About 850 liberal delegates bolted the Texas State Democratic Convention Tuesday and threatened to endorse Sen. John G. Tower, a Barry Goldwater Republican, for reelection.

The liberals, most of them from Houston, marched from the Austin City Auditorium to the State Capitol, where they heard speeches attacking Gov. John B. Connally Jr. and other state Democratic leaders.

Connally is a conservative, and his supporters were in control of the state convention, which was honoring Waggoner Carr, the Democratic nominee for senator.

"To hell with John Connally and his whole bunch," shouted Mrs. David Hill, one of the Houston delegates. Mrs. Hill, a plump redhead, stood on an automobile and urged liberal delegates to boycott the convention.

The Houston delegates, joined by about 40 from elsewhere in the state, then began their march through downtown Austin. They carried signs: "Liberals will not deal." And "Don't trade in a Tower for John's used Carr."

The open split between liberal and conservative Democrats in Texas, threatened for several months, was viewed as a tremendous boost for Tower, who was elected in 1961 by a combination of liberal Democrats and Republicans. He took over the seat vacated by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Liberal leaders in Texas for several years have advocated support of Republicans as a protest against conservative domination of the Texas Democratic party.

# State Taxes Are Ruled Out for Rights Council

AC 9/27/66

A Fulton Superior Court jury has ruled that the Southern Regional Council (SRC) is a charitable organization and not subject to state taxation.

The jury deliberated more than three hours before finding in favor of the SRC. The State Labor department was attempting to collect unemployment compensation taxes from the civil rights group.

The labor department attempted to show that the SRC was not covered by the statute which exempts certain organizations from payment of taxes.

Although the verdict only concerned unemployment compensation, it could go much further and end any debate over other taxes.

The state, on June 24, issued a fi fa against the SRC and placed a levy against five typewriters owned by the organization. The labor department contended that the council owed a total of $17,993.17, including penalities and interest.

As a result of the issuance of the fi fa, the SRC posted a $25,000 bond with the Fulton County sheriff's department and challeneged the labor department in court.

The state contended in court that the SRC had violated the statute allowing certain organizations to be tax exempt by "attempting to influence legislation."

To this allegation, the SRC said:

"It (SRC) maintains a regional council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, endeavoring to promote a greater unity in the South towards regional and racial development."

PENDING ES

August 3, 1966

Dr. Joseph P. Witherspoon
Citywide Committee of Individuals
and Organizations for Human Rights
P. O. Box 4404
Austin, Texas 78751

Dear Dr. Witherspoon:

Both our executive director and I have read with great interest your letter of July 25. Your group appears to be an excellent one, and it is gratifying to us to know of its existence and of the work you have described.

First, let me make it clear that the Southern Regional Council is not a foundation. We are ourselves an agency which works by means of research, education and programs of action for equal opportunities for all peoples of the South. We depend on foundations for our funding. Our Board of Directors is composed of one hundred people from all over the South. One of them incidentally, is Mr. H. A. Brown of Austin, who is President of the Texas AFL-CIO.

We do provide assistance to human relations councils throughout the South in two ways: through state councils on human relations, and through program help in connection with SRC's special projects.

We helped to found state councils on human relations, autonomous voluntary associations, in all southern states and have continued to work cooperatively with them and their local chapters for about twelve years.

Our assistance to them includes a grant-in-aid program. Through these councils and their staffs we give aid to local councils affiliated with them. Unfortunately, a council started in Texas about ten years ago was defeated largely, I think, by the size of the state. Since then we have maintained a working relationship only with the Houston Council on Human Relations. This group began with a strong policy board, moved to a one-man-and-secretary staff, and now has a vigorous and effective program giving it significant impact on the city of Houston. We have given them modest aid all along and continue to do so. They have been fairly successful, however, in securing local backing from corporations and individuals.

We would be willing to explore the possibility of a similar cooperative relationship with the CCIOHR. We feel that more human relations work needs to be done in Texas generally and would like to be assured of contact with a group such as yours in Austin. If you are interested and could suggest a time, perhaps early in September or sooner, I would be glad to fly to Austin to meet your group and discuss the matter. (I plan to be on vacation during the week of August 21.)

The other way in which we aid human relations groups is through program assistance from our special projects. We could provide consultants, for example, on problems of housing, urban planning, fair employment, school integration, public welfare problems, penal administration and criminal rehabilitation, or community organization (meaning, ordinarily, low-income communities or communities of ethnic minorities.) The one most likely to provide assistance of the kind you mention would be our Voter Education Project. The VEP is beginning to emphasize leadership training, as well as voter registration and citizenship education. On that basis you might submit a proposal to VEP, of which Mr. Vernon Jordan is director, with some hope of favorable response.

In that connection, the Information Director of the Voter Education Project, Mr. Marvin Wall, is to be in Austin on another matter on or about August 15. I shall give him a copy of your letter and of this reply and ask him to get in touch with you. I am sure he would be happy to talk to you if it is possible to arrange an appointment.

I enclose a copy of our "Guidelines for Voter Education Project Grants."

We are glad to hear from you and hope that we can be of help to you.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/km

Enclosure

cc: Marvin Wall

Texas → CCIOHR

# CITYWIDE COMMITTEE of INDIVIDUALS and ORGANIZATIONS for HUMAN RIGHTS

P. O. BOX 4404 AUSTIN, TEXAS 78751

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
DR. JOSEPH WITHERSPOON
MRS. JAMES H. MEANS
ROBERT CANINO

August 10, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Dr. Witherspoon is presently away for two weeks active duty at the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland, so I am taking the liberty of answering your letter. The travel situation being what it is, however, we are not quite sure of the exact date of his return--we do know that it will be during the latter part of the week of the 21st. In any event, I am forwarding your letter to Dr. Witherspoon and you should be hearing from him shortly.

Would you be so kind as to inform Mr. Marvin Wall, your information director on voter registration, that he is to call Mr. Jorge Guerra at either GR 7-4701 (office) or WA 6-4988 (home) in Austin if he wishes to contact the CCIOHR while he is here? This is necessary because Dr. Witherspoon is of the University of Texas Law School faculty, and the University operators may not remember that Mr. Wall is to call Mr. Guerra.

Even though Dr. Witherspoon will not be here on the 15th, we would still welcome an opportunity to exchange information with Mr. Wall. Mr. Guerra is quite familiar with the Austin situation, and should be able to give Mr Wall the overall picture plus some relevant data on human relations.

We look forward to profitable meetings with both you and Mr. Wall.

Cordially yours,

John J. Doyle

John J. Doyle
Attorney pro tempore

1967

Please Announce | Please Announce

CITYWIDE COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (CCIOHR)

will hold an important Public Forum on Friday evening, April 28, 8:00 P.M., at Huston-Tillotson College Science Auditorium. Admission is free. The public is cordially invited. The Auditorium is at 1820 East 8th (Entrance from Chicon Street).

Our speaker will be

MR. J. EDWIN STANFIELD
of Atlanta, Ga.

His topic will be

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

---

Mr. Stanfield is Director of Field Activities of the Southern Regional Council. This organization, founded 23 years ago, is one of the outstanding organizations in the South dealing with problems of equal opportunity. It has promoted registration and voting by minority groups; credit unions and cooperatives designed to improve the economic lot of the poor; better housing and better-planned urban renewal programs; removal of racial barriers in business, industry, and labor; equal justice; and equal employment and educational opportunity. Mr. Stanfield is in Austin, at the invitation of CCIOHR, to confer on the mutual interests of the two organizations. The Southern Regional Council, like CCIOHR, believes that for progress in human relations no person, whether he be an Anglo, Latin, or Negro, can afford to talk of going it alone. Both organizations favor the principle of "people of the several races, faiths, and professions working together for mutual goals." Both organizations believe that "the most compelling need is the development of our human resources" and that "unless this need can be met in a climate of racial amity, there is no real future for this region or, for that matter, for this nation."

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THE CCIOHR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Any Austin citizen may register on each Saturday at our CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, 1106-B Concho Street, from 2:00 to 6:00 P.M. (Se habla espanol) for any of the following parts of our educational program:

(1) free tutoring for preparing to take the General Educational Development Test in order to obtain the High School Diploma Equivalent. Having this Diploma opens the way to many jobs.
(2) free tutoring of children in elementary, junior high, and high school who are having difficulties with their studies.
(3) free classes in typing and business English.
(4) free supervised sports activities on Saturday afternoons.

Nearly 150 persons are now enrolled in these programs. Tutoring is available throughout the week. Our telephones are: GR 7-0620; GL 2-1939; and GR 6-5168.

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THE CCIOHR BOARD OF DIRECTORS


Mrs. J. M. Holloway
Rev. J. E. Obey
Mrs. Mary Washington
Mr. Elvin W. Brown
Dr. J. P. Witherspoon
Mr. Mack Martinez
Mr. Calvin Lynch

TO: Mr. Vernon Jordan
Mr. Ed Stanfield

FROM: Marvin Wall

Austin is a city of 200,000 in central Texas. About 18 per cent of the population is Negro, I am told, and about 18 per cent is Latin American. Texas people say it is neither the best city in Texas, from a human relations standpoint, nor the worst. It stands somewhere in the middle.

On Saturday, August 20, I met with five Austin citizens who belong to the Citywide Committee of Individuals and Organizations for Human Rights (CCIOHR). Present were Jasper Glover, Calvin C. Lynch, Jorge D. Guerra, Katheryn S. Clark, John J. Doyle, and Betty W. Plass.

Dr. Witherspoon of the University of Texas, who wrote Mr. Stanfield on July 25 requesting assistance from the Southern Regional Council, was not present. He was on a two-week tour of duty at the U.S. Naval Academy. Mr. Doyle, who also is connected with the University of Texas, attended as attorney pro tempore (in fact, he came out to St. Edward's University to see me the afternoon before the meeting).

The meeting was held at the El Azteca, Mr. Guerra's restaurant, from 10 a.m. until about noon. I also had several discussions at St. Edward's with Mrs. Lynch, who ~~severed~~ served as a counselor at the AFL-CIO youth meeting.

CCIOHR has members from all three population segments (representatives of all three were present at the Saturday

morning meeting). The group has existed since 1963. It received a charter early this year. Its membership is about 200.

I outlined to the meeting, as best I could, the operation of the various Human Relations Councils in other states. I also outlined the Voter Education Project's programs. I explained that CCIOHR could ask for VEP help whether or not the Austin group enters into a working relationship with SRC similar to that of the Houston Council or Human Relations.

I explained the three VEP programs: registration, citizenship education, and leadership training. Judging from my discussions with Mrs. Lynch and with the group, there is a need in Austin for all three. It seems that registration drives have been conducted in Negro sections and to a lesser extent in Latino sections. However, registration and voter participation are quite low, as is the case in most of Texas. The NAACP in Austin, which the group considers ineffective, reportedly has planned something in the field of citizenship education. But the group's response was particularly enthusiastic, I thought, when I mentioned leadership training.

What would be the effect, I asked, if VEP sponsored in Austin a one-day workshop for local Negro and Latin candidates, campaign managers, poll watchers and the like? All agreed the effect would be great. It would draw together the minority groups and their supporters. It would help develop leadership, which CCIOHR say is urgently needed in Austin. And since Austin is the capital

city, the effect would be noticed and felt statewide.

The political situation in Austin seems to be about the same as that for all Texas: dismal. The group says Austin's city governing body is neither knowledgeable nor concerned. CCIOHR ran into a brick wall trying to get the city council to set up an official human relations commission. The council instead set up a private group to receive human rights complaints. Given the nature of this private commission, it is not surprising that it is receiving no complaints.

Great as the need is for registration activity in Texas, I am inclined to doubt the worth of it under Texas' present law. Texas does not have permanent registration. It has annual registration. Voters must register between October and January each year to vote during the year following the registration period. So if one goes to the trouble of registering, it's good for one year only. Austin has a city election coming up in April. Given this circumstance, a brief registration drive in Austin might be worthwhile.

The group asked me what its next move should be. I suggested that it meet with Dr. Witherspoon when he returns and draft a letter asking Mr. Stanfield to meet with them. I also suggested that they go over the VEP guidelines and then draft a request to VEP. They said they would do this, subject to approval by the whole organization.

The organization's main focus now is on jobs and equal employment and all that goes with it. However, it is interested in the whole range of human relations.

After the meeting, I visited the organization's Citywide Center for Human Rights, which is near Huston-Tillotson College. The location seems excellent. The center is in an abandoned church-school-hospital. It is a large room on the ground floor rented from the Holy Cross Catholic Church for $20 a month.

The main activity seems to be job counseling. Mr. Guerra showed me job listings that had been obtained from various governmental and private agencies.

Poverty is an acute problem in Texas, particularly among the Latin-Americans. I was told several times that the Latins in Texas consider themselves more oppressed than the Negroes. Based on my limited observations, I doubt that "more oppressed" is accurate; I would say equally oppressed. Two marches aimed at raising the state minimum wage currently are being conducted in Texas. Both Negroes and Latins are involved.

After visiting the Citywide Center with Mr. Guerra, we took a tour of both Negro and Latino slums. I was vaguely reminded of slums in some Florida cities. For the most part, it appears, the two minority groups are in separate areas, although in some parts of the city they live together.

I would say that the minority groups in Austin have pressing economic, political and social needs. I am favorably

impressed by the small group with which I met. Because Austin is a centrally located capital city, the benefits of what is done there would be wide. My own feeling is that if we are going to do anything at all in Texas, the proposals of the CCIOHR merit strong consideration.

# Rights Law 'Abuse' Laid to 12 States

TITLE VI

AJ - 2/23/66

By MARGARET SHANNON
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Feb. 23—The U.S. Civil Rights Commission Tuesday reported widespread segregation in hospitals and health and welfare programs in 12 Southern states, including Georgia, despite the 1964 law requiring nondiscrimination in federally aided projects.

There is spotty compliance, however, the commission said. In fact, it found one of the brightest spots at the Georgia State Hospital at Milledgeville.

The commission cited the plan for desegregation of accommodations and services at the big mental hospital as an example of how to go about complying with federal law.

Under a five-phase program begun last spring, the target date for completion of desegregation at the Milledgeville Hospital was last Nov. 15.

But that was the main good thing that the report had to say about the progress of desegregation in hospitals and welfare services.

**IT RECOMMENDED** that the U.S. Health, Education and Welfare Department "proceed immediately" to cut off federal funds where negotiations have failed to correct violations of Title 6 of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The commission was critical of the Health, Education and Welfare Department for being uninformed about the extent of compliance, but did point out that the compliance program was reorganized last month in an effort to strengthen it.

The report covered a commission study of some 40 communities in Georgia and 11 other states. The communities were in numerous instances places with some history of racial controversy, but there was an effort to examine a cross-section.

**THE REPORT** said that the 484-bed Macon Hospital had

Turn to Page 12, Column 1



# RIGHTS LAW REPORT

Continued from Page 1

made only minimal changes as of last August.

After the Civil Rights Act passed, the hospital converted its former Negro building into a facility for welfare patients only, the report said.

The hospital administrator told commission staff members that welfare patients were assigned to beds without regard to race, but no whites and Negroes were in the same rooms "because white patients 'found the money' to afford semiprivate or private accommodations when Negroes were moved into the same rooms or wards."

The Laurens County Hospital in Dublin had desegregated wards housing welfare patients, but had not assigned a Negro and a white patient to the same semiprivate rooms as of last July, the report said.

The commission said that the Georgia Health Department required every county health board to sign an assurance of compliance with federal desegregation regulations, but the Georgia Department of Family and Children Services (Welfare Department) did not require any from county welfare boards.

But the report said there was "no evidence" that state officials made any effort to determine the validity of the compliance statements by follow-through investigations.

**SOMETIMES,** the commission admitted, segregation continues because of long-time custom.

At a public health clinic in Macon, the commission field team noticed white women standing in the hallway while Negro women were in the waiting room.

In a health center in Milledgeville, racial entrance signs were removed, but Negroes continued to enter the clinic by the same old door as in the past, the report said.

Commission staff members found that a public health clinic in Dublin has been successful in eliminating customary segregation.

The clinic has dual accommodations, but they were being used by both races. Extensive segregation was found in nursing homes. In Americus, elderly white welfare patients make up one-half the patient popula-

tion of the Magnolia Nursing Home and neither Magnolia nor any other nursing home in the county admitted Negroes.

**WELFARE PATIENTS** received federal funds and therefore their accommodations come under federal regulations. The rest of the patients in the nursing homes pay their own way.

The Georgia Welfare Department has informed local administrators that welfare clients must be sent only to doctors who comply with nondiscrimination regulations, the report said.

The Georgia department's directive said: "Physicians have the option to serve whomever they please, but if they elect not to serve applicants or recipients of our programs on a nondiscriminatory basis, the use of their services must be discontinued."

The Civil Rights Commission report said that the Georgia directives had been issued only a short time before commission staff members visited the state and it was "too soon to make a judgment of the effectiveness of this procedure."

TITLE VI

# School Aid Ruled Out In Toombs

AC - 3/2/66

WASHINGTON (AP) — Hearing examiners have ruled that the Toombs County, Ga., Board of Education is ineligible for federal aid because of its failure to comply with the anti-discrimination provisions of the Civil Rights Act.

School Supt. H. Dorsey Jordan said he had been informed of the ruling. "In fact they cut off funds last July," he said. He said his system of 1,800 white pupils and 70 Negro pupils received about $8,000 in federal funds the year before.

Jordan said Toombs County did not file a desegregation plan, adding the county board did not order that it be done, and one has not been drawn up since the deadline for filing the plan.

The board and Georgia Department of Education, a party in the case, contended at a hearing, among other things, that there had been a premature cut-off of funds.

Hearing examiner E. Robert Seaver ruled this issue was not within the scope of the case before him.

Formal termination of federal aid cannot be made effective under law until the decision of the examiner has been approved by the commissioner of education and secretary of welfare. Congress also must be given 30 days notice.

C(lips) + I(nformation)

TITLE VI

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Washington, D.C. 20201

INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THE ATTACHED DOCUMENTS IS FOR RELEASE AFTER 1:00 P.M., MONDAY, MARCH 7, 1966.

# # #

DEN BOER -- W03-4047

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Public Health Service
Washington, D. C. 20201

For Release After 1 p.m., March 7, 1966

Surgeon General William H. Stewart today announced specific steps which the Public Health Service has taken to assure compliance in the health and medical fields with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Currently in the mails to the administrators of the Nation's more than 10,000 hospitals are: (1) letters explaining that to be eligible to receive Federal assistance or to participate in any Federally assisted program a hospital must be in compliance with Title VI; (2) Guidelines for Compliance, and (3) a Medical Facilities Compliance Report which the administrator is asked to complete and return by March 15. An Assurance of Compliance form has also been mailed to approximately 7,000 hospitals which have not as yet filed such forms.

In addition , the Surgeon General announced the establishment in the Public Health Service of an Office of Equal Health Opportunity which is charged with responsibility for the civil rights activities of all agencies of the Executive Branch which administer Federal assistance funds in the health and medical fields.

In his letter to hospital administrators, Dr. Stewart stated in part:

"The Public Health Service has been given the responsibility of ensuring compliance with Title VI in all hospitals receiving funds directly or indirectly from any department or agency of the Federal government. As a result, hospitals will be dealing with only one department of the Federal

(more)

government instead of fifteen. Financial assistance is extended directly by the Federal Government for research, training or construction.. In other instances, the funds are for services rendered to clients of State administered health, welfare or rehabilitation programs.

"This activity of the Public Health Service does not relieve State and local recipients of Federal Grants, such as State or local health and welfare agencies, from continuing responsibility for determining that Federally supported programs do not use non-complying hospitals."

"Guidelines for Compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964" is a two-page general explanation of what is required if a hospital is to be in compliance with Title VI. The document spells out that "hospitals in compliance with the Act are characterized by absence of separation, discrimination or other distinction on the basis of race, color or national origin in any activity carried on in, by or for the institution affecting the care and treatment of patients." It then sets forth the specific characteristics of compliance.

When signing the Assurance of Compliance Form, the authorized hospital official agrees that his institution will comply with the provisions of Title VI and that any necessary measures will be taken immediately to effectuate this agreement.

The Medical Facilities Compliance Report is a questionnaire which asks for specific information on civil rights practices within the hospitals in relation to the admission, care, and treatment of patients, the conduct of training activities, the utilization of staff and the extension of staff privileges.

(more)

The hospitals will be asked, for instance, to indicate whether patients are assigned to all rooms and facilities without regard to race, color, or national origin; whether all persons are allowed to use entrances, admission offices, waiting rooms, dining areas and cafeterias, toilets and lavatories, and other service facilities; whether the hospital accepts and approves applications for staff privileges and training without regard to race, color, or national origin; and other similar questions. An up-to-date patient census by race must be indicated on the questionnaire, as must a breakdown by race of physicians holding staff privileges.

If evidence of discriminatory practice is indicated in the returned questionnaire, the specific areas of failure to comply will be pointed out. The hospital will then be given an opportunity to eliminate its discriminatory practices as quickly as possible. Where discrimination persists, the hospital will be excluded from any new Federal assistance programs, such as Health Insurance for the Aged, which begins on July 1. When negotiations fail to achieve compliance, steps will be taken under Title VI to terminate present assistance, or compliance will be secured through enforcement by the courts.

The Office of Equal Health Opportunity is administratively located in the Office of the Surgeon General and will be headed by Mr. Robert M. Nash. It will employ a staff with special competencies and responsibilities in review and investigation of complaints, evaluation of complaint and compliance reports, public information activities, fiscal and statistical analysis, compliance negotiations, and development of recommendations for corrective action within the law, and will include experts in such areas as law, contracts, professional education and project grants, hospitals and nursing homes, and State and local health agencies.

(more)

Mr. Nash will eventually direct a staff of 100, for which recruiting is now in progress. Some 30 employees will be assigned to the Washington office, and the remaining 70 employees will be stationed in the nine regional offices of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Mr. Nash, who has directed civil rights activities of the Public Health Service in the over-all framework of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is 49 years old and was born in West Swanzey, N. H. He received his masters degree in social service administration in 1941 from the University of Chicago, and worked for the New Hampshire Department of Welfare before entering Federal Service in 1943 with the Bureau of Public Assistance. In 1946 he joined the Public Health Service as a Hospital Program Representative, and has since served as Deputy Chief, and later Chief, of Grants Management in the Bureau of State Services. In 1964 he was named Assistant Grants Policy Officer in the Office of the Surgeon General, with primary responsibility for health program grants and Federal-State relations in regard to Public Health Service grants.

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Statement

by

William H. Stewart, M. D.
Surgeon General, Public Health Service
U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

The Public Health Service intends to exert every effort to see that discrimination with respect to race, color or national origin is halted in all health and medical institutions and agencies receiving Federal assistance. This is the meaning, put most simply, of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as it pertains to the responsibilities of the Public Health Service. This is the meaning of Title VI to which I, and all of us in the Public Health Service, wholeheartedly subscribe.

The responsibilities for meeting this goal have been given to the Public Health Service by Secretary Gardner. Today we are announcing that the Service has set up an organizational unit to carry out our responsibilities, to provide a point of contact for those with whom we will be dealing in this area, to make certain policy decisions for the Service on civil rights, and to provide the Service-wide, indeed the government-wide, leadership for civil rights activities in health and medical affairs.

The organization we have created for these purposes, and which will be part of the Office of the Surgeon General, is called the Office of Equal Health Opportunity. This Office is now recruiting its full-time staff, beginning a review of the compliance status of the Nation's hospitals, and forming its plans for future action, as the news release you were given points out more fully.

Although it is administratively necessary to establish such a distinct unit to deal with civil rights, in no sense does this imply that civil rights

are the concern only of this new Office. On the contrary, civil rights affairs necessarily permeate all parts of the Service, and are the responsibility of all employees of the Service.

There is a very strong feeling in the Federal government, in this Department, and in the Public Health Service, that this subject of civil rights is of the highest importance and priority. From the point of view of the Service, this activity will have impact on the quality of the health care provided to the American people; it impinges on such important matters as the proper distribution of our health resources; the recruitment and training of health workers; and the organization and efficiency of our health and medical institutions.

More importantly, of course, our activities in the field of civil rights will help to remove the discrepancy sometimes found between the humanitarian ideals of medicine and its day-to-day practices; while most importantly of all we hope to affirm and to assure the rights of all citizens within our democractic society.

To accomplish all this, we must be more than simply enthusiastic or pietistic -- we have learned, too, as those who have been in the frontlines of the battle for civil rights know, that we must be specific and unambiguous in our plans and policies, we must be patient and undiscouraged in the face of resistance, and we must be firm in our demands.

Much progress in eliminating discrimination has already been achieved during the past year through the voluntary action of hospitals in all parts of the country. The transition has not been as difficult as some were fearful it would be. On the contrary, choosing to offer equal treatment to all Americans has proved to be administratively, economically, and medically advantageous and correct.

We will have problems, to be sure. But I think everyone understands what we are asking and what we hope to accomplish. Our problems will be solved -- and they will be solved with a minimum of delay, suspicion, hurt feelings, or bad faith.

If I could not believe that, if I could not commit myself wholly to this good cause, then I would not have come here this afternoon.

Thank you.

PHS-4067
2-66

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

FORM APPROVED
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 68-R922

# MEDICAL FACILITIES COMPLIANCE REPORT

(Civil Rights Act Title VI)

*INSTRUCTIONS: Complete all items. Check the appropriate box and insert numbers where indicated. If you believe your answers to any of the questions below require an explanation, check here ☐ and explain on the reverse side, identifying comment by item number.*

| NAME OF INSTITUTION OR FACILITY | ADDRESS *(Street, city, state, Zip Code)* | COUNTY |
|---|---|---|
| | | |

| LIST AFFILIATIONS WITH OTHER HOSPITALS, MEDICAL SCHOOLS, SCHOOLS OF NURSING, SCHOOLS OF MEDICAL TECHNOLOGY, ETC. | TYPE OF HOSPITAL ☐ PROPRIETARY ☐ VOLUNTARY NON-PROFIT | GOVERNMENT: ☐ STATE ☐ COUNTY ☐ MUNICIPAL ☐ DISTRICT |
|---|---|---|

1. ARE ALL PATIENTS ASSIGNED ROUTINELY TO THE FOLLOWING FACILITIES WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN

| | YES | NO | | YES | NO | | YES | NO |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ROOMS | | | BUILDINGS | | | TREATMENT ROOMS | | |
| WARDS | | | NURSERY FACILITIES | | | OPERATING ROOMS | | |
| FLOORS | | | LABOR ROOMS | | | OTHER PROFESSIONAL SERVICE FACILITIES | | |
| WINGS | | | DELIVERY ROOMS | | | | | |

2. TODAY'S PATIENT CENSUS

_____ *(Date)* WHITE _____ *(No.)* NEGRO _____ *(No.)* INDIAN _____ *(No.)* ORIENTAL _____ *(No.)*

| TODAY'S OCCUPANCY | NO. OF BUILDINGS | NO. OF WINGS | NO. OF FLOORS | NO. OF PRIVATE ROOMS | NO. OF 2 BED ROOMS | NO. OF 3-6 BED WARDS | NO. OF OVER 6 BED WARDS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A. OCCUPIED BY WHITES ONLY | | | | | | | |
| B. OCCUPIED BY NEGROES ONLY | | | | | | | |
| C. OCCUPIED BY INDIANS OR ORIENTALS ONLY | | | | | | | |
| D. BI-RACIALLY OCCUPIED BY WHITES AND NEGROES | | | | | | | |

3. WHAT IS THE APPROXIMATE PERCENTAGE OF NON-WHITE POPULATION IN THE SERVICE AREA FROM WHICH 75% OF YOUR PATIENTS ARE DRAWN _____ %

4. ARE THE FOLLOWING FACILITIES USED ROUTINELY BY ALL PERSONS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN

| | YES | NO | | YES | NO |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ENTRANCES | | | DINING AREAS AND CAFETERIAS | | |
| ADMISSION OFFICES | | | TOILET AND LAVATORY FACILITIES | | |
| WAITING ROOMS | | | OTHER GENERAL SERVICE FACILITIES | | |

5. ARE THE FOLLOWING USED ON THE SAME BASIS BY ALL OUT-PATIENTS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN

| | YES | NO |
|---|---|---|
| CLINICS | | |
| OUTPATIENT SERVICES | | |
| SEATING ARRANGEMENTS | | |
| EMERGENCY ROOMS | | |
| WAITING LINES | | |

6. ARE OUTPATIENT SERVICES USED BY ALL PATIENTS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN AT THE SAME TIME RATHER THAN ON DIFFERENT DAYS OR AT DIFFERENT HOURS

☐ YES ☐ NO

7. DOES THIS INSTITUTION ACCEPT AND APPROVE APPLICATIONS FOR STAFF PRIVILEGES AND TRAINING WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN

☐ YES ☐ NO

8. IF "YES" IS CHECKED IN ITEM 7, ARE THE STAFF PRIVILEGES OF NEGRO PHYSICIANS OR DENTISTS DIFFERENT IN ANY WAY THAN THOSE GRANTED TO WHITE PHYSICIANS OR DENTISTS

☐ YES ☐ NO

9. IS MEMBERSHIP IN THE CITY, COUNTY, OR STATE MEDICAL OR DENTAL SOCIETIES A PREREQUISITE TO GRANTING OF STAFF PRIVILEGES

☐ YES ☐ NO

10. IF "YES" IS CHECKED IN ITEM 9, DO THE SOCIETIES INVOLVED GRANT MEMBERSHIP WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN ☐ YES ☐ NO

11. TO THE BEST OF YOUR KNOWLEDGE, HOW MANY NON-WHITE PHYSICIANS ARE THERE IN ACTIVE PRACTICE IN THE SERVICE AREA _____

12. NUMBER OF NEGRO PHYSICIANS WHO HAVE APPLIED FOR STAFF PRIVILEGES SINCE JANUARY 1, 1964 _____

13. PRESENT STATUS OF FACILITY'S STAFF

| TYPE | NEGRO | WHITE | OTHER | TYPE | NEGRO | WHITE | OTHER |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PHYSICIANS FULL STAFF MEMBERS | | | | INTERNS | | | |
| | | | | RESIDENTS | | | |
| COURTESY STAFF | | | | STUDENT NURSES | | | |
| OTHER | | | | PRACTICAL NURSES IN TRAINING | | | |
| DENTISTS STAFF MEMBERS | | | | MEDICAL TECHNOLOGISTS IN TRAINING | | | |
| COURTESY STAFF | | | | | | | |
| OTHER | | | | | | | |

I certify that the information given above is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief. *(A willfully false statement is punishable by law; U.S. Code, Title 18, Sec. 1001)*

| SIGNATURE OF AUTHORIZED OFFICIAL | TITLE | DATE |
|---|---|---|
| | | |

GPO 903-356

GUIDELINES FOR COMPLIANCE WITH TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

Hospitals in compliance with the Act are characterized by absence of separation, discrimination or any other distinction on the basis of race, color, or national origin in any activity carried on in, by or for the institution affecting the care and treatment of patients.

Specifically, the above would include (but not be limited to) the following characteristics:

1. The hospital provides inpatient and outpatient care on a non-discriminatory basis; all patients are admitted and receive care without regard to race, color, or national origin. Declaration of an open admission policy may not be sufficient to effectuate compliance in some instances, particularly where the hospital has previously served only or primarily patients of one race. Where there is a significant variation between the racial composition of patients and the population served, the hospital has a responsibility to determine the reasons and to take corrective action if they are due to discriminatory practices.

2. All patients are being assigned to all rooms, wards, floors, sections, and buildings without regard to race, color, or national origin. In communities with non-white population, this results in bi-racial occupancy of multi-bed rooms and wards and use of single bed rooms on a non-discriminatory basis.

   Patients are not asked if they are willing or desire to share a room with a person of another race. Transfer of patients is not used as a device to evade compliance with the Act.

3. Employees, medical staff and volunteers of the hospital are assigned to patient services without regard to the race, color, or national origin of either the patient or employee. Courtesy titles (Mr., Miss, Dr.) whenever used, are being used throughout the hospital including patient care areas and news releases announcing admissions, births, deaths, etc.

4. The granting of permanent or temporary staff privileges is carried out in a non-discriminatory manner. Staff privileges are not denied professionally qualified personnel on the basis of race, color, or national origin, or on the basis of non-membership in an organization which

discriminates on the basis of race, color, or national origin. Removal of staff privileges and other disciplinary actions shall not be based on race, color, or national origin.

5. Non-discriminatory practices of the institution include all aspects of training programs, and require recruiting and selection of trainees at both predominantly white and Negro schools. The same recruiting procedures are used at all such institutions. Third parties are not permitted to select trainees on a basis which, if done directly by the hospital, would be violative of the Civil Rights Act. These requirements apply to interns (medical, dental, OT, PT, dietician), residents and training programs such as graduate nurse, practical nurse, medical technology, x-ray technology, etc.

6. All services rendered by the institution, its employees or vendors to patients or others are provided without regard to race, color, or national origin. This would include:

   A. Administrative services (admission, medical records, fiscal, etc.).

   B. Medical and dental care for inpatients and outpatients (all specialties-clinical, diagnostic and other pathology services).

   C. Paramedical care and ancillary and supporting services (food, pharmacy, social services, laundry, toilet facilities, waiting rooms, entrances, exits, snack bars, gift shops, visiting hours, doctor's lounges). Patients and visitors are using all cafeteria facilities without regard to race, color, or national origin; no dining facilities are used only by non-whites by "custom" or "preference".

   D. Ambulance services.

7. Employees and medical staff have been notified in writing of the hospital's policy for compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act.

8. Hospitals which have recently changed from discriminatory practices have taken steps to notify those who previously had been excluded from hospital services (e.g., letters to Negro physicians or physician organizations and Civil Rights leaders, notices to newspapers, posting of signs in hospitals, etc.).

9. Hospitals which have had dual facilities to affect racial separation have either converted one of them to a different purpose or have taken steps to change the traffic flow so that they are actually used bi-racially.

## ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE REGULATION UNDER TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

_____ (hereinafter called the "Applicant")
(Name of Applicant)

HEREBY AGREES THAT it will comply with title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (P.L. 88-352) and all requirements imposed by or pursuant to the Regulation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (45 CFR Part 80) issued pursuant to that title, to the end that, in accordance with title VI of that Act and the Regulation, no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be otherwise subjected to discrimination under any program or activity for which the Applicant receives Federal financial assistance from the Department; and HEREBY GIVES ASSURANCE THAT it will immediately take any measures necessary to effectuate this agreement.

If any real property or structure thereon is provided or improved with the aid of Federal financial assistance extended to the Applicant by the Department, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant, or in the case of any transfer of such property, any transferee, for the period during which the real property or structure is used for a purpose for which the Federal financial assistance is extended or for another purpose involving the provision of similar services or benefits. If any personal property is so provided, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant for the period during which it retains ownership or possession of the property. In all other cases, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant for the period during which the Federal financial assistance is extended to it by the Department.

THIS ASSURANCE is given in consideration of and for the purpose of obtaining any and all Federal grants, loans, contracts, property, discounts or other Federal financial assistance extended after the date hereof to the Applicant by the Department, including installment payments after such date on account of applications for Federal financial assistance which were approved before such date. The Applicant recognizes and agrees that such Federal financial assistance will be extended in reliance on the representations and agreements made in this assurance, and that the United States shall have the right to seek judicial enforcement of this assurance. This assurance is binding on the Applicant, its successors, transferees, and assignees, and the person or persons whose signatures appear below are authorized to sign this assurance on behalf of the Applicant.

Dated _____ _____
(Applicant)

By_____
(President, Chairman of Board, or comparable authorized official)

_____

_____
(Applicant's mailing address)

HEW-441
(12-64)

# Some Officials Expect Repeal Of Title VI of Rights Act

TITLE VI AJ&C 10/9/66

By JOHN HERBERS

(Copyright 1966 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, Oct. 8 — Some administration officials are concerned that the most far-reaching desegregation law —Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 — is in danger of repeal — bit by bit.

Both houses of Congress have been chipping away at Title VI, which is intended to prohibit racial discrimination in any federally assisted program.

"Now when we call on Southern school officials for compliance, they just laugh at us," an official in the office of education said. "They feel they have the rest of the country on their side now."

On Thursday, the House voted, 220 to 116, to require a hearing before the Office of Education can delay sending federal funds to any school district suspected of practicing discrimination.

Both houses agreed to cut the civil rights enforcement appropriation to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare by $927,000. These actions are subject to approval in conference committee.

IN ADDITION, the department and the commissioner of education, Harold Howe II, have been criticized by members of Congress, from both the South and North, who say the department is going beyond the law in enforcement of Title VI.

Some officials within the department believe that damage done to Title VI so far is more psychological than substantative, although some officials in the administration believe Congress is not yet through with Title VI.

"A lot of people would like to see it repealed or gradually eroded away," one official said.

New opposition to Title VI is making a difficult enforcement task harder, a spokesman for HEW said.

If enforcement of Title VI followed every federal dollar, as it could, except for a few exemptions, it would be felt in almost all phases of life.

BUT THE administration has attempted to enforce it only in select programs, chiefly schools, hospitals, and the federal agencies.

Further, Title VI is not popular in the bureaucracy.

Many officials say privately they wish Title VI did not exist. It involves them in the emotional area of race relations they would rather avoid. And it distracts them from what they consider to be their major concerns because it carries the power to withhold funds.

The office of education is committed to integrated education. But some officials feel that civil rights problems have hindered the office's major job of building quality schools, whatever the racial balance.

In administering federal aid to secondary schools, the office has encountered complaints of "federal control" from all areas of the country, partly due, it is believed, to the side effects of Title VI enforcement.

THIS WEEK, Howe proposed before the House Rules Committee that enforcement of Title VI in school desegregation be delegated to the states. He said this could be incorporated in the general state administration of federal education programs, if the states wish to assume that responsibility.

The federal standards and guidelines would have to be maintained, Howe added.

Title VI has been enforced only in the South and border states. The office of education has made no attempt to enforce Title VI outside the South since last year when it deferred funds to Chicago and was overruled by the White House.

The reason for the general assault on Title VI now is that Southerners have mounted a campaign against it and many Northerners are sympathetic for the first time.

The main charge is that HEW is intent on achieving racial balance when the intent of the law is only to remove racial barriers.

HEW officials say that their desegregation guidelines actually permit a slower rate of integration than would have taken place without them.

"If we had just enforced Title VI outright," one official said, "they would have had to desegregate all at once instead of four grades a year. All we are trying to do is stop having Negro schools and white schools and just have schools."

# ALABAMA TO TEST U.S. FUNDS CUTOFF

TITLE VI

## State Refuses to File Rights Compliance—Will Try to Win Its Case in Court

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 17 — Alabama has served notice on the Federal Government that it will go to court in an attempt to avoid a cutoff of more than $90-million a year in welfare funds for failure to comply with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Alabama is the only state that has not filed a form agreeing to try to bring about desegregation of all facilities receving Federal welfare funds. The state has said its own facilities are desegregated but it refuses to require integration of "third parties" such as doctors' offices and nursing homes.

Reid B. Barnes, a lawyer for the Alabama Welfare Department, put forth Alabama's position yesterday in a hearing before United States Welfare Comissioner Ellen Winston. He said the requirement for "third parties" could not be legally sustained under Title VI of the act which says there shall be no racial discrimination in any federally assisted program.

Mr. Barnes also said that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare had no authority to cut off funds for programs such as old - age assistance and care for dependant children because of noncompliance in health - care programs.

### Congress to Be Notified

A formal hearing on Alabama's refusal to file the required form was held last Oct. 21. On April 5, a hearing examiner recommended a cutoff of funds.

The next step will be for the department to certify to Congress that a cutoff has been ordered. Thirty days thereafter the dispute is subject to judicial review.

Mr. Barnes acknowledged that Alabama did not file the required form and would try to win its case in the courts.

The allocation of funds will continue pending the court fight.

Alabama officials have said that some doctors are reluctant to desegregate their waiting rooms and facilities for fear of losing white patients.

Federal officials said they did not know the extent of separate waiting and examining rooms in Alabama doctors' offices. Throughout the South, the segregated office is not

Continued on Page 32, Column 3

New at bookshops everywhere: "FLYING SAUCERS—SERIOUS BUSINESS" by Frank Edwards. The facts about the saucer mystery! —Advt.

# ALABAMA TO TEST U.S. FUNDS CUTOFF

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

nearly so prevalent as it was several years ago.

Under the Medicare program, which goes into effect July 1, doctors will not be required to integrate their offices. The Social Security Administration, which administers the program, has ruled that Title VI does not apply in a doctor's private office.

Neither the department nor civil rights groups are said to be for cutting off the welfare funds. To do so would leave many thousands in Alabama, including Negroes, without subsistence.

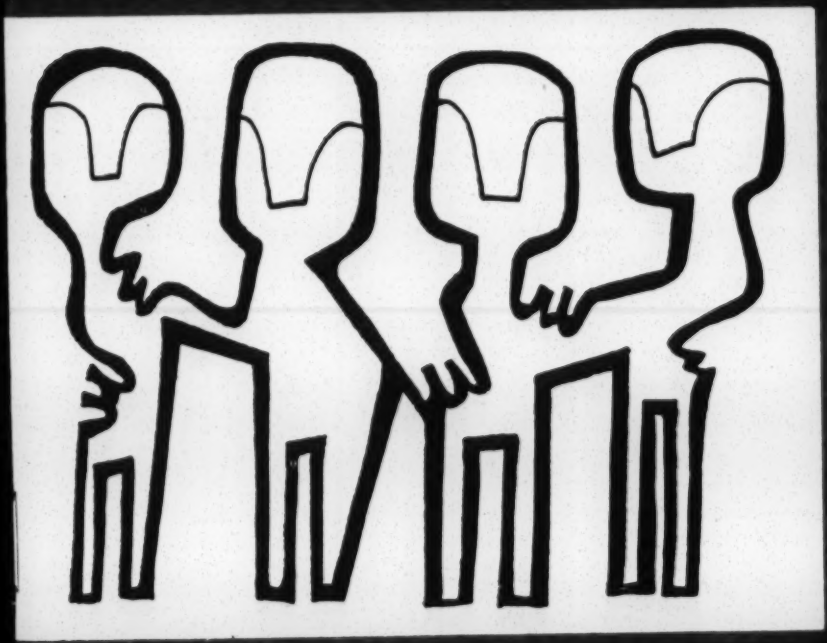
The court review is expected to take a number of months. Department officials are said to believe that if the Government wins its case Alabama would then comply rather than lose the large amount of money involved.

Officials also are hoping for a change of policy by Alabama as more Negroes in that state become eligible to vote. The c rent policy against civil rig compliance was laid down Gov. George C. Wallace, wh term expires this year. His w Lurleen, is the Democratic n inee to succeed him but f Republican opposition in general election.

TRAINING

# UPLAND INSTITUTE

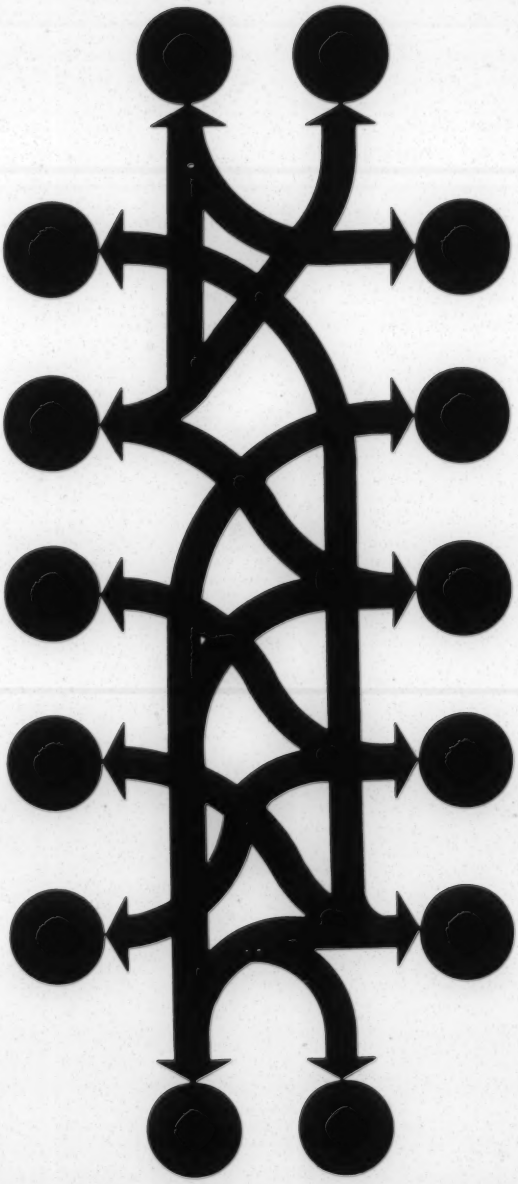
## A PROGRAM FOR SOCIAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT



TRAINING

# HUMAN RELATIONS WORKSHOPS

SUMMER 1966

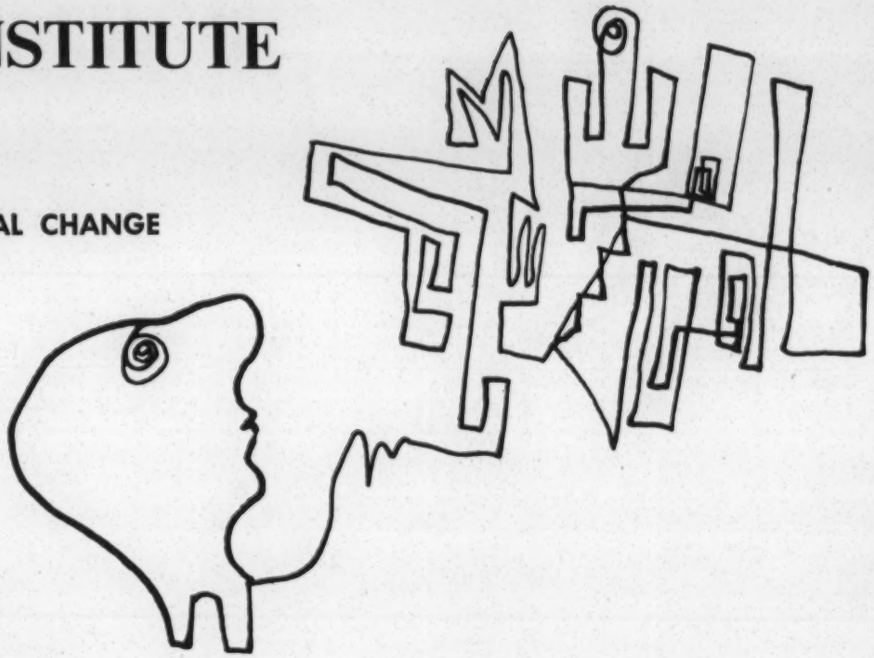


The Council on Human Relations
281 The Arcade, Cleveland, Ohio 44114
Telephone: (Area Code 216) 781-6630

(please post)

TRAINING

# THE UPLAND INSTITUTE



## TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP IN SOCIAL CHANGE

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
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| Dr. Joseph Gittler | Dr. Staughton Lynd | Mr. Irving Morris |
| Dr. Victor Paschkis | Mr. Norman Hill | Mr. Bayard Rustin |

The Upland Institute is based on the concept that change is inherent in human institutions and attitudes, and that the growing complexity of contemporary society necessitates rapid and often drastic change if pressing human problems are to be met in a constructive manner. At a time of increasing reliance upon violence to achieve social change, we believe that man's intellectual abilities, his accumulated knowledge, and resources which spring from religious and secular insights and social heritage can be used to train men and women to engage in the processes of social change through non-violent, democratic methods.

*To: John W. Thomas, The Upland Institute, Upland Ave., Chester, Pa.*

Please send me further information about the program of the Institute.

☐ Check here if interested in attending the Institute.

NAME _____

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CITY _____ STATE _____

# POVERTY

# DISCOVER PLAN ACT

ELIZABETH JOHNS

Agency

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN

# THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

## EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

**A Southeast Conference on Title VI**

**The Civil Rights Act of 1964**

**APRIL 14, 1965 • ATLANTA, GEORGIA**

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

---

John A. Hannah, Chairman

Eugene Patterson, Vice Chairman

Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman

Erwin N. Griswold

Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.

Robert S. Rankin

William L. Taylor, Staff Director-designate

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

MORNING SESSION

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REGISTRATION - 9:30 A.M.

CONFERENCE CONVENES - 10:30 A.M.

Presiding: Samuel J. Simmons
Director
Field Services Division
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

Welcome: Eugene Patterson
Vice Chairman
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
and
Editor, Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Explanation of the Conference on Title VI:

William L. Taylor
Staff Director-designate
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

Film of the speech "The Letter and the Spirit"

by the Vice President of the United States

Speaker: James M. Quigley
Assistant Secretary
U.S. Department of Health,
Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

Workshop Assignments:

Samuel J. Simmons

Recess for Lunch - 11:45 A.M.

## COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Opening Statement: Robert A. Sauer
Special Assistant to the
Deputy Administrator
U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency
Washington, D.C.

Panelists: Edward H. Baxter
Acting Regional Administrator
U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency
Atlanta, Georgia

E. Bruce Wedge
Regional Director
Urban Renewal Administration
Atlanta, Georgia

Arthur R. Hanson
Regional Director
Public Housing Administration
Atlanta, Georgia

Moderator: John I. Binkley
Deputy Director
Field Services Division
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

Resource Persons

Local, State, and Federal officials with responsibility for administering housing and community development programs; industry representatives.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

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| | |
|---|---|
| Opening Statement: | James M. Quigley<br>Assistant Secretary<br>U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare<br>Washington, D.C. |
| Panelists: | Dr. James M. Smith<br>Regional Representative<br>Office of Commissioner of Education<br>U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare<br>Atlanta, Georgia |
| | Ross Edwards<br>Program Head<br>Direct Distribution Program<br>Consumer and Marketing Service<br>U.S. Department of Agriculture<br>Atlanta, Georgia |
| | Earl Redwine<br>Acting Director<br>Southeast Regional Office<br>Community Action Program<br>Office of Economic Opportunity<br>Atlanta, Georgia |
| Moderator: | Samuel J. Simmons |

Resource Persons

Local, State, and Federal officials with responsibility for administration of education and related programs; educational associations and private agencies.

CONCURRENT PANELS - 3:00 - 4:15 P.M.

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MANPOWER SERVICES

Opening Statement: Arthur H. Chapin
Special Assistant to the Secretary
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington, D.C.

Panelists: Mark Battle
Assistant Director for
Field Operations
Neighborhood Youth Corps
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington, D.C.

Christopher Weeks
Special Deputy to the
Director of Job Corps
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D.C.

Warren A. Seeley
Regional Representative
for Field Administration
Division of Vocational and
Technical Education
Office of Education
U.S. Department of Health,
Education, and Welfare
Atlanta, Georgia

Ernest L. Marbury
Regional Administrator
Bureau of Employment Security
U.S. Department of Labor
Atlanta, Georgia

Moderator: Douglas B. Sands
Field Representative
Field Services Division
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

Resource Persons

Local, State, and Federal officials with responsibility for administration of employment services and manpower training; business and industry representatives.

AGRICULTURE

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| | |
|---|---|
| Opening Statement: | William A. Seabron<br>Assistant to the Secretary<br>U.S. Department of Agriculture<br>Washington, D.C. |
| Panelists: | Dr. Alfred L. Edwards<br>Deputy Assistant Secretary<br>U.S. Department of Agriculture<br>Washington, D.C. |
| | Lloyd Davis<br>Administrator<br>Federal Extension Service<br>U.S. Department of Agriculture<br>Washington, D.C. |
| Moderator: | Samuel J. Simmons |

Resource Persons

Local, State, and Federal officials with responsibility for administration of farm and related programs; industry associations and organizations.

HIGHER EDUCATION

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| | |
|---|---|
| Opening Statement: | David Seeley<br>Director<br>Equal Education Opportunity Program<br>Office of Education<br>U.S. Department of Health,<br>Education, and Welfare<br>Washington, D.C. |
| Panelists: | Albert Boldt<br>Regional Representative<br>Higher Education<br>Office of Education<br>U.S. Department of Health,<br>Education, and Welfare<br>Atlanta, Georgia |
| | Samuel Evans<br>Chief Program Officer<br>College Housing Administration<br>Community Facilities<br>U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency<br>Atlanta, Georgia |
| Moderator: | Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.<br>Field Representative<br>Field Services Division<br>U.S. Commission on Civil Rights<br>Washington, D.C. |

Resource Persons

Local, State, and Federal officials with responsibility for administration of the education programs; educational and related associations.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

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| | |
|---|---|
| Opening Statement: | Shelton Granger<br>Deputy Assistant Secretary<br>U.S. Department of Health,<br>Education, and Welfare<br>Washington, D.C. |
| Panelists: | Richard Lyle<br>Regional Director<br>U.S. Department of Health,<br>Education, and Welfare<br>Atlanta, Georgia |
| | Dr. U. B. Cottrell<br>Regional Health Director<br>Public Health Service<br>U.S. Department of Health,<br>Education, and Welfare<br>Atlanta, Georgia |
| | Wave L. Perry<br>Regional Representative<br>Bureau of Family Services<br>Welfare Administration<br>U.S. Department of Health,<br>Education, and Welfare<br>Atlanta, Georgia |
| | Louis R. Schubert<br>Regional Representative<br>Vocational Rehabilitation<br>Administration<br>U.S. Department of Health,<br>Education, and Welfare<br>Atlanta, Georgia |
| Moderator: | John I. Binkley |

Resource Persons

Local, State, and Federal officials with responsibility for administration of health and welfare programs; related associations.

CLINIC SESSION - 4:30 - 5:30 P.M.

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(STAFF WILL ANSWER QUESTIONS ABOUT PROGRAMS IN THEIR AGENCY)

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Roof

Department of Labor

Dinkler - A

Department of Agriculture

Plaza - B

Housing and Home Finance Agency

Sky Room

Office of Economic Opportunity

Dinkler - B

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bi-partisan Agency established by Congress in 1957 to:

Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin;

Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;

Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;

Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;

Investigate allegations of vote fraud; and

Submit interim reports and a final and comprehensive report of its activities, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

Further information about Federal Civil Rights laws and policies may be obtained by writing to:

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

August 7, 1966

Mr. Samuel Simmons
Director of Field Services Division
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Sam:

Your letter about the additional expenses for the school desegregation conference in North Carolina and the consultant at the Arkansas conference arrived this morning.

Unfortunately we returned the funds along with our report to the Foundation about three weeks ago. Paul is writing to Vernon Eagle to see if he can send back the needed money. If not, it is possible that we can make another arrangement. At any rate, we will let you know as soon as we find out.

I tried two or three times to return your call and am sorry I missed you.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:mlm

# The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights is an independent, bipartisan agency established by Congress under the 1957 Civil Rights Act and authorized by the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964 to:

**Voting**

. . . Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion or national origin.

. . . Investigate allegations of vote fraud.

**Equal Protection of the Laws**

. . . Collect and study information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution.

**Clearinghouse**

. . . Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information.

**Reports**

. . . Submit reports of its activities, findings and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

The Commission is not an enforcement agency and has no power to provide specific remedies in individual cases. It refers complaints of denials of rights to the appropriate Federal administrative agency for corrective action.

Six Commissioners, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, determine policy for the agency. A Staff Director, also a Presidential appointee, supervises the professional and clerical staff of more than 100.

The Commission's field offices in Memphis, Tennessee and Chicago, Illinois, aid the agency in all of its programs.

## STAFF ORGANIZATION

Commission programs are implemented through four major staff divisions. The *Federal Programs Division* evaluates Federal civil rights policies and their implementation and serves as liaison with other Federal agencies on civil rights matters. The *Field Services Division* directs field activities for the agency and is responsible for the coordination of field offices and the supervision of the 51 State Advisory Committees. The *Research Division* maintains a library of civil rights materials and develops short term as well as more extensive research projects. The *Office of the General Counsel* handles the agency's legal work and directs its voting projects. Complaints alleging denials of equal protection of the laws should be forwarded to the Office of the General Counsel.

The Commission also includes an Office of the Staff Director, an Office of Business Administration, and an Information Office which maintains liaison with news media, public and private groups, and the general public and, edits Commission publications.

## PUBLIC HEARINGS

The Commission travels throughout the nation for fact-finding hearings relating to civil rights problems. Such hearings have been held in Jackson, Mississippi; Montgomery, Alabama; New Orleans, Louisiana; Atlanta, Georgia; Chicago, Illinois; Washington, D. C.; Los Angeles and San Francisco, California; Detroit, Michigan; Phoenix, Arizona; Newark, New Jersey; New York, New York; and Indianapolis, Indiana. Hearing rules safeguard the rights of every individual who appears before the Commission. Using the subpena power granted by Congress, the Commission seeks facts from local officials and other citizens representing diverse interests and points of view. The Civil Rights Act of 1960 and 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and some presidential executive orders reflect findings and recommendations resulting from Commission hearings and studies.

## REPORTS

Major investigations and research projects have been conducted by the Commission staff relating to the denial of equal protection of the laws in voting, education, employment, housing and the administration of justice. Published Commission studies also deal with differences in the opportunities available to Negroes and whites in the armed forces and in programs of the Departments of Agriculture; Health, Education and Welfare; Labor and other Federal agencies.

## CONFERENCES

The Commission sponsors national, regional and state conferences as part of its fact-gathering function and as a method of disseminating information to specialized audiences. These conferences bring together Federal, State and local officials, representatives of business, labor and civil rights groups, and community leaders to consider school desegregation, employment, equal housing opportunities, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and other civil rights matters.

## STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES

More than 600 citizens from every state and the District of Columbia who are familiar with state and local civil rights problems serve without compensation on the 51 Advisory Committees to the Commission. These committees constitute a unique resource for securing information based on the experience and insight of persons with first-hand knowledge of problems in every part of the country. The committees also disseminate information on Federal law and policies.

The Commission often publishes reports prepared by the State Advisory Committees.

## CLEARINGHOUSE

The Commission is a national clearinghouse for information relating to denials of Federal rights because of race, color, religion or national origin, including—but not limited to—the fields of voting, education, housing, employment, the use of public facilities and transportation and the administration of justice.

Under the clearinghouse function assigned by the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Commission collects, publishes and disseminates information to promote a better understanding of constitutional and statutory requirements relating to civil rights. Commission conferences and staff consultations help Federal, State and local governments as well as private institutions and individuals develop techniques for dealing with specific problems in the civil rights field.

## PUBLICATIONS

A complete listing of Commission publications—statutory reports, interim reports, staff reports, state advisory committee reports, and transcripts of hearings and conferences—can be obtained by writing the Information Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Most of the agency's published works are available in depository libraries throughout the country.

## FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

**Write** U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Field Offices:

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Federal Office Building
167 North Main Street
Memphis, Tennessee 38103

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Federal Office Building
219 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60604

★ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1965 O—202-503—(51)

## U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

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Eugene C. Patterson, Vice Chairman
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Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
*President, Notre Dame University*

Robert S. Rankin
*Professor, Political Science, Duke University*

William L. Taylor, Staff Director

# Roll-Call Vote in Senate On Rights Bill Closure

*WASHINGTON, Sept. 19 (AP)—Following is the roll-call vote by which supporters failed today to muster the necessary two-thirds majority to invoke closure to limit debate and force Senate action on the House-passed civil rights bill.*

**FOR CLOSURE—52**

**Democrats—42**

Bartlett (Alaska)
Bass (Tenn.)
Bayh (Ind.)
Brewster (Md.)
Burdick (N.D.)
Church (Idaho)
Clark (Pa.)
Dodd (Conn.)
Douglas (Ill.)
Gore (Tenn.)
Gruening (Alaska)
Hart (Mich.)
Hartke (Ind.)
Inouye (Hawaii)
Jackson (Wash.)
Kennedy (Mass.)
Kennedy (N. Y.)
Long (Mo.)
Mansfield (Mont.)
McCarthy (Minn.)
McGee (Wyo.)
McGovern (S. D.)
McIntyre (N. H.)
Metcalf (Mont.)
Mondale (Minn.)
Monroe (Okla.)
Montoya (N. M.)
Morse (Ore.)
Moss (Utah)
Muskie (Me.)
Nelson (Wis.)
Neuberger (Ore.)
Pastore (R. I.)
Pell (R. I.)
Proxmire (Wis.)
Randolph (W. Va.)
Ribicoff (Conn.)
Symington (Mo.)
Tydings (Md.)
Williams (N. J.)
Yarborough (Tex.)
Young (Ohio)

**Republicans—10**

Aiken (Vt.)
Boggs (Del.)
Case (N. J.)
Fong (Hawaii)
Griffin (Mich.)
Javits (N. Y.)
Kuchel (Calif.)
Saltonstall (Mass.)
Scott (Pa.)
Smith (Me.)

**AGAINST CLOSURE—41**

**Democrats—21**

Bible (Nev.)
Byrd (Va.)
Byrd (W. Va.)
Cannon (Nev.)
Eastland (Miss.)
Ellender (La.)
Ervin (N. C.)
Fulbright (Ark.)
Hill (Ala.)
Holland (Fla.)
Jordan (N. C.)
Lausche (Ohio)
Long (La.)
McClellan (Ark)
Robertson (Va.)
Russell (S. C.)
Russell (Ga.)
Smathers (Fla.)
Soarkman (Ala.)
Stennis (Miss.)
Talmadge (Ga.)

**Republicans—20**

Bennett (Utah)
Carlson (Kan.)
Cotton (N. H.)
Curtis (Neb.)
Dirksen (Ill.)
Fannin (Ariz.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)
Hruska (Neb.)
Jordan (Idaho)
Miller (Iowa)
Morton (Ky.)
Mundt (S. D.)
Murphy (Calif.)
Pearson (Kan.)
Prouty (Vt.)
Simpson (Wyo.)
Thurmond (S. C.)
Tower (Tex.)
Williams (Del.)
Young (N. D.)

Not voting, but announced as paired: Harris (D-Okla.) and Magnuson (D-Wash.) for, and Hayden (D-Ariz.) against; Allott (R-Colo.) and Dominick (R-Colo.) for, and Cooper (R-Ky.) against. (Pairs denote Senators' positions when one or more of them are absent. In this case, two had to be paired against one because of the two-thirds

Not voting or paired, but announced as favoring closure: Anderson (D-N. M.).

# ASC ELECTIONS

## How Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Community Committeemen are Elected

## WHO CAN VOTE

You can vote in elections of Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Community Committemen if you are a farm owner, tenant or sharecropper. In community property law States both husband and wife can vote.

To know for sure who can vote ask your ASCS county office manager. He knows the rules and will help you. Here are some of the rules:

You can vote in an ASC election if you are old enough to vote in a State or national election and if you are taking part or are eligible to take part in ASCS farm programs.

If you're not old enough to vote, but you do run an entire farm, you can vote.

## WHO CAN BE ELECTED

You could be elected an ASC Committeeman yourself. This would be an honor as well as a responsibility.

Of course there are some limits as to who can be elected. If you already are an elected officer in your county or State, or if you hold a national office you can't be a Committeeman. (However, being a member of a school board or on the board of a soil conservation, irrigation, drainage or weed control district, or similar type board, does not make you ineligible.) If you are an officer, employee or delegate to a convention of any political party or political organization, or if you work full time for the U. S. Department of Agriculture, you can't serve on an ASC Committee.

## PUTTING NAMES ON THE BALLOT

Names get on the ballot in three ways. The community committee now in office names at least six persons. The county committee may name others.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

PA-676 August 1965

(Minority group farmers will be placed on the ballot in the same proportion as they are to the total number of farmers in the county.) You and your farmer neighbors can also add names to the ballot by sending in a petition naming a person you think would make a good committeeman. The petition must be signed by at least six farmers eligible to vote in the ASC election. You can sign as many petitions as you wish. The community committee will check with each nominee to determine that he is willing to serve. Names of nominees will be placed on the ballot in alphabetical order.

## VOTING YOUR BALLOT

Public notice of the election will be in newspapers and on radio and television in your county. In addition a notice of the election and a ballot will be mailed to all eligible voters of record in the county office. If you believe you are eligible to vote and do not receive a ballot, check with your ASCS county office.

When you get your ballot there will be two envelopes with it. One will be plain. The other will have a statement printed on the back. There will also be instructions on how and when to send the ballot back to the county office. Mark your ballot and seal it inside the plain envelope. Put the sealed plain envelope inside the envelope with the statement on the back. This statement is a certification that the ballot was marked by you personally without undue influence by any person. A witnessed mark is O. K.. This statement must be signed or your vote will not be counted. Mail or take your ballot to the ASCS county office.

## COUNTING THE VOTES

When the ballot gets back to the county office, the inside envelope with your ballot will be taken out. The outside envelope will be separated from the envelope containing the ballot. This assures that your ballot will be secret. No one can know how you voted unless you tell him.

The county committee will count the votes. They will do this at a place, date and time they announce ahead of the counting. The place where they count the vote will be open to everyone regardless of race, creed or color. You and your friends — or anyone else who wants to — can watch the vote counters open the envelope and count the ballots.

GPO 821—421

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

# ELECTING FARMER COMMITTEEMEN TO ADMINISTER ASCS PROGRAMS

An explanation prepared especially for the use of ASC County and Community Committeemen

Each year, between July 1 and December 30 — as determined by the appropriate State Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committee — farmers and ranchers elect new members to represent them on community and county ASC committees.

The locally elected farmers supervise and administer Federal farm programs directly affecting the health, welfare, and economic well-being of every American. These include agricultural conservation, price support, acreage allotment and marketing quota, wool incentive payment, sugar, voluntary wheat and feed grain diversion and various other programs assigned to ASCS by the Secretary of Agriculture or the Congress.

## WHO SERVES ON ASC COMMITTEES

ASC committeemen are men and women engaged in the operation of a farm or ranch. They represent various types of farming and agricultural regions in the county or community.

Each community committee consists of a chairman, vice-chairman, regular member, and first and second alternates. All three members are delegates to the county convention which elects the county committee. Alternate committeemen are alternate delegates.

The county committee is made up the same way. The county agricultural extension agent is an ex officio member, but does not vote.

## COMMITTEEMAN QUALIFICATIONS

A nominee for ASC committeeman must be eligible to vote in ASCS elections in the county or community where he is elected. He must reside in the county or ASCS community where elected. He must be of good character, not a member of (or candidate for) any Federal, State or county office filled by election pursuant to law. However, members of school boards, soil conservation district boards, irrigation, drainage, weed control or similar boards are not ineligible because of such membership. Officers, employees or delegates to a convention of any political party or political organization are ineligible. So are full-time employees of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

A nominee for county committeeman or alternate must not: (1) Be a sales agent or employee of Federal Crop Insurance Corporation during his term of office; (2) have passed his 70th birthday by the date the new term of office begins unless this is waived by the State Committee; (3) have served three consecutive terms immediately prior to current elections. (Any term which began on or before January 1, 1965 does not count toward this three-term limitation.)

The community committee checks with each nominee to determine his willingness to serve.

Names of nominees will be placed on the ballot in alphabetical order.

TERMS OF OFFICE

Community committeemen and alternates serve 12 months or until qualified successors are elected. Their term begins on the first day of the month following election.

County committeemen serve 3-year, staggered terms starting in 1966. Alternates serve 1-year terms. Terms begin the first day of the month following election. Committeemen and alternates must sign the prescribed Oath of Office before taking office.

WHO VOTES FOR ASC COMMITTEEMEN

Any person is eligible to vote if he is of legal voting age and has an interest in a farm as owner, tenant or sharecropper. OR

If not of legal voting age, a person is eligible if he supervises and conducts the farming operations on an entire farm where one of the following requirements is met: (1) The farm received or will receive a payment or is carrying out an approved practice under the current agricultural conservation program; (2) the farm has an acreage allotment or marketing quota; (3) the farm is eligible for a cooperator's loan or other price support, OR a sugar program payment, OR a national wool program payment, OR a soil bank payment; (4) the farm is eligible to participate in any farm program administered by the county committee.

WHEN ARE ELECTIONS HELD

County and community elections are held between July 1 and December 30. The State Committee sets the dates. The county committee notifies voters.

Although State Committees may authorize elections by meeting or at a polling place, the trend in recent years has been toward use of mail ballots. Farmers in many States have shown a preference for this method. Since it is more convenient, it has resulted in greater voter participation than either of the other two methods. A step-by-step description of Mail Election follows.

CONDUCTING THE ELECTION

1. At least 40 days prior to the date set for return of ballots by farmers (E-Day), the State Committee approves community boundaries.

2. At least 30 days before E-Day, the county committee publicly notifies farmers that slates of nominees will be selected for each community. This notice, disseminated by newspaper, radio, TV, and public poster, is also sent personally to each eligible voter of record. The county committee may not have a complete list of eligible voters so it is each eligible voter's responsibility to contact the ASCS county office and get on the list. The notice announces the forthcoming election, invites petitions for additional nominees, and prescribes the method of preparing a petition. Any group of six or more eligible voters may submit a petition. A person may sign as many petitions as he desires. The final date for receiving nominating petitions must be at least 20 days prior to E-Day.

3. At least 15 days prior to E-Day, the community committee nominates at least six persons eligible to hold office. The county committee will make sure that qualified minority-race nominees are included in the same proportion as minority-race farmers are to total farm population (owners, tenants and sharecroppers) in the county.

4. At least 10 days before E-Day, the county committee will give public notice of the election including the slate of candidates (failure to give this notice is grounds for invalidating the election), the date ballots will be mailed to eligible voters, instructions for getting ballots in case eligible voters fail to receive them by mail, date by which marked ballots must be mailed or returned, where to send them, invitation to the public to witness the vote counting (including information on date, time and place of counting), and a statement that the county committee will settle questions on election procedures or eligibility to vote or hold office. Appeals from a county committee ruling will be heard by the State Committee.

5. If the certification on the envelope is not signed, the ballot will not be considered as a vote. A witnessed mark will qualify as a signature.

COUNTING THE BALLOTS

The county committee will count the ballots, except that a county committeeman who is a candidate for community committeeman may not count ballots.

The place where ballots are counted will be where facilities are open to all persons without regard to race, color, creed or national origin.

The time and date for counting will allow adequate time for receiving ballots from every community, but cannot be later than 5 days after E-Day.

DECLARING AND NOTIFYING WINNERS

The person receiving the most votes is elected community committee chairman. The second most votes determines the vice-chairman, the third most votes decides the regular member. All three are county convention delegates. The person getting the fourth most votes is first alternate committeeman and first alternate delegate. The fifth most votes determines the second alternate committeeman and second alternate delegate.

The county committee will promptly inform all nominees of election results, and will notify community committeemen and delegates of their election, and of the date, time and place of the county convention.

THE COUNTY CONVENTION

The State Committee will set the date for the convention, designating a convenient place that does not restrict the use of its facilities to any person because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

The county committee will give at least 10 days public notice stating the time, place and date, and declaring the convention open to all who wish to attend.

The incumbent county committee organizes and supervises the convention. A quorum consists of a majority of the delegates or their alternates. After a permanent chairman is elected, all incumbent committeemen retire from the room but remain available for advice or consultation.

The convention will nominate and elect three committeemen and two alternates. In 1965 they will nominate and elect committeemen for specific terms of office as follows: One for a 3-year term; one for a 2-year term; one for a 1-year term. In subsequent years, committeemen will be elected to fill vacancies only, with vacancies occurring in the same order as established in the 1965 elections. Alternates will be elected for 1-year terms only.

RECORDS AND REPORTS

Election records and reports pertaining to community elections will be sealed and kept in the county office for 30 days.

Minutes of all county convention actions and the name of each delegate present will be kept. Ballots will be sealed in containers and kept in the county office for 30 days.

Results of the county convention election will be sent to the ASC State Committee for review and approval.

GPO 821-483

USDA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Office of the Secretary
Washington

## CIVIL RIGHTS -- 1965

This report was prepared from information supplied by the agencies it covers. It depicts their efforts as of January 1966 to obtain compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and is best understood when measured against the adverse conditions found in these agencies in the 1965 Civil Rights Commission Report, "Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs."

The report shows steady though uneven progress.

Your comments are invited.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

CIVIL RIGHTS -- 1965

TABLE OF CONTENTS


| | Page |
|---|---|
| Introduction | 1 |
| Section One | 1-15 |
| Part I -- Department Actions to Eliminate Discrimination | 1-5 |
| Reorganization | 1 |
| Policy Declaration | 1-2 |
| Dissemination of Policy | 2 |
| Appointment of Advisory Committee | 3 |
| Service Regardless of Race | 3-4 |
| Integrated Housing | 4 |
| Civil Rights Investigations | 4-5 |
| Part II -- Department Activities to Encourage and Extend Full Participation in Department Programs | 6-12 |
| Increasing Information to Minority Groups | 6-8 |
| Increasing Communications with Minority Groups | 8 |
| Increasing Participation of Negroes in the Decision-Making Process | 8-10 |
| Extension of Service to Minority Groups | 10-12 |
| Part III -- Department Actions to Assure Equal Employment | 12-14 |
| Reaffirmation of Policy | 12-13 |
| Actions | 13-14 |
| Results | 14 |
| Part IV -- Actions Taken to Establish Methods for Review and Evaluation of Implementation of the Equal Opportunity Policy in Department Programs | 14-15 |
| Committee Appointment | 14 |
| Committee Actions and Agency Plans | 15 |
| Section Two (Title VI) | 15 |
| Addendum (FES Report) | 16-1[illegible] |

# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

## CIVIL RIGHTS -- 1965

The new year brings the first anniversary of the Department's civil rights regulations and an opportunity to record the past year's activities.

Beginning in early 1965, the Department of Agriculture was characterized as the "bad guy" in civil rights in the Federal Government. Our record was poor; we admitted it. We did something about it. What we did we describe in the following pages in two sections: The first section discusses our actions in implementing the four recommendations made by the Civil Rights Commission in its March 1965 report "Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs"; the second section records numerical progress in implementing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. We boast that we have begun the job of assuring justice for everyone, but we do not pretend to have finished that job. We report continuing progress, but it is uneven and unfinished.

## SECTION ONE
## PART I -- DEPARTMENT ACTIONS TO ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION

### A. Reorganization

The Department reorganized to insure efficient management of growing civil rights responsibilities in the areas of employment, contract compliance, and Title VI. The Secretary appointed an Assistant to the Secretary for Civil Rights to work with agency civil rights coordinators and to act as the overall coordinator for all Departmental civil rights activities. To bolster efforts to achieve equal employment opportunity in Federal contracts, the Department created in July 1965 a Contract EEO Management Division in the Office of Plant and Operations and appointed a chief. A professional staff of eight has been employed over the past few months. The Office of Personnel remained responsible for assuring equal employment opportunity in the Department.

### B. Policy Declaration

During the year the Secretary clarified the Department's equal opportunity policy in several important areas: "The Department of Agriculture, as a matter of policy, shall conduct all its business fully in accord with the principle that every citizen shall receive fair and equal treatment in order that there be no discrimination in any of our activities or programs." The Secretary requested immediate action to: (1) Encourage minority group participation in both administration and benefits of local program activities; (2) Eliminate all remaining segregation and discrimination in office space and related facilities at field

installations; (3) Establish procedures to enforce nondiscriminatory assignments so that all personnel serve all clientele equally without regard to race; (4) Establish methods of evaluating effective procedures to bring about full participation for all in Department programs.

Procedural guidelines were sent to agency heads and civil rights coordinators to assure prompt and effective handling of complaints of discrimination. The guidelines directed that such complaints be sent to the Office of the Inspector General with copies going to the appropriate agency head and to the Assistant to the Secretary for Civil Rights.

C. Dissemination of Policy

The Department had a luncheon meeting for USDA personnel at each of the regional Title VI Civil Rights Commission conferences last fall to reemphasize the Secretary's commitment to eliminate all discrimination and to bring equal service and participation to all.

To reaffirm top-level commitment to stated civil rights policies, the Executive Assistant to the Secretary, the Assistant to the Secretary for Civil Rights and the Director of Personnel traveled nationwide to seven cities in November and December to meet with more than 350 top USDA personnel in the field. They discussed problems and progress in the implementation of equal employment opportunity and nondiscriminatory service.

In addition to sending civil rights materials to their field staff, those agencies with substantial program activity in the South have spent a great deal of time in conferences and training programs to explain the Civil Rights Act. For example: (1) Washington C&MS personnel held training schools for two days in the Southeast and Southwest Area Offices to inform C&MS personnel of the provisions of the Civil Rights Act, the implementing regulations, and their responsibility for putting these regulations into effect. (2) SCS representatives, after training in conferences, have discussed civil rights policy and its application with almost every governing body of soil conservation districts and organizations sponsoring Resource Conservation and Development projects and subwatershed projects. (3) In four regional meetings held last June, the FHA Administrator put major emphasis on USDA nondiscrimination policies.

D. Appointment of Advisory Committee

In April the Secretary appointed 16 men of distinguished and varied backgrounds to the Citizens Advisory Committee on Civil Rights to assist in implementing both the letter and the spirit of the Civil Rights Act. The Committee has met with administrators of several agencies in four meetings this year to acquaint itself with some of the problem areas in the Department. Because of its concern over the failure of a great percentage of graduates from predominately Negro colleges to qualify on the Federal Service Entrance Examination and therefore to qualify for USDA employment, the Committee met with representatives of the Negro and white Land Grant colleges to explore this problem. Subsequent meetings with college representatives may produce some recommendations for expanded course work in a strengthened agricultural curriculum or a centering of specialized training opportunities on one campus in the State.

The Committee recommended a more substantial program to bring information about Department services to low-income people. Pursuant to this suggestion, the Office of Information has developed special materials which will be described in Section II-A.

E. Service Regardless of Race

In addition to disseminating the Department policy of service without regard to race, color, or national origin of either the employee or the client, agencies have directed specific attention to this area.

ASCS -- The agency has issued a specific policy and reports that all employees are serving clients without regard to race.

C&MS -- The agency has issued specific instructions on service and reports that all employees are serving without regard to race.

FCS -- The agency's employees are serving clients without regard to race in accordance with specific policy issued on this subject.

FHA -- FHA issued a policy statement prohibiting assignment of FHA personnel by race and assigned the county supervisor the responsibility to see that service was without regard to color. To assure policy implementation the area supervisor who makes continuing reviews of county offices must report to the State Director whether employees are assigned duties without regard to race. From the monthly reports from State Directors, FHA believes progress is being made in assuring that Negro employees serve all borrowers.

FS -- The policy requiring employees to serve National Forest users on an equal basis without regard to race, color, or national origin has been fully enforced.

REA -- The REA compliance report submitted by borrowers on November 30 contained a certification that borrowers' employees served all persons without regard to the race, color, or national origin of the employee or the client. Field personnel will be checking this during their next regular compliance review.

SCS -- All employees are required to serve clients without regard to race. SCS reports that its staff has followed up to see that this policy has been implemented and that audits and inspections indicate things generally are going well in this area.

Success in providing nondiscriminatory service will be assured by continuing agency surveillance of field staff activity as well as by the independent investigations of the Office of the Inspector General.

F. Integrated Housing

In the first survey of discriminatory practices in April 1965 the Office of Plant and Operations reported 188 instances in which our offices were located in buildings having segregated facilities, such as separate restrooms and drinking fountains. Due to the commendable efforts of the State Advisory Committees, the Office of Plant and Operations reported as of December 15 all but seven cases resolved. Four of the seven cases were to be settled by December 31, 1965. The three cases remaining await the outcome of pending court action to remove segregation signs in one instance and new facilities in the other two instances.

Forest Service reports that all State Foresters, State employees who administer the Forest Service Cooperative State and Private Forestry Program, are now housed in nonsegregated buildings.

G. Civil Rights Audits and Investigations

The Office of the Inspector General finished the first phase of its special three-phase civil rights audit in June. The initial audit was performed to learn the extent of compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act and to examine compliance with Executive Order 10925 in 8 major USDA agencies in 134 locations in 35 States. In evaluating USDA activities through June 1965 the Office of the

Inspector General saw the period of January through March as a time of agency self-evaluation and slow action. From April through June action was considerably more aggressive and resulted in substantial progress. The June review revealed, however, that many of the discriminatory practices reported by the Civil Rights Commission still existed and that there were additional problems to deal with, such as instances of inadequate efforts to recruit and employ minority group personnel and of inadequate plans to insure that minority group clientele are informed of USDA programs.

The second phase of the civil rights audit will begin shortly. In addition to checking corrective action in some locations initially reviewed, coverage will be extended to other locations and to an examination of equal employment opportunity in contract compliance.

The Office of the Inspector General also has had the prime responsibility for investigating all allegations of discrimination in Department programs. According to procedure prescribed in the Department's Title VI regulations all discrimination complaints are sent to OIG for determination of the manner of investigation. If OIG determines that the complaint arises from a misunderstanding of the operation of the program or is solely a program problem with no racial overtones, the complaint is referred to the agency for appropriate handling. From January 1965 to December 1965, OIG had completed 61 investigations of discrimination charges in 20 States and the District of Columbia. Forty-one of the complaints originated in the 15 southern States (Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia). The distribution of complaints among agencies was as follows: Agricultural Research Service - 2; Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service - 21; Consumer and Marketing Service - 14; Cooperative State Research Service - 1; Farmers Home Administration - 7; Federal Extension Service - 7; Forest Service - 3; Plant and Operations - 1; and Rural Electrification Administration - 5. Forty-three complaints alleged discrimination in employment practices including complaints of discrimination in the employment practices of USDA contractors. Twenty-two complaints alleged discrimination in provision of services and in ASCS elections. (Some complainants made more than one charge.) OIG reports that the number of complaints is increasing particularly from the southeastern States. Twenty-five additional complaints are currently being investigated or are awaiting investigation.

## PART II -- DEPARTMENT ACTIONS TO ENCOURAGE AND EXTEND FULL PARTICIPATION IN DEPARTMENT PROGRAMS OF ALL CLIENTELE WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE

### A. Increasing Information to Minority Groups

The Office of Information has developed a variety of materials designed to inform minority groups of USDA programs and services and how to take part in them as well as to help convince them that they have a full right and are expected to participate.

To this end, and at the recommendation of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Civil Rights, a set of 50 color slides entitled "At Your Service" was developed to explain USDA programs and services to hard-to-reach families. More than 300 sets of slides and accompanying narration are being distributed by agency offices in the rural South. The Office of Information is making sure that the slides are used widely. To encourage use by civil rights groups, 200 copies of the pictorial narration guide describing the slides were sent to these organizations.

The Office of Information also produced four different slide spot-announcements which have been sent to 75 selected TV stations on a trial basis. As soon as the acceptability of these spots is measured, materials will be sent to additional television stations.

In addition, at the recommendation of the Citizens Advisory Committee, the Office of Information prepared a 24-page publication describing Department programs in simple language and pictures to low-income people. This booklet, "You Too Can Get Help," was issued November 29, 1965, and 200,000 copies were printed for distribution by the Department as well as by vocational agriculture teachers, churches, civic and civil rights organizations and the press.

Work with the Negro press has been intensified with increased emphasis on providing information on sources of assistance. Success stories about Negro farm families plus announcements of Negro appointments to significant positions in the Department is increasing confidence in the Department's nondiscriminatory policy and is encouraging Negro students to seek work opportunities in Agriculture.

The Office of Information, again at the suggestion of the Citizens Advisory Committee, is exploring with HEW and agency representatives the possibility of using educational television to reach low-income rural people with information to help them help themselves. Educational television pilot projects are expected to get underway shortly.

Several agencies have given special attention to preparing information to acquaint minority groups with available services and their right to participate in the programs.

ASCS -- Over 1,800,000 leaflets entitled, "ASC Elections," (Pa-676) were issued to farmers and others, primarily in the South. Here are excerpts from this leaflet: "Minority group farmers will be placed on the ballot in the same proportion as they are to the total number of farmers in the county"; "The place where they count the votes will be open to everyone, regardless of race, creed, or color." ASCS also distributed 35,000 leaflets, "Electing Farmer Committeemen to Administer ASCS Programs" (Pa-677) to county and community committeemen and to civil rights organizations.

The agency sent a memorandum to all State Chairmen for news for press and radio which read in part: "Eligibility to vote or to hold office as a committeeman is not restricted by reason of race, color, creed, or national origin."

C&MS -- The Consumer and Marketing Service is reviewing a preliminary draft of a popular style leaflet which will include information on the applicability of the nondiscrimination rules and regulations for distribution to persons involved in the State and local operations of the program. Publication is planned for early 1966.

C&MS has developed program material in Spanish and the agency is considering translating radio and television materials into Spanish.

FHA -- Farmers Home Administration has undertaken a variety of publicity techniques to impress the public that the agency services are available to all. Examples include: Public dedications or tours of all major FHA financial projects in communities where projects serve Negroes; a weekly action bulletin for State Directors reporting specific "success" stories highlighting successful techniques and reminding the directors of the continuing need for more effective communications with the public; Washington and field personnel cooperation in the preparation of hundreds of articles for news media that demonstrate the agency serves all people; agency pamphlets explaining FHA services are available to all people; integration of projects where separate applications have come from Negro and white families for financial assistance to develop water systems and cooperative enterprises; major emphasis on working with and speaking before Negro and other minority group organizations and seeking out local Negro leaders to discuss local problems.

FS -- A standard sign informing the public that no discrimination is permitted and that complaints should be addressed to the Chief of the Forest Service was distributed for posting on all permit areas of a public service nature.

Forest Service is designing brochures to include pictures of Negroes using recreational areas.

B. Increasing Communications With Minority Groups

The Office of the Assistant to the Secretary for Civil Rights has maintained direct and continuing contact during the year with many local and State civil rights organizations. All agencies are initiating contacts with civil rights groups and other groups concerned with the rural poor in an effort to broaden the knowledge of opportunities offered under their programs and to be more responsive to the needs expressed by these groups. For example:

ARS -- The Assistant Director of Agricultural Research Service has made visits to several predominately Negro colleges exploring the possibility of contracts and grants, employment of their graduates and employment of their faculty during summer.

ASCS -- Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service has increased its communication with minority groups by inviting them to various meetings held by ASCS personnel and by meeting with farm and civil rights groups to discuss farm programs, elections procedures, and employmemt practices. Groups ASCS has had contact with include SNCC, Alabama Council on Human Relations, CORE, and the National Sharecroppers Fund.

C&MS -- Work has been done with the Office of Economic Opportunity to get material on their programs distributed and explained to low-income groups. The agency has met with a representative of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to get suggestions on further steps to assure that Mississippi Negroes are adequately informed on all food distribution programs. In addition, the administrators of the National School Lunch and Special Milk Programs have met or communicated with CORE, NAACP, COFO, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, New Harlem Tenants League, and SNCC. Since September 1965, C&MS field people have attended 17 meetings sponsored by church, civic, and civil rights groups to explain the program to low-income people. The contacts have provided an excellent opportunity for explaining the programs and clearing up misconceptions.

C. Increasing Participation of Negroes in the Decision-Making Process

In the past minority groups have not been represented in the local administration of program benefits and consequently their program participation has been limited in too many instances. Agencies have been busy increasing minority group involvement in decision making bodies.

ASCS has increased minority group participation in the decision-making process through election and committee participation. Prior to January 1965 Negroes' names had not, with rare exceptions, been placed on ballots as candidates, and Negroes participated in ASCS elections in few areas in the South. In January 1965, when ASCS first assumed responsibility for the elimination of discrimination in these elections, 75 Negroes were serving as community committeemen in 11 southern States. Today there are 519.

As of January 1965 there were no Negroes elected to county committees in the South. Today there are 5 who serve as second alternates.

ASCS -- Prior to January 1965 no Negro had ever been appointed by The Secretary of Agriculture to a State ASC committee in the South. Since then, the Secretary has appointed three Negroes to ASC State committees. They are now serving in Arkansas, Maryland, and Mississippi and their names have been submitted for reappointment in 1966.

ASCS -- To increase the participation of Negroes in policy-making decisions the Administrator appointed 47 Negroes to ASC State Advisory Committees in 11 southern States. The Committee members are to assist in assuring nondiscriminatory program administration at the State and county level, equal access to ASCS information and full participation in ASCS elections. ASCS will work on ways to make this committee's participation more effective.

ASCS -- In 1965 the administrator appointed 62 Negroes for regular one-year terms on Review Committees in southern States. These committees, established under the authority of 1938 legislation, function to review appeals from farmers dissatisfied with their marketing quota. Seventy-three Negroes have been appointed to this committee for 1966.

C&MS -- Consumer and Marketing Service has appointed a Negro to its Advisory Committee on Criteria for Poultry Inspection.

C&MS -- The Food Stamp Act provides that the Department take steps to obtain cooperation on the part of State, local, or private agencies to carry out informational and educational programs concerning nutrition. C&MS has encouraged the development of committees to prepare nutrition education materials designed to assist low-income people in making better use of their increased purchasing power. In 18 counties in the Southeast which have nutrition education committees there are 187 committee members of which 64 are Negro. The Office of the Secretayy has assisted C&MS in making many of these contacts with local Negro leaders.

FHA -- Prior to the Administrator's memorandum in April 1965 directing State Directors in the southern States to appoint a Negro as a

regular committeeman in each county in selected States where there were 20 percent or more nonwhite farmers in the county, there were 18 regular and 127 alternate county committee members. As of October 31, 1965, there were 349 regular Negro committee members and six alternate county committee members in Arkansas, Louisiana, Florida, Mississippi, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Alabama, and Virginia. Nationwide on the same date there were 374 regular Negro committee members and 11 alternates. Compliance reports from State Directors have uniformly indicated that Negro committeemen have been given the same training as other committee members and are participating fully and equally in the committee work.

SCS -- Phase I Audit reports showed that SCS work units had no plans to increase participation of minority groups, so SCS listed methods to achieve greater participation of minority groups and required States to see that they were put in use. Although States indicate appropriate steps have been undertaken, SCS's review of quarterly progress reports will measure actual accomplishments.

D. Extension of Service to Minority Groups

Agencies accompanied increased information programs with efforts to extend service to those previously unserved. For example:

FHA -- FHA progress in increasing loan service to Negro farmers in 16 southern States during the 1965 fiscal year is recorded below:

Initial Loans to Negro Applicants
By Type of Loan
Sixteen Southern States - 1964 versus 1965

| | 1964 | | 1965 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kind of Loan | No. To Negroes | Percent to Negroes | No. to Negroes | Percent to Negroes |
| Operating | 3,425 | 26 | 4,391 | 31 |
| Farm Ownership | 354 | 8 | 526 | 12 |
| Soil and Water | 51 | 11 | 38 | 10 |
| Rural Housing | 548 | 7 | 1,282 | 14 |
| Emergency | 2,174 | 29 | 2,476 | 26 |
| Economic Opportunity | -- | -- | 2,293 | 40 |
| TOTAL | 6,552 | | 11,006 | |

RCDS -- One of the principle challenges to the Rural Community Development Service is to make effective contact with impoverished rural Negroes in the South. The agency brings information on services and assists people to take the steps necessary to benefit from these services. In spite of the newness of the task, notable

progress has been made in getting information to low-income minority people. In some instances better information has resulted in important strides toward increased income, better training, and better living conditions. During the past year field representatives serving Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia have all been involved in the extension of programs to unserved areas and to minority groups. The field representatives have been helpful to OEO in extending and promoting integrated community action programs in rural areas, in promoting Title III and Title IV loans to all needy persons, and in developing a number of integrated "Head Start" preschool programs in rural areas. These field representatives have also assisted in promoting programs of the Small Business Administration, the Economic Development Administration, the Department of Housing and Urban Development and others on an integrated basis.

C&MS Food Stamp, Commodity Donation Programs -- Participation by Negroes in counties where the program operates is comparatively high because Negroes comprise such a large proportion of low-income families. However, there are dozens of very low-income, high-Negro-population counties in the South which do not have either program -- gaps in coverage are particularly severe in Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia. However, some progress has been made in extending the programs, notably in Mississippi, which with the assistance of the Department recently worked out a 6-month demonstration project designed to bring all counties in the State into a commodity food program available to all needy persons.

C&MS School Lunch -- To increase participation in the School Lunch program in low-income areas which are frequently areas with a large Negro population, Consumer and Marketing Service is applying the newly appropriated $2 million (Section 11, National School Lunch Act). Results, as demonstrated in a special project in North Carolina, are dramatic. The six Negro schools chosen for the North Carolina Project were charging 25¢ or 30¢ for lunch and had participation of from 19 to 35 percent of the student body. When the price of the lunch was reduced 15¢ by increased Federal assistance the average increase in participation was 157 percent.

Other efforts over the past 2 years, such as increasing the reimbursement rate for free lunches, have stimulated participation and succeeded in extending the program to 1,200 needy schools with 170,000 children participating.

Special Milk -- The level of participation of Negro children in the Special Milk program is fairly high because subsidization has reduced the price to 3¢ or 4¢ in most areas.

REA -- The area coverage policy of providing service to all consumers in the service area of borrowers and the wide acceptance of this policy by borrowers generally has been responsible over the years for the high percentage of farms now receiving electric service and the substantial progress that has been made in extending modern telephone service in rural areas.

FCS -- The Farmer Cooperative Service has responded to numerous requests for information and advisory assistance from minority groups considering the establishment of cooperatives and has also had productive discussions with managers of some of the key cooperatives in the South on increasing the participation of minority groups.

ERS -- The Economic Research Service is extending assistance to predominately Negro institutions which in the past have had little opportunity to participate in USDA research grants. The new Economic Development Division is focusing on the improvement of living conditions of low-income people and on the development of low-income areas. This effort will bring greater research attention to the problems of rural racial minorities who comprise a sizable segment of the rural poor.

CSRS -- Cooperative State Research Service has requested $1 million for fiscal year 1967 to support research grants to improve agricultural research competence in former Negro Land Grant Colleges. Present authority (for basic research) exists under two acts, however, the proposed amendment to PL 89-106 to include authority for training would increase the possibility of assistance to these institutions.

## PART III - DEPARTMENT ACTION TO ASSURE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

### A. Reaffirmation of Policy

The Assistant Secretary for Administration reaffirmed the Department's commitment to take affirmative action to secure equal employment opportunity ... "Qualified minority personnel are to be sought out ... they shall have full access to training programs, work assignments, details, and many other techniques to qualify them for appropriate advancement ... All supervisory personnel of the Department must make it unmistakably clear -- by deed as well as by word -- that it is the policy of the Department to vigorously support the letter and the spirit of affirmative action for equal employment opportunity."

To be sure that the major field offices understood the need to obtain results in the EEO program, agency personnel officers reviewed the program in 10 field conferences during October, November, and December 1965. The Executive Assistant to the

Secretary, the Assistant to the Secretary for Civil Rights and the Director of Personnel also stressed equal employment at seven regional civil rights meetings held recently.

Contract Compliance Policy -- Federal Regulations provide that each contract of $10,000 or more let by Department agencies must contain a nondiscrimination clause pursuant to Executive Order 11246, which assures that the contractor will provide equal employment opportunity. There are approximately 7,500 USDA contractors covered by this Executive Order.

B. Actions

The Office of Personnel worked with agency representatives to coordinate recruitment of minority personnel. The group distributed copies of a directory of Negro Colleges and Universities to Department agencies and is considering alternate means of reaching minority group applicants and proposals to assure all agencies adequate information on qualified minority group applicants.

Agencies were encouraged to utilize the resources of the National Urban League Skills Bank. Letters were sent to 147 displaced Negro teachers on recommendation of the Citizens Advisory Committee.

The Department published "Occupational Summary -- Best Employment Opportunities in Agencies of the Department of Agriculture" as source material to aid in the recruitment of minority group individuals. Copies of the booklet and examination announcements listed are going to all predominately Negro colleges and universities.

Teams visited four headquarter cities for audit conferences and information on progress, conditions and attitudes.

Agencies have greatly expanded their recruitment contacts with predominately Negro high schools and colleges.

They have also furnished detailed plans for progress in the Equal Employment Opportunity Program from which an overall Department plan was prepared.

In the area of equal employment among USDA contractors, the newly established Contract EEO Management Division reviewed, as directed by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, 15 contractors with 100 or more employees and no Negro employees, located in areas with at least 4 percent Negro population. Plans for 1966 include on-site compliance reviews of 50 percent or 315 contractors or

subcontractors employing 100 or more and a number of multiplant firms employing less than 100 per facility.

The Contract Compliance unit also has responsibility for processing complaints of employment discrimination filed against covered contractors. Since 1963 they have received a total of 23 cases of employment discrimination against Department contractors. Eight cases have been sent to the Office of Federal Contract Compliance for final disposition, since September 1965. In each case negotiations resulted in corrective action by the employer.

C. Results

For the year ending June 30, 1965, Negro employment in the Department increased 41.4 percent over the previous year. In actual numbers this reflects an increase from 3,057 to 4,324 or 4.5 percent of the total employees in the Department. There is progress in promotion -- an increase of 23 percent in Negroes holding GS-5 to GS-11 positions and an increase of 22 percent in positions for GS-12 to GS-18. A June report showed that formal training for minority groups in fiscal year 1965 approximated the proportion of these groups to the total full-time employee population, and the plans for 1966 will increase the numbers to be trained. Current plans and actions should assure continuation of this accelerated trend toward increased utilization of minority group employees.

ASCS -- Not recorded in the Federal Employment story are the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service's efforts to increase employment at the county office level. Prior to January 3, 1965, Negroes had not been employed in permanent positions in county ASCS offices in the South and only a few Negroes had been appointed to temporary positions each year by county committees. Today there are 27 Negroes permanently employed in county offices and field positions in the southern States. During the year 1965, a total of 5,267 Negroes were employed in temporary positions in ASC county offices throughout the South and at the end of December 1965 there were 426 Negroes in pay status in temporary positions at the county level. During 1966 the agency will further emphasize increasing minority group employment in permanent county office positions.

## PART IV -- ACTIONS TAKEN TO ESTABLISH METHODS FOR REVIEW AND EVALUATION OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICY IN DEPARTMENT PROGRAMS

A. Committee Appointment

The Secretary appointed a Departmental Committee for Program Review and Evaluation to establish continuing review and evaluation of Department programs which will assure that these programs are efficiently accomplishing the objectives of Congress on a completely nondiscriminatory basis.

B. Committee Actions and Agency Plans

As directed, the Committee on Program Review and Evaluation conducted extensive meetings with all agencies of the Department that provided any service to the public to design evaluation systems which would measure quantitative and qualitative service to minority groups. As a result, seven agencies have completed plans and of these agencies three (FHA, FCIC and SCS) have obtained initial data from the field. The Rural Electrification Administration is revising a previously rejected questionnaire to resubmit to the Bureau of the Budget. Several other agencies are able to compile useful ancillary statistics.

Apart from the agency evaluation procedure, the Office of the Inspector General independently evaluated agency implementation of equal employment opportunity and civil rights policies.

SECTION TWO

"No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." (Title VI, Section 601, Civil Rights Act of 1964)

Ten agencies of the Department have programs which provide assistance through, in the language of Title VI, recipients to beneficiaries. These agencies having indirect programs subject to the Civil Rights Act are: ARS, ASCS, C&MS, CSRS, FCS, FHA, FES, FS, REA, and SCS.

Realization of the intent of Title VI -- nondiscriminatory service, available to all and utilized by all -- is accomplished by three approaches: (1) Requiring the recipient of Federal assistance to sign a statement (an assurance) saying he is not discriminating or, in the case of a continuing program which is not in compliance, requiring a detailed plan for coming into compliance, (2) reviewing the activity of the recipient to be sure that the recipient is, in fact, not discriminating and (3) providing information to the public on the applicability of the Civil Rights Act to USDA programs and the public's right to complain.

The attached report summarized for the 10 agencies involved the number of assurances required and received, the number of compliance reports received, and the number of compliance field reviews conducted by the agency and the State agencies. The report shows that agencies have obtained nearly all required assurance and that most agencies have begun to review the recipients of assistance. In those few cases where assurances are outstanding or where noncompliance remains, the Department will move to initiate hearings. To date the Department has gone to only one hearing and this one case was settled without the full formal proceedings.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

| AGENCY & PROGRAM | ASSURANCES & PLANS | | COMPLIANCE REVIEWS & REPORTS COMPLETED as of 12/15/65 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Required | Received | Reports | Reviews |
| AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION and CONSERVATION SERVICE | | | | |
| Cropland Conversion Program | 112 | 108 | | 57 |
| Gum Naval Stores Price Support | 20 | 20 | 20 | 11 |
| Peanuts Price Support | 587 | 587 | 65 | 265 |
| Tobacco Price Support | 356 | 356 | 225 | 347 |
| AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH SERVICE | 95 | 95 | Anticipating coordination with Department of HEW | |
| COOPERATIVE STATE RESEARCH SERVICE | | | | |
| Hatch Act Grants | 53 | 53 | | 27 |
| Cooperative Forestry Research | 60 | 61 | | 26 |
| Research Facilities | 23 | 23 | | 5 |
| Basis Research | 17 | 17 | | 1 |
| CONSUMER and MARKETING SERVICE | | | | |
| School Lunch | 22,172 | 22,162 | | 3,672 |
| Special Milk | 32,680 | 32,590 | | 3,184 |
| Direct Distribution | 38,309 | 37,889 | | 6,398 |
| Food Stamp | 869 | 863 | | 181 |
| Matching Funds | 46 | 46 | 45 | 15 |
| FARMER COOPERATIVE SERVICE | 52 | 47 | | 27 |
| FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION | 622 | 622 | Not available yet | |
| FEDERAL EXTENSION SERVICE | 51 | 51 | 15 | 15 |
| RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION | 1,686 | 1,686 | 1,052 | 1,347 |

(Cont'd next page)

Attachment

(Continued)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

| AGENCY & PROGRAM | ASSURANCES & PLANS | | COMPLIANCE REVIEWS & REPORTS COMPLETED as of 12/15/65 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Required | Received | Reports | Reviews |
| SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE | | | | |
| Soil & Water Conservation Districts | 2,976 | 2,970 | NONE | |
| Sponsoring Organizations (Watershed, Sub-watershed, Resource Conservation & Development Projects) | 1,897 | 1,895 | | |
| Project Agreements, Plans & Amendments | 436 | 416 | | |
| FOREST SERVICE | | | | |
| Revenue Sharing Payments | 1,278 | 1,246 | Coordination with HEW | |
| Cooperative State Forestry | 263 | 263 | Not Reported in Washington; in Process | |
| Research | 119 | 119 | Anticipating Coordination with HEW | |
| National Forest Administration | 5,155 | 4,291 | Not Reported in Washington; in Process | |

Attachment

## ADDENDUM

In accordance with an earlier understanding, the Federal Extension Service has furnished a report of civil rights progress in the Cooperative Extension Services during 1965. The factual information presented in this report is largely a summary of reports of status of compliance furnished by those states which have not furnished assurances of compliance.

It is noteworthy that this report does not attempt to describe the employment situation within the Cooperative Extension Services. This is an area of real concern, however, and much effort will be expended in correcting abuses where they are found to exist.

The Extension program has a greater sociological impact than any of the other programs offered by the Department of Agriculture, and the program itself is implemented by the states under memoranda of understanding with the Department. For these two reasons, we may expect civil rights progress to be irregular at best and lacking altogether at worst.

### CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRESS IN THE COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE
### January 1, 1965 - December 31, 1965

The Cooperative Extension Service made rapid strides in 1965 toward full compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In one year of voluntary compliance, the 14 Southern States have overturned the traditional pattern of separate educational services for white and Negro rural people. Extension leaders in the South deserve praise for their many accomplishments in effecting changes in this complex problem area which involves the financial cooperation of county governments and the voluntary cooperation of many thousands of local unpaid leaders.

Compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a primary goal of the Federal Extension Service in 1965. All FES staff members have been advised repeatedly of their responsibilities under the Act and have been kept informed of progress.

The FES Administrator held individual conferences with each Southern State Extension Director and his staff to help implement the new legislation most effectively. Requirements under the Act and the need for prompt aggressive action were discussed at five meetings of Southern State Directors.

Most of the adverse findings of the United States Commission on Civil Rights have been corrected. New complaints have been referred to the Office of Inspector General for thorough investigation. Teams

of Federal Extension Service program leaders were sent into each of the 14 States in August 1965 to make a special review of civil rights progress, and to assist states in developing means of eliminating noncompliance.

Success in overcoming racial discrimination in Extension programs, as of December 31, 1965, as reported by the 14 Southern State Directors on January 15, 1966, is encouraging. Their reports consist of answers to 38 direct questions on compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The following accomplishments are especially noteworthy:

1. All of the 1,327 counties in these States prepared combined work plans for white and Negro clientele for 1966.

2. Mailing lists in all counties include all interested persons regardless of race, color, or national origin.

3. Distribution of publications and other information is made without regard to race.

4. Equal and integrated training opportunities and facilities are provided for all agents.

5. All State, district, and county staff conferences are held without discrimination.

6. Equal opportunities are provided for all 4-H Club members and leaders to participate on a nonsegregated basis in program activities at the State, district, and county levels in all but one of the 1,327 counties.

7. The same results were achieved in providing equal opportunities for all home economics and club members.

8. All farmers are given opportunity and encouraged to participate in Extension programs without segregation, except in one county.

9. About half (650) of the 1,327 counties have both white and non-white members on their program planning committees.

10. Extension agents conduct integrated training programs for local leaders of 4-H Clubs, home economics groups, and other organized groups in counties with both white and non-white leaders in all but two counties.

11. All persons have equal opportunities to participate in tours, field days, and other program activities on a nonsegregated basis in all but one county.

12. In only one county does Extension Service allow segregated meetings or permit speakers to appear on programs where the audience is segregated.

13. Of the 9 Southern States where exclusively Negro Extension staffs were located at predominantly Negro colleges, the Negro Extension staff has been combined with the white staff in five States and still remains separate in the other four.

14. Of the six States that have Extension Service planning or advisory committees at the State level, five are integrated.

15. Supplies, equipment, and other office facilities are provided without racial discrimination in all except one county.

16. All 14 States now assign workers without regard to race. Staffing changes have been made in all States to eliminate dual systems of supervision based on race.

17. Extension offices in all 14 States have provided staff training and orientation of Extension workers on policies and requirements of the Act and have adopted procedures and program reviews to guarantee continuing compliance.

18. The State Extension Director in each of the 14 States has assured the Department of Agriculture that Extension staff members will not work through organizations that discriminate on the basis of race.

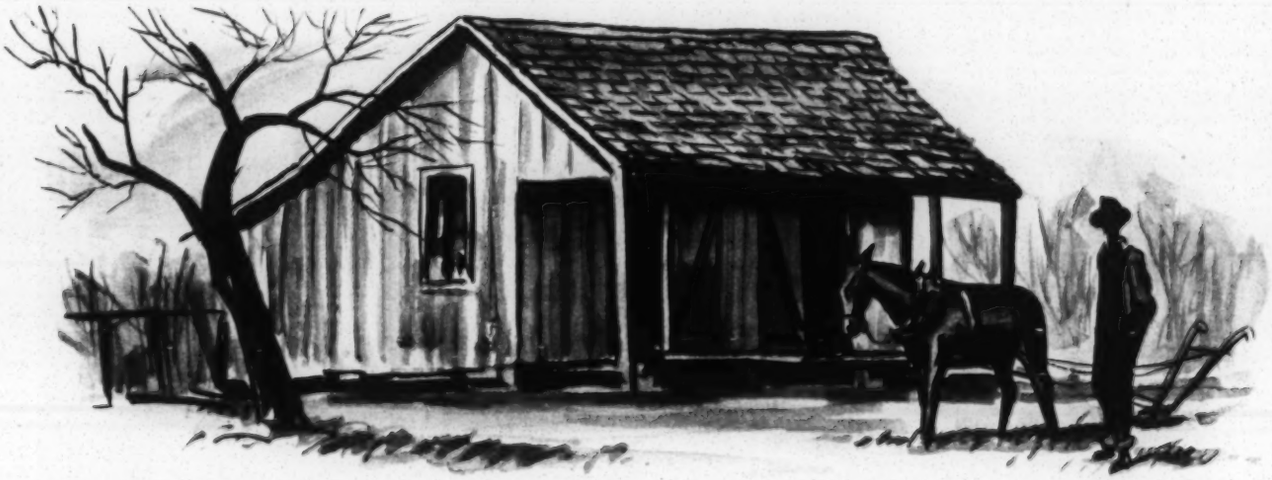
    Some question still remains as to whether five of the States have properly disseminated information to the public on the policies and requirements of the Act.

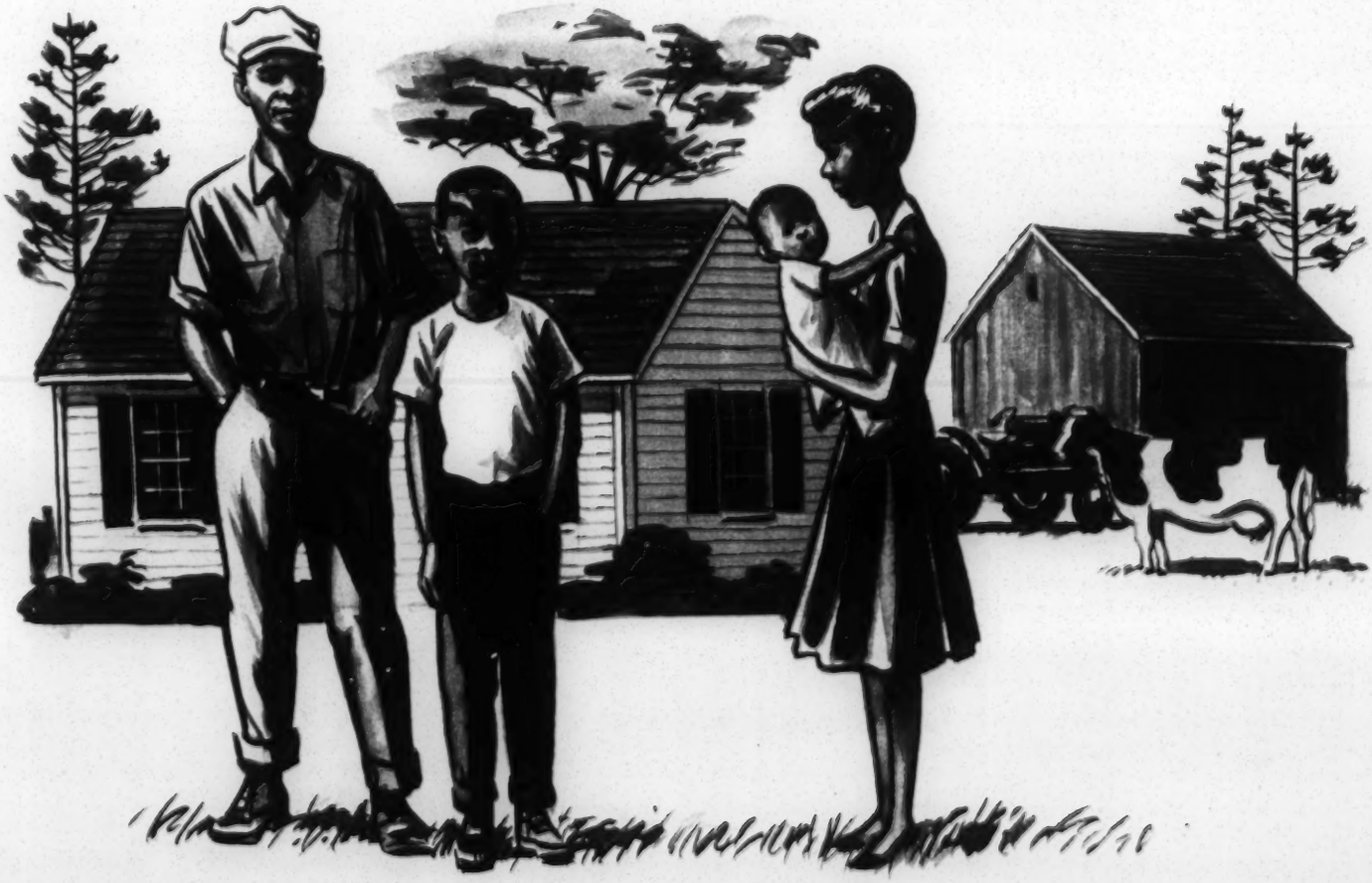
    Also, a question remains as to whether four States have adequately notified organizations receiving Extension assistance that such assistance cannot be continued for organizations that discriminate on the basis of race.

19. One of the most significant achievements in Extension, and one that is easy to measure, is the consolidation of white and Negro county Extension offices. Of the 424 counties that have both white and Negro agents, 341 had completed housing of all employees without regard to race, color, or national origin. This total had been reached by April 15, 1966. Lack of local availability of housing is the major delaying factor in many of the remaining areas and each situation is being handled on an individual basis to achieve full compliance.

Agency U. S. D. A.

# You Too Can Get Help





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE • PA-683

Report on the 1965 ASCS Community Committee Elections
in Holmes County, Mississippi

In a recent letter to the Department of Agriculture, Washington, from us here in Holmes County F. D. P., there were several complaints mentioned concerning the conduct of the ASCS Community Committee elections. This fuller report will try to include those complaints previously mentioned plus all the irregularities we noticed during the conduct of the ASCS elections in Holmes County.

Taking an over-all view of the elections here in Holmes County, one prime irregularity stands out and seems to be the cause itself of great injustice and the source of other injustices flowing directly from it. No matter whether looking at the elections in time periods, such as November 2 to November 12, November 12 through November 17, or in categories such as Voters, Candidates, and Returns, or in any other way, this list of Eligible Voters - stands out as having caused the most trouble for fair participation in the elections.

<u>Inaccuracy and Incompleteness of the Eligible Voter List</u> as Compiled by the Holmes County ASCS Office:

After having some bit of trouble and several days' delay we finally obtained permission from Mr. McWilliams, County ASCS Office Manager, to see and make copies of the supposedly public record of eligible ASCS voters. At first he did not accept the rights of interested farmers to see that public record and then our people were delayed in copying the records because McWilliams said several communities were not completed, not totally compiled, not up-to-date. Mr. McWilliams used such reasons on the week-end before and on the very day of November 2, the day his office had to send out the first announcements-explanations of the elections to the voters.

After obtaining the lists, we noticed from our personal knowledge of Negro owners, tenants and sharecroppers, that hundreds of names were left off the lists. It is obvious that it is more difficult for a person to participate in the elections if he or she does not get the full and normal information at the proper time from the office. However, all those who were not on the lists we had on November 2 did not get the first notice from the office as was normal procedure. There are several hundreds of Negro farm owners in this county, and, especially in the Delta community where the Negroes obtained the land through federal government projects, a good number of these Negro farm owners own the land jointly with their wives. Notwithstanding this, all but about four or five of the Negro wives did not have their names appearing on the lists and therefore did not receive the information or separate ballot in the mail. Besides the extreme disenfranchisement of farmers' wives, there were a good many sharecroppers (tenants) left off the lists also. There were whole estates, inhabited by tenant farmers, which did not list any name other than the white owners.

Admittedly most of our information and knowledge concerns the accuracy of the lists of Negro voters. Considering how bad these lists are, there is not really a good basis for assuming the accuracy for the whites either. By comparing the lists we obtained at the first of November with lists that McWilliams made available after December 2, we found in one community (Ebenezer) that over fifty names for white people had been added; this is out of a total of a little over 300 eligible voters, according to the final lists. Rough though this is, it gives some indication of the inaccuracy of McWilliams' list.

Difficulty in Adding Names to the Eligible Voter Lists:

Flowing directly from this first injustice came the second large obstacle to Negro participation in these elections - the great difficulty Negroes had in obtaining the right to information and a ballot. In this section we must of necessity speak of the experience only of Negroes; our information on the procedures whites had to go through to get added to the voters lists is nil. It is our suspicion, considering the past history of the Holmes County ASCS office regarding equality of whites and Negroes (see December 1964 report of Holmes County ASCS elections of 1964 by Mary Brumder and 1965 Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights on "Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs") and considering the present atmosphere of the office and difference in service to whites and Negroes, that the whites did not have the same difficulty, that they probably had to do little more than mention addition by phone if not less. As has been said, it is very difficult for us to obtain information of this sort, however; an outside investigation would be necessary.

Although the normal procedure for making corrections to the office's list is to bring properly formed proof of eligibility to the office, this procedure assumes a good deal of accuracy in the original lists. Considering the extreme degree of innacuracy in the lists, the several hundreds of Negroes who were left off just from our own knowledge, this procedure becomes cumbersome and extremely unfair. To get anywhere near the total number of these left off to come into the office assumes some outside agency working to inform these people of their rights. This is extremely unfair since it is the responsibility of the office to inform the people of their rights in the first place and the office is in a better position with its access to files and county records than anyone to inform the people. By leaving the names off the lists, the office forces the proof of eligibility to become a large burden to be borne by the voter himself, rather than accepting the responsibility of finding and informing all eligible voters. By leaving so many names off, the whole procedure becomes extremely unfair (and probably discriminatory when the procedures for whites are discovered).

Because of the extreme degree of inaccuracy, Mr. Ralthus Hayes, Delta community farmer owner and operator and Holmes County F. D. P. Chairman, made complaints in person to the Washington office or the Department of Agriculture during his visit in Washington from November 16 through November 19. His complaints were similar to the ones above and the Washington office understood and attempted to redress the wrong by ordering the issuance of Challenge Ballots to anyone requesting a ballot. The Mississippi ASCS Office was sent an immediate order to direct the county offices to give out Challenge Ballots to whoever applied. This brought the burden of proof of eligibility back into the proper place - the ASCS office: yet this still, to be entirely just, required some outside agency other than ASCS to work at rounding up and informing people of their rights (this becomes a difficult procedure for anyone other than a Federal agency, for you are dealing with trying to inform Negro sharecroppers who live on white men's plantations - a dangerous situation.) Also, before this order could be actually applied and implemented it was already November 22, the date the ASCS office mailed out the official ballots However, notwithstanding the inadequacies of Washington's attempt to correct the situation, this correction still did not succeed, for it assumed that there would be a desire on the part of county offices to follow the orders of their supervisors in Washington; considering the manner in which the Holmes County ASCS Office handled the Challenge Ballots, the office had little desire to follow such orders.

Difficulty in Obtaining Challenge Ballots:

As hinted above, the Holmes County ASCS Office effectively ignored the order to issue Challenge Ballots. Since the burden of rounding up all the eligible voters who had been left off of the lists and failed to receive any information on the elections and also by this time had also missed the mailing of the official ballots, the F. D. P. did what it could in the job of informing the disenfranchised of their rights. It must be emphasized that it is a difficult and unjust burden placed on the Negro voter when it is required that he request and/or complain to the white man (in the ASCS office) before he can obtain his ballot - especially when others are receiving them by mail. It takes a courageous and protesting man to stand up and demand his ballot when it is obvious that the white man, either the ASCS manager or his "owner," has kept him from getting his ballot in the normal manner. Yet, the F.D.P. managed to encourage quite a few Negroes to go down after November 22 to get a Challenge Ballot. And, it was here that the ASCS office ignored the Washington order of November 19 and refused to issue Challenge Ballots. Those strong souls who did go up to request the ballot were still forced to prove their eligibility. Wives who were part land owners were required to show their Homestead Exemption papers and, if that did not yield the proper information, they had to make another trip to get their deeds or titles to the land. Sharecroppers were required to get a statement from their owner on their own. The concept of a Challenge Ballot was destroyed.

Thus, the injustices flowing from the incompleteness of McWilliams' original lists continued. It was not until the evening of November 30, when United States Congressman Joseph Resnick of New York happened to be in Holmes County, that some change in the ASCS office's attitude toward Challenge Ballots occurred. Although Mr. Resnick's appearance was quite unprepared for, there were seventy-five to one hundred Negroes gathered to meet him. When Mr. Resnick heard about the difficulties in the ASCS election he telephoned Mr. McWilliams and in very strong language informed him of his obligation to issue Challenge Ballots. In answer to Mr. McWilliams' expressions of disbelief that there was disatisfaction about the ballots, Mr. Resnick gave McWilliams the names of persons eligible to vote who had not received ballots and even put several of the persons who were having difficulty getting ballots onto the phone to speak to McWilliams personally. Resnick suggested that McWilliams take the names and addresses of these same twenty-five or thirty people and immediately mail them Challenge Ballots; he also considered the fact that there were but two days until the December 2 deadline for getting marked ballots back into the ASCS office and indicated the necessity of getting some kind of extenstion to correct the injustice involved.

Despite the fact that the ASCS Office did issue out the Challenge Ballots during the two days following Resnick's visit, the over-all effect on the disenfranchisement was limited. There were but some thirty names at most to McWilliams on the evening of November 30 and there was a relatively small number of people even aware of the chance visit of this Congressman and the new development. With such limited time remaining, it was difficult to spread the word and convince any good percentage of the disfranchised that they would finally be able to obtain a ballot if they would go back to the ASCS office. Those that had given their names over the phone received the ballots in the mail too late to return them before the deadline, and in some cases they even received them after the deadline itself. No allowance was made for these late Challenge Ballots and no extension of time was accorded. Realizing this many were discouraged from even returning the late ballots to the office.

Those who did go out of their way greatly even had difficulty. In one case, at least, a woman who had given her name over the phone on Tuesday evening, November 30, decided, when she didn't receive the balloton Wednesday, December 1, that she had better make a special trip (some 20-odd miles) to the ASCS office to and mark her ballot there. She was told that a ballot had been mailed out to her already and she should go home and wait for it; even though there are simple and thoroughly proper procedures for issuing "Second" Ballots, it was only with great difficulty and courage on her part that she managed to get a ballot at the office.

Irregularities in the Nominations by Petition:

Although compared with last year's extreme difficulty wrought by an ASCS Office which obviously did not care to accept, much less encourage, nominations by petition (See 1964 ASCS Report), this year's nominations by petition went relatively smoothly. Yet, it must be emphasized that the amount of success local farmers (Negro) have in participating in ASCS elections is directly proportional to the amount of time and effort devoted by workers outside of the ASCS agency; the ASCS (i. e. the Federal government) does not do an adequate job which would alone encourage and inform enough to result in well-participated-in, democratic elections; for any degree of successfully democratic elections, active workers, interested in promoting participation and democracy in these elections, must be assumed to be existing outside the ASCS agency.

Again the injustice of having inaccurate and incomplete eligible voters lists affected the fully just operation of this portion of the election. Petitions for nomination have to be signed by six or more eligible voters; however, the question here in Holmes County was not,'does a signer fulfill the eligibility requirements?' but rather 'is this signer's name on Mr. McWilliams' inaccurate list.' One nominee by petition (Negro) was disqualified as nominee because his petition was supposedly not signed by six eligible voters, however, some of those who signed were "eligible" but not on McWilliams' list and, from the foregoing statements about difficulty in getting added to the list (Negro), it can be seen that this was not entirely fair. That same nominee turned in his petition for nomination by the deadline, Friday, November 12, yet he did not receive notification of his disqualification in time to appeal the decision. A notice dated November 15 was not received by him until the evening of November 17, the very day appeals had to be made. Another nominee was disqualified because of nomination by the wrong community. This same Negro nominee had extreme trouble last year and was also disqualified at that time; he has unsuccessfull tried to get the confusion about his community cleared up. Though his only marketing card has the indication of one particular community he has never been able to get a clear indication of proper residence community, if it is different.

On Friday, November 12, the one Negro community committeeman in the county attended a meeting in McWilliams' office wherein it was stated that there was going to be an extension of time for getting nominating petitions in, presumably because few or no whites had been nominated by petition. No notification of this extension was made public knowledge, and when Mr. McWilliam was finally available to comment on the matter the following Tuesday, he denied that any extension had been given. Although it is usually customary to believe on faith the statements of officials, it is very difficult for anyone familiar with the realities of the situation now and the past history of discrimination to have such faith.

Irregularities in the Official ASCS Ballot:

Although we have been unable to get official information concerning number of whites nominated onto the ballot by petition, we strongly suspect that few if any whites were put on the ballot this way. [illegible] If this is true, it is very curious that in every one of the nine ASCS communities the ballots contained exactly, no more and no less than, five white candidates. Considering the following statements about percentages of Negro and white, the fact that the whites (i.e. the committee now in power) find it difficult to accept and in fact do everything possible to avoid accepting the reality that Negroes outnumber the whites as they do, do deserve to have a seat on the committee becomes evident by the nomination of 5 and only 5 whites.

Throughout the elections period (November 2 through December 2) there seemed to be confusion over the regulation concerning nomination of candidates in such a way that they are proportional (racially) to the population. It was never clear whether the percentage was based upon population or ASCS farmers in the county. McWilliams once stated publicly that the percentage that had to be followed was not population in the county but Negro-white farmers in the county and that that percentage was 41% white - 59% Negro for Holmes County. We assume this is a readily available statistic. However, the committee nominating for the ballot ended up not following this figure. The percentages varied greatly from one community to the next. [illegible] The ballots in some communities had percentage of Negroes as high as 72% Negro (that is the proper population percentage) and as low as 54% Negro in another. What looks like may have been done is to change the percentage to attempt to be proportioned by farmers within the community. This statistic does not seem to be readily available and considering the inaccuracy of Mr. McWilliams' lists of eligible voters it would be extremely questionable and unfair to use those lists to determine the percentage, even if that was acceptable under the regulation in question.

Irregularities in Counting the Ballots:

The opening and counting of the ballots of December 6 had been announced in ASCS literature as being open to all interested public, yet when fifteen to twenty-five Negroes showed up at the ASCS office on the morning of the sixth they were informed that there was only room for four observors in the room where the committee had arranged to work. In order to get to the room where the counting was going on, one had to go past the desks and swinging gate in the front of the office and there the secretaries in the office kept a grudging eye to make sure only four were in at the time. The committee required that those observing give their name and address and this was written down by McWilliams (this seemed true only of the Negroes and the one white civil rights worker observing). Later during the day (and also the next when they still were counting the ballots) a few whites drifted in to find out how the returns were proceeding. They did not seem to have difficulty in gaining access to the back of the office, getting past the front gate, even though there were already four of us observing. The whites stood in the hall and doorway and listened and observed and were not required to give their names and addresses.

Although the committee did take care to read out the names of those envelopes they were not opening and counting, they gave no public reading of the names of those they had deemed qualified and acceptable to open and count. It was only after difficult and prolonged questioning that we were able to find out that there could be made available after the counting a list which showed the date each ballot was returned and therefore by deduction supposedly would yield the information on whose ballots had been counted.

Although the election returns have still not been pronounced as official by the ASCS office, presumably to make decisions about the unopened ballots, a few statements about those ballots which they did not open and count seem in order. As of now (and the date of the counting) no provision was made to treat the late-postmarked Challenge Ballots (even though none of them were issued before December 1) in any way different from late-postmarked ballots which had been sent out normally on November 22. As of now (and the date of the counting), the committee would not consider opening and counting any ballot that had been signed in any way different from the way the ASCS Office had printed the name onto the envelope. Thus, if the ASCS Officer had made some mistake in the spelling or name of the voter, when that voter tried to correct the error by writing his name as normally written, he was penalized by having his ballot left unopened and uncounted. In all the written instructions add the oral instruction received by ASCS office staff, illiterates were led to believe that the proper procedure for them to follow in casting a ballot was to make a mark and then get a witness to sign his own (the witness' names). However, when it came time to open the ballots, the committee did not open and would not count ballots by illiterates where the witness had not also printed the name of the voter on the ballot-envelope. In a similar manner to the rest, ballots were left unopened and uncounted by the committee which had--the printed name of the voter instead of the written signature (in such cases where they the committee, had access in the office to a sample of the said voter's written signature. Where the committee did not have a sample of the normal signature of the voter who printed, that vote was accepted and counted. Since the requirement for written signatures can only be made to avoid fraud, it seems that instead of rejecting these printed names, the committee should check with the voter to find out if he did indeed print.

**********

Upon seeing the havoc and injustices wrought by having incomplete and inaccurate voters lists, it seems that this election can only be considered unfair. It needs be re-run as soon as the ASCS Office gets its lists accurate. Considering the resources at the disposal of the ASCS Office in form of access to Tax Assesor's records, Chancery Clerk's records, it should not be difficult to find the truly accurate list of owner's and joint owners (Negro wives); and considering the possibilities of using not only the word of the landlord about his tenants but also the records of gin receipts and seed purchases which indicate both the owner's and the sharecropper's name, it should not be difficult to compose an accurate list of tenants.

Considering the discrimination, favoritism, and confusion reigning over the committee's nomination of candiates for the ballot, it seems proper to suggest that the county committee (and community committee) have only such nominating power as will asure six names being on the ballot and assure proper racial proportions (of course, the definition of what the racial balance of the ballot must be proportional to - whether county population or what - must be made clear). By following this suggestion of nominations only by petition fuller, more democratic participation will be insured.

**********

Ralthus Hayes, Chairman
Holmes County F.D.P

Susan & Henry Lorenzi, Advisors
Holmes County F.D.P.

306 Third Street
Lexington, Mississippi

WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE ASCS ELECTIONS IN YOUR COMMUNITY

WHY IS ASCS IMPORTANT?

Because the ASCS gives out your crop allotment.

WHO CAN VOTE IN THE ASCS ELECTION?

Any man or woman who owns or rents a farm, or who is a tenant or sharecropper on someone else's farm can vote.

You do not have to be able to read and write to vote.

You do not have to be registered at the Court House to vote in ASCS.

There is no racial discrimination in this program. You can vote if you are Negro or white or any other race.

IF YOU WORK FARMS IN DIFFERENCT COMMUNITIES IN THE COUNTY, CAN YOU VOTE IN BOTH COMMUNITIES?

No. You can only vote one time. You may choose which community you want to vote in if you work two farms.

WHO CAN RUN FOR ASCS COMMITTEE ELECTIONS?

Anybody who can vote in ASCS elections can be a candidate for ASCS committeeman. But, the candidate must live in the community he is a candidate from.

HOW DO YOU RUN FOR THE ASCS COMMITTEE ELECTIONS?

There are two ways for a man or woman to have their name on the ballot:

1. One way is for the man or woman to have their name put on the ballot by the County ASCS Committee. Usually the people put on the ballot by the County ASCS Committee do not work for you. They work for the other man.

2. You can put your OWN candidates on the ballot by PETITION. That way you can be sure that they will work for you.

HOW DO YOU PUT CANDIDATES ON THE BALLOT BY PETITION?

You can make your own petition or use the one attached to this notice. All you need on the petition is a statement saying that those people who sign the petition want to nominate a person (the petition must have his whole name) as your candidate for the ASCS voters in his ASCS community.

You can sign as many petitions as you want.

Petitions must be turned into the county ASCS office at least 25 days before the day the election ballots are due at the office. In Alabama that is on the 25th of July.

WHAT IS AN ASCS COMMUNITY?

Each county is divided up by the ASCS County Committee into ASCS communities which are NOT the same as the communities people live in. They are much bigger and will include many rural communities. Sometimes they will cut a rural community in half. The ASCS County Committee is supposed to write you a letter telling you what community you are in. If you have any questions about what community you are in, you should ask at the ASCS County office.

WHAT ARE THE TWO MOST IMPORTANT STEPS TO REMEMBER IN AN ASCS ELECTION?

1. The FIRST important step in an ASCS election is to nominate YOUR OWN friends and leaders by PETITION. The easiest way to do this is by calling a meeting of farmers in your community and let the meeting decide who to nominate by petition. Then, at the meeting have the petitions signed and have someone carry them the next day to the County ASCS office. If you cannot get them signed that night, have someone carry them around the next day until you have 10 or 12 signatures.

2. The SECOND important step to remember in an ASCS election is CANVASSING.

   ASCS voting is new to many people. They will be getting letters in the mail from the ASCS Committee explaining how to vote. But they may not pay any mind to these letters since they have never voted before. It is up to you and your meeting of farmers to go around to every farmer in the ASCS community and explain to him or her how important the ASCS elections are and to see that he votes.

   One of the biggest reasons many ASCS votes are lost is because people do not sign their name correctly on the outside envelope. Your canvasser can help by showing everybody how to vote, (but of course he cannot vote for them) and be the witness who helps the voter who cannot read and write.

   Your canvasser should also explain that if you only like one or two of the men who are running as ASCS committeemen, you do not have to vote for 5 people. You can vote for only those people you trust.

IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE TO REMEMBER IN AN ASCS ELECTION?

Yes. Remember that if anybody tries to keep you from voting or tries to force you to vote for someone, or threatens you with violence or loss of credit if you vote, he is BREAKING THE LAW.

You should report all violations of the law in a simple letter to:

The Secretary of Agriculture
United States Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

And the National Sharecroppers Fund can help if you will send a letter telling about your problems to:

The National Sharecroppers Fund
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

This notice was prepared by the National Sharecroppers Fund.

PETITION

We, the undersigned eligible voters of the _____
(Insert Community Identification)

Community nominate Mr./Mrs. _____ _____
(Name) (Address)

for the 1966 ASCS community committee and request that his/her name be placed on the ballot.

| Name | Address |
|---|---|
| 1. | |
| 2. | |
| 3. | |
| 4. | |
| 5. | |
| 6. | |
| 7. | |
| 8. | |
| 9. | |
| 10. | |
| 11. | |
| 12. | |

---

PETITION

We, the undersigned eligible voters of the _____
(Insert Community Identification)

Community nominate Mr./Mrs. _____ _____
(Name) (Address)

for the 1966 ASCS community committee and request that his/her name be placed on the ballot.

| Name | Address |
|---|---|
| 1. | |
| 2. | |
| 3. | |
| 4. | |
| 5. | |
| 6. | |
| 7. | |
| 8. | |
| 9. | |
| 10. | |
| 11. | |
| 12. | |

ASCS

HANDBOOK

# COUNTY AND COMMUNITY COMMITTEE ELECTIONS

For County Offices

SHORT REFERENCE

7-CA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION AND CONSERVATION SERVICE
Washington, D.C.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Alabama ASCS State Office
Montgomery, Alabama 36102

ALA. NOTICE ADM - 379

FOR: County Offices

COMMITTEE ELECTIONS

APPROVED BY: State Executive Director

B. L. Collins

1 PURPOSE

To advise county offices of State committee determinations relative to committee elections.

2 DETERMINATIONS

The State committee made determinations noted below relative to elections.

A Community committee elections shall be held by mail.

B Final date by which ballots must be postmarked or returned in person is August 16, 1966.

C Ballots are to be tabulated August 22, 1966.

D County Convention.

1 The date for the convention is August 30, 1966.

2 Nominations shall be by secret ballot.

E Newly elected committeemen will take office on September 1, 1966.

3 COMMENTS

Two copies of Handbook 7-CA, County and Community Committee Elections, are enclosed. (Exhibit 4 of 7-CA provides a calendar to follow in meeting time limits and schedules.) Additional copies of instructions and forms will be forwarded at an early date.

4 ACTION

Each office manager should review 7-CA with the county committee and plan for the conduct of elections as provided therein. Farmer fieldmen will assist county offices in connection with this.

5 NOTICE DISPOSAL

January 1, 1967.

~~Clipper dup. file~~ → U.S.D.A.


# NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

Reply to
REGIONAL OFFICE
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Tel. 404/522-3697



**national board**

FRANK P. GRAHAM *chairman*
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH *vice-chairman*
ELIOT D. PRATT *secretary-treasurer*
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MANET FOWLER
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SHIRLEY E. GREENE
ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN
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CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

FAY BENNETT *executive secretary*
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HUBERT THOMAS *Georgia representative*
OCIE LEE SMITH *Louisiana-Arkansas representative*
JAMES N. MAYS *Mississippi representative*
EUGENE W. HAGANS *South Carolina representative*
ART EMERY *Tennessee representative*
JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
*administrative assistants*


July 20, 1966

TO: NSF/RAP Field Representatives

FROM: Jac Wasserman, Field Director

I am sending you, under separate cover, a "Manual on ASCS Elections" which you can adopt for use in your state; the ASCS County and Community Committee Elections Handbook (7-CA); and an informational circular "What You Should Know About the ASCS Elections in Your Community." This can be duplicated for general distribution in the counties and communities in your state. Please note that the last sentence on page 1 gives the last date petitions must be submitted <u>in Alabama</u>. This sentence should be substituted with the last date for submission of petitions in your State.

I would suggest that you arrange a state-wide meeting of farm leaders from all the counties in your state where the number of Negro farm operators are 30% or more of the total. If possible this meeting should be held at least six weeks prior to the last date for submission of petitions to place candidates on the ballot. You can obtain information on the number of Negro and white farm operators in each county from the Agricultural Census for your State. Mike Kenney or I will be available to attend and speak at your meeting and we will also arrange to have an ASCS representative from Washington and from your State at the meeting to explain the new election procedures and to show their film slides.

Additional copies of these materials are available on request.

P. S. I have also enclosed a report on the 1965 elections in Holmes County, Mississippi. You should make every effort to keep a record of all irregularities and any acts of violence and intimidation so that you can prepare a similar report after your elections are held --in addition to reporting such violations immediately to the FBI; to the ASCS Washington and State offices; to William M. Seabron, Assistant to the Secretary, USDA; to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights; and to our office.

# ASCS ELECTION MANUAL

This pamphlet is a suggested plan for organizing an ASCS election campaign. It is based on experience from 1964 and 1965 in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and North Carolina. You may want to do things differently but these basic ideas should help you to have a WINNING campaign.

## FIRST

The first thing to do is form an election committee in your ASCS community. This committee should be made up of farmers in your ASCS community. It is important to remember that ASCS communities are NOT the same as your rural or church communities. Usually the ASCS communities are larger and cover 3 or 4 rural communities. Very often the ASCS community boundary lines cut real communities in half.

## THEN

After the election committee is formed, it needs to do three things:

1. The election committee should send a group to the county ASCS office to get a list of the eligible voters in your community from the ASCS rolls.

2. The committee should also ask the county ASCS office for an ASCS county map so they can know which farmers are in what community, at the time of the present election.

3. The election committee should find out when the petitions and ballots must be turned into the ASCS office, and when the ballots and sample ballots will be mailed out.

4. The election committee should also request sample ballots at this time from the ASCS County Office.

## THEN

Call your first planning meeting for the whole ASCS community. The first meeting is just to get started. You should plan to hold meetings once a week in each ASCS community until the elections, starting about 6 weeks before the day the ballots are due back at the ASCS office. It is a good idea to hold these weekly meetings in different churches or schools or homes so that more people will hear about them and be able to come.

At the first meeting you should explain how important the ASCS elections are because the ASCS committees give out the extra crop allotments, measures land and determines the soil bank payments. You should explain that they are Federal elections and all farmers, large or small, white or black, owners, renters, tenants or sharecroppers are supposed to vote in these elections.

After people understand the purposes of the elections you should explain that in the past many sharecroppers, tenants, and other small farmers have been left out of the elections. Then read the list of eligible voters in your community that you got from the ASCS office to see if all the people at your meeting have their name on that list. If some people at your meeting are eligible and do not have their names on your community ASCS list, one member of the election committee should write their names down on a separate piece of paper and arrange to go with them to the ASCS County office to get their names on the eligible voters list. People who know sharecroppers and tenants who are not on the list should give their names so an investigation can be started.

Finally, at this first meeting you should ask for volunteers to work as canvassers and precinct Captains for the ASCS elections. Usually it is easiest to ask for one volunteer from each road in a community. He is responsible for contacting all the farmers on his road or on roads near where he lives. Also, it makes it easier on everyone if each Church community has one precinct Captain who helps the canvassers and who the canvassers report to. The Captain is a member of the election committee.

A second meeting should be arranged before you adjourn the first meeting. A subcommittee should be chosen to visit the ASCS County Office Manager to invite him to speak at the next meeting. They should also invite him to show slides which the United States Department of Agriculture has prepared explaining the ASCS elections. If he says he cannot come, this should be reported to the State Director of ASCS and to the National Office of ASCS.

The canvassers should be prepared to canvass each member of their district to make sure that they come to the meeting.

And, IT IS VERY IMPORTANT that the canvassers make a list of each farmer, renter, sharecropper, or tenant in their district so they can find out if people have been left off the ASCS list.

THEN AT THE SECOND MEETING

The ASCS County Office Manager will speak and explain the ASCS election, if he comes. If he does not come, somebody who is familiar with the ASCS elections should explain the elections again because you will have many new people at this second meeting.

After the elections are explained, allow a long period for questions so that everybody gets a chance to ask whatever question he has.

This is now a good time to tell people that they should be thinking about who they want to represent them on the Committee so they can nominate them at the next meeting. (It is always good to plan what you are going to do at the next meeting so people will want to come.)

THEN AT THE THIRD MEETING

You will have to begin by explaining the ASCS elections again. Thi is good because some people do not understand everything after hearing it only once. Everyone should be asked if he has any questions he wants to ask.

Then the group should democratically decide who they want to nominate for the elections. At this time it should be explained again that usually all the names put on the ballot by the ASCS committee were not democratically selected. The only way to make sure people on the committee do what you want is to nominate them yourselves and make sure they are elected. Then it is important to remember that no more than 5 people should be nominated by petitions because you will split your vote with more than 5 people and make sure the other man wins.

After the group has democratically decided who they want to nominate, they should get petitions signed for those people. Each petition must have at least 6 signatures of eligible voters in the ASCS community. But it is a good idea to get 12 signatures because the ASCS offices sometimes refuses to honor all of the signatures. You can make your own petition. It just needs to say something like:

We nominate_____for ASCS committeeman for the_____community.

The petition should then be signed with the names and addresses of at least six people from the same community.

THE NEXT MEETINGS ARE VERY IMPORTANT. THIS IS WHEN YOU PLAN YOUR STRATEGY AND PRACTICE VOTING. DEPENDING ON HOW GOOD YOU DO THIS PART OF THE PLAN, YOU WILL WIN OR LOSE THE ELECTION.

AT THE FOURTH MEETING

You must do the following things:

1. Make sure that every voter knows that he should vote only for the people put on the ballot by petition. Each voter should understand that a vote for the other man means that the other man will win. You must vote only for those people nominated by you.

2. Each voter should also understand that if you have less than 5 of your own people on the ballot by petition, you should vote for only your own candidates. You do not have to vote for 5 candidates. If you have only placed 2 candidates on the ballot by petition, you should vote only for them.

3. The best way to make sure that everybody in your community knows exactly how to vote and whom to vote for is to have them practice voting at your 4th meeting with sample ballots which you made up after seeing the sample ballots from the ASCS office.

4. Then your canvassers should be ready to go from house to house to help the people in his district practice if they did not make it to the meeting. People should fill out as many sample ballots as they need to make sure that the people know how to do it.

By now you are probably having your meetings once a week on the same night. People will be used to coming to meetings. You can announce that at the next meeting there will be more time to practice and that the final plans will be made to make sure of VICTORY.

THEN AT THE FIFTH MEETING

Make sure that all of your canvassers have a list of all the voters in their district. This is called a check-list. They should carry this check-list around with them beginning the day the ballots arrive by mail. At each house they should make sure that the farmer or sharecropper has voted. They check off his hame on their check list after he has voted. They must go around every day until each man in their community has been checked off.

The canvassers should be able to read and write so they can help those farmers vote who cannot read and write. They must understand that not only do they have to sign their own name to outside envelope, but that they must print the voter's name next to his "X".

If the area is well organized, people can come to a meeting and mark their ballots at that time.

At this meeting you might want to discuss whether or not it would be best to have people hold their ballots back until the day before they are due so that the other side cannot know how strong your vote will be and have time to run out and scrape up some extra votes to beat you with.

THEN THE SIXTH MEETING SHOULD BE DURING THE VOTING PERIOD

The canvassers should give their reports and plans should be made to have emergency workers canvass to see that late voters vote and carry their own ballots to the office, if necessary, to make sure they are in.

At this meeting you should select a committee who will be at the place the ballots are opened and counted so that you can be sure that the ballots are counted fairly. Announce that any interested person can attend the vote counting. Then encourage everyone to attend. The more people you have there the better chance you have of having an honest election.

BUT BE SURE TO ASSIGN some people to go so that you are sure you are represented at the vote counting.

Then be sure to call a meeting for AFTER the election to review what happened. This will be your VICTORY meeting. If you have to protest you should choose a committee to do the protesting in the name of the community.

NOW THAT WE HAVE FINISHED THE STEP BY STEP SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN WE WOULD LIKE TO REMIND YOU ABOUT THREE VERY IMPORTANT THINGS:

1. You cannot win the election unless all your eligible voters are on the ASCS list. You must begin working on getting all your voters on the eligible voter list at the very beginning of the campaign and you will probably have to work on this problem for the whole 6 weeks.

2. If you have trouble getting your candidates on the ballot by petitinn you can either boycott the election, or you can conduct a write-in campaign. Write-in campaigns are very difficult, but possible. The ballots must have spaces for write-in names. Have your meeting decide which names are written in and then

you practice writing those names in just like you practice for the regular voting. Sometimes people spell wrong and it is harder to get them to write in names than it is to have them mark an X on the ballot.

3. Keep a record of everything you do and everything that happens. If you need to protest the election, your case is much stronger if you have a record of everything that happened. For example, it is best to have a written letter inviting the ASCS office manager to your meeting when your committee goes to invite him. If he refuses, you have proof because you kept a copy of that letter.

   You should keep a list of all things done wrong in the election. If the ASCS office manager does not have the slides to show you, you should make a note of that. If you are kept out of watching the voting you should write down who was kept out, at what time they were kept out, who kept them out, and who saw all this happen. You should note any time that any ASCS official is discourteous to you and you should report any acts of discrimination that you might suffer.

   Also you should immediately report any acts of violence or intimidation in connection with the ASCS election to the nearest FBI office and by mail to:

   Secretary of Agriculture
   United States Department of Agriculture
   Washington, D. C.

   and copies of all complaints should be sent to

   The National Sharecroppers Fund
   5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
   Atlanta, Georgia 30303

   so that the National Sharecroppers Fund can follow-up on your complaints.

REMEMBER: You can win this election if you want to.

The only thing which can stop you from winning is not working.

If you work, <u>you will win</u>.

This manual was prepared by the National Sharecroppers Fund
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

NUMBER OF FARM OPERATORS IN SELECTED COUNTIES OF ALABAMA
(1960 Census)

| COUNTY | WHITE | NON WHITE |
|---|---|---|
| Autauga | 634 | 467 |
| Barbour | 999 | 769 |
| Bullock | 390 | 758 |
| Butler | 1,008 | 528 |
| Chambers | 726 | 522 |
| Choctaw | 771 | 744 |
| Clarke | 746 | 748 |
| Conecuh | 952 | 575 |
| Dallas | 607 | 2,209 |
| Elmore | 1,273 | 548 |
| Greene | 320 | 1,283 |
| Hale | 654 | 1,210 |
| Henry | 842 | 436 |
| Lee | 636 | 513 |
| Lowndes | 442 | 1,031 |
| Macon | 435 | 1,200 |
| Marengo | 685 | 1,284 |
| Monroe | 980 | 933 |
| Montgomery | 852 | 820 |
| Perry | 484 | 948 |
| Pickens | 988 | 659 |
| Russell | 343 | 800 |
| Sumter | 425 | 1,409 |
| Talladega | 921 | 447 |
| Tallapoosa | 922 | 322 |
| Wilcox | 480 | 1,279 |

Agency file

United States Youth Council

236 East 46th Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

Cable Address: YACWAY

Youth Affiliate of the National Social Welfare Assembly
United States Affiliate of the World Assembly of Youth

(212) 687-3674

June 20, 1967

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Directoro of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ed,

I enjoyed meeting you when I was in Atlanta with Shawn Boles last week. The U. S. Youth Council is particularly interested in co-operating with the SRC in action projects related to civil rights and poverty. I am glad you indicated an interest in the potential of this joint activity.

Reed Martin, National Affairs Director of the Youth Council, is working on several specific projects in connection with voter education and consumer affairs, by developing special educational materials. He plans to be in contact with Vern Jordan of the SRC in the near future, and I am confident that we will be able to develop a broad substantive program in the next months.

Reed and I plan to be in Atlanta before the end of the summer, and I hope we will be able to discuss our ideas more definitely then.

Sincerely,

Barry Jagoda

Barry Jagoda
Administrative Director

BJ/mn

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

URBAN LEAGUE

# National Urban League, Inc.

Southern Regional Office
78 MARIETTA STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • AREA CODE 404 – 688-8778

May, 1966

Dear Advisory Committee Member:

Now that the"dust from the Citizen Action Assembly has settled," we hope that you are ready to plan the next stages for citizen action to improve and to insure adequate health-welfare services in Georgia.

On June 8th, Wednesday, at 3:00 p.m., there will be a meeting of the Citizen Action Advisory Committee in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League.

The purpose of this meeting is to discuss the Assembly Resolutions and Recommendations in order to ascertain what may be suitably and adequately handled by a state-wide committee; to decide how this committee shall be structured; and to consider what shall be the roles of the Advisory Committee and of the National Urban League.

We look forward to seeing all of the members at this most important meeting. If you are a representative for the president, chairman, or director of your organization or agency, and you are unable to attend, we request that the person whom you're representing attend.

Sincerely yours,

Jon J. Johnston
Advisory Committee Chairman

P.S. If you have not received a copy of the Assembly Resolutions and Recommendations, please let Revelle Pergament, Field Representative for Health and Welfare, Southern Regional Office, know so that a copy may be mailed to you prior to the June 8th meeting.

*Affiliated with* National Social Welfare Assembly, National Conference on Social Welfare
*Contributions to the National Urban League are tax deductible*

231

1966

Agency file "Urban League"

CITIZEN ACTION ASSEMBLY

HEALTH & WELFARE SERVICES FOR GEORGIA'S CHILDREN

SUGGESTED PROGRAM FORMAT

THEME: "Give Georgia's Children a Chance" -- What can citizens of Georgia do to implement and improve health and welfare services for children?

Thursday, March 31

11:00 - 12:30 A.M. Registration

12:30 A.M. Opening Address

Suggested Speaker and Topic: Mr. Jon J. Johnston, Chairman
"Goals and Purposes of Assembly"

1. Local Community Leader -
Helen Howard, Vine City
"Why the Poor Need Adequate Children's Services"

2. Mrs. John Patton, United Church Women of Georgia
"Cooperative Action to Improve Services"

1:00 - 6:00 General Sessions

Sessions on the three main subjects will run consecutively, and will provide information current and proposed programs for Georgia's children. Through questions directed at the speaker by the panel, and by the audience at both the panel and speaker, problems will be spotlighted in each of the subject area. These problems will form the basis for the workshops on the following day.

I. Day Care Services for Children of Low-income Families

Suggested Speakers: 1. Thomas M. Parham, Director, Division of Children and Youth Services
"Day Care in a Changing Concept of Welfare"

2. Nancy Edwards, Director, Division of Day Care Licensing

Suggested Panel -- Moderator: Mrs. Eva Driscoll

Panel: Mrs. Hellice Clark, Georgia OEO
Mrs. Camille Jeffers, A.U. School of Social Work
Mrs. C. B. King, Day Care Center, Albany
Mr. Al Ulmer, Southern Regional Council, Director Self-Help Project
Mrs. Gail Schucker, Day Care, Atlanta
Ga. Rep. - Mrs. Grace Hamilton

(15-20 minute break)

II. Maternal & Child Care in Georgia

Introduction of Speaker:

Suggested Speaker: Dr. Helen Bellhouse, Director, Division of Maternal and Child Health Services, Ga. Dept. of Public Health "The Importance of Adequate Services to Mothers for Georgia's Children."

A. Suggested Speaker:
1) Dr. John O'Rourk, Director, MCH Project, Augusta
2) Mr. Anton Vleck, Director, Florence Crittenton Home, Savannah, Georgia
3) Mrs. Mary Lou Cousins, Florence Crittenton Home, Atlanta

Moderator: Mr. Joseph Gross, Social & Economic Consultant

Panel: Mrs. Louise Waite, Child Welfare League
Mr. Russell Richardson, Planned Parenthood
Mrs. Josephine Wilkes, Brunswick
Mrs. Alice Washington, School Counselor OEO
Prof. Morris Eisenstein, A.U. School of Social Work
Rev. Charles Hamilton, Georgia OEO-CAP
Ga. Rep. Busbee

(10 minute break)

III. Mental Retardation and the Pre-School Child

Suggested Speakers:
1. Dr. Addison . Duval, Director, Division of Mental Health, Georgia Department of Public Health
2. Dr. James Clements, Director, Projects for the Mentally Retarded
3. Mrs. Louise Stewart, Director,Georgia Association for Mentally Retarded Children

Moderator: Mrs. Frankie Adams

Panel: Mrs. Louise Stewart, Georgia Association for Mentally Retarded Children
Miss Elsie Nesbitt, Georgia School of Social Work ( Universit of Georgia)
Mrs. Georgianna Bishop, Chrippled Children's Center, Waycross
Rev. Charlie Alston (or Miss Connie Covington) Milledgeville
Mr. Al Dempsey, Georgia OEO
Mrs. Jean Harsch

8:30 P. M. — Keynote Speech

Introduction to Speaker -- Suggested Speaker:

1. Mrs. Bruce Schaeffer, Dir.
   Dept. of Family & Children's Serv.

2. Dr. John Venable, Dir.
   Dept. of Public Health

Suggested Speaker:

1. Mr. John Gardner, Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare

2. Mrs. Eunice Shriver
3. Rep. Mackey
4. Rep. Landrum

Reception

Friday, April 1st

8:30 - 10:00 A. M. — Reference & Research -- Various resources and consultants would be available to speak and confer with community leaders and other assembly participants. Literature tables and movies will be available for participants.

10:00 - 12:00 A. M. — Geographical Area Workshops -- Participants will make recommendations and plans for local community action. Area representatives will be chosen by the participants of each workshop.

12:00 - 1:00 P. M. — Lunch — Area Representatives and Members of Advisory Committee

2:00 - 4:00 P. M. — General Assembly

Suggested speaker:

1. Representative Mackey
2. Representative Landrum
3. Mr. Joe Thornton, Ga. OEO

Area Reports

Assembly Recommendations

# SLUM PLAN STIRS CONCERN IN HOUSE

URBAN PROBLEMS

## Key Subcommittee Members Believe Johnson Program Needs Big Rise in Funds

3/7/66

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 6 — There is growing concern here that the proposed Demonstration Cities Program, for cleaning up slums, cannot work unless substantially more money is poured into it or exsting Federal programs.

Key members of the Housing subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee have reached this stark and potentially troublesome conclusion. The subcommittee has heard a week of testimony on the much-publicized plan, on which President Johnson has pinned his hopes for improving city slum areas.

Under the President's plan, a city applying for Federal aid would select one or possibly two blighted neighborhoods and submit an over-all plan for their rejuvenation.

**Plan Called Imaginative**

The project would include housing for different income groups, with emphasis on those with lower incomes, as well as the health, education, welfare and other social services necessary to change the environment of the projects' residents.

Cities meeting a list of broad Federal criteria, including need and administrative capability, would be eligible for a share of $2.3-billion in Federal aid, spread over five years. They would also receive what Mr. Johnson described as "the complete array of all available Federal grants and urban aids in the fields of housing, renewal,

Continued on Page 13, Column 3



# SLUM PLAN STIRS CONCERN IN HOUSE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

transportation, education, welfare, economic opportunity and related program."

The Presidents' message submitting the proposal to congress said that 60 to 70 cities would be chosen to participate in the demonstration program.

A survey of subcommittee sentiment suggests that most members accept the Administration view that the plan is an imaginative and long overdue approach to solving slum problems.

But they fear $2.3-billion is not nearly enough to fulfill the program's promise.

Nor are they happy about the possible courses they believe are open to them if they try to match the capabilities of the program to the President's rhetoric.

**Could Increase Funds**

One course would be to increase funds for the program or, alternatively, the authorized levels of the many existing programs that are expected to be used as part of the demonstration cities plan. But they believe this course would involve enormous legislative difficulties and would invite criticism from the inflation-conscious Congress.

A second approach would be to reduce the number of cities involved in the plan. This would be equally risky because the program needs broad support on the House floor to pass.

A third course would be to revise downward the expectations of the plan by limiting the funds available to each participating city. But this might violate the Presidential dictum that the program be of sufficient magnitude to make "a substantial impact within the coming few years on the development of the entire city."

This largely unexpected concern has arisen in the last week for three main reasons.

First, the committee has been troubled by repeated testimony from mayors of large cities. The mayors have said that if the program, as Mr. Johnson promises, makes available to demonstration cities the "complete array of all available grants and aids," it will tend to divert these funds from communities that do not participate in the demonstration program.

Despite assertions to the contrary from Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, committee members tend to agree that this would be true. To avoid such discrimination and diversion, they believe that the total Federal outlay for urban renewal and other Federal aid would necessarily have to be increased.

Secondly, some committee members believe that the problem of diversion or discrimination could be aggravated by a financing mechanism in the Administration bill. They believe it would tend to encourage cities competing for the demonstration funds to put still further pressure on existing Federal programs.

The bill says that the Government will pay 80 per cent of the local share of Federal grant-in-aid projects that are focused on the demonstration area.

Communities usually pay one-third of the net cost of urban renewal projects and the Government two-thirds. Under the bill, the Government would pick up 80 per cent of the community's old one-third share.

This mechanism, some committee members believe, would encourage communities to seek additional funds from a wide variety of Federal agencies to be able to enlarge the base on which their share of the demonstration program's money would be computed. Many of these agencies are already oversubscribed and short of cash.

Third, there is a growing belief in the committee and among housing experts here that the Administration badly underestimated the cost of certain important "social" aspects of the program. As a result, they believe the $2.3-billion requested by the President is grossly inadequate to do the kind of job he set out to do.

The $2.3-billion figure proposed by Mr. Johnson was arrived at by determining how much it would cost to meet certain physical and social goals in 60 to 70 cities and their subtracting from this the amount the cities would recover by selling to private owners the dwelling units constructed or rehabilitated under the program.

It is now clear, however, that the costs of providing a family with all the social services envisioned in the President's message were grossly miscalculated.

Accordingly, there are two separate moves afoot to "rationalize" the program, as one committee member put it. One is to enlarge greatly the $2.3-billion fund to meet the program's targets without increasing other Federal programs. The other is to keep the $2.3-billion figure and limit the number of cities involved.

**2 Astronauts in Manila**

MANILA, March 5 (Reuters) —Two American astronauts, Capt. Walter M. Schirra Jr. and Lieut. Col. Frank Borman, arrived here today from Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, for a three-day visit. They are making a goodwill tour of eight Far East countries.

URBAN PROBLEMS
AC 3/9/66

**Eugene Patterson**

# Atlanta? Or Birmingham?

Why is Atlanta so eager for the people of Sandy Springs and Boulder Park to join the city? Atlanta certainly won't make any money on the deal for a while. It will have to pay through the nose, far in excess of what the new citizens pay in taxes, to extend its firehouses and sewers and rubbish routes and police patrols and streetlights and kindergartens into their neighborhoods.

Most simply, Atlanta thinks it would be worth the cost to bring such people into citizenship.

It needs the people—to involve themselves, to lead, to vote.

Such people moved across the mountain in Birmingham. Isolated in their suburbs, they saw the city, which they depended upon for their earnings, falter and stagnate and slide backward.

In Atlanta, vigorous and leaderlike citizens have lived inside the city, participating in it. And look at it. Atlanta wants to keep it that way. That's what's in it for the city.

The same thing is involved for the individual citizens of Sandy Springs and Boulder Park. Their fortunes are tied closely to Atlanta; their say will be important to its course. Yet individually, the homeowner who is being asked to vote himself into the city and pay higher taxes naturally wants to do some personal arithmetic before deciding.

The Constitution's Bruce Galphin, who was a mathematics major, has been doing some helpful computations editorially. Each household has its own figures, of course. But one of the more interesting examples Mr. Galphin came up with was this:

Say you own a $32,000 frame home (market value) on a $6,400 lot, inside the Sandy Springs Fire District but outside the sanitary district, with an annual water bill of $94.62, and you vote yourself into Atlanta in the May 11 referendum.

Your property tax would increase by $133.76. But your water bill would drop by $47.31; your sanitation charge would be cut $13 (and service increased); your straight fire insurance bill would be reduced by $40.20. That would reduce your net cost to an increase of $33.64 a year. "But that's not the whole story," Galphin pointed out.

The $133.76 tax increase is deductible from state and federal income tax (whereas those reduced items are not). If you are in the 20 per cent income tax bracket, this deductible tax increase reduces your income taxes by $26.75, leaving you a net cost of $6.89 for coming into Atlanta. Some people might even realize a net saving by voting themselves into the city.

Since tax time falls between now and the May 11 referendum, you may want to sharpen your pencil and do this side arithmetic as it affects your specific case. Such quiet consideration of facts will be the most reliable guide to an informed vote.

URBAN PROBLEMS

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

# A Half-Million Whites Left City From 1960-1964, Figures Show

5/15/66

By WILL LISSNER

An exodus of about half a million white persons from New York City between 1960 and 1964 was disclosed in population estimates released yesterday by the City Health Department.

The exodus was only partly offset by an increase of less than 400,000 in nonwhites and Puerto Ricans during the period. The result has been a 2 per cent drop in the city's total population.

Whereas the city's population in 1960 as 7,706,300, in 1964 it was about 7,558,500.

"Nonwhite" is a census classification that includes Negroes, American Indians, Orientals, Malays and Eskimos. For practical purposes it signifies Negroes, as other nonwhites are few. "Puerto Ricans" is an ethnic group specified for census purposes by national origin; actually Puerto Ricans are 90 per cent white and 10 per cent Negro or Indian.

The figures present a picture of Negroes and Puerto Ricans moving into New York and whites fleeing the city. But population analysts point out that this is a misleading picture that arises from estimates achieved by studying a sample of 5,700 of the city's 2,751,000 households.

### Flight to the Suburbs

What actually is happening, population experts say, is that the middle-class flight to the suburbs is continuing and nonwhites and Puerto Ricans are taking part in it. This leaves the older parts of the central city, which should hwve been condemned and razed years ago, with smaller populations. Similar movements are taking place in every metropolis and large city of the country.

The Health Department emphasized in the report that it could make no attempt to estimate migration into the city or out of it. What the department's population estimators did was ask what the natural increase in the city's population should have been in the four-year period, using birth and death rates and the 1960 population counts as guides.

The answer was that the city's total population should have increased nearly 300,000. The sample indicates that the total actually decreased by about 147,800 persons. This indicates that about 447,800 persons moved out.

The 447,800 is a net figure: it means that when the movement into the city and the movement out are balanced, the outgoers exceeded the newcomers by that number. Only by the more detailed estimates of the decennial census can such movements be traced out.

### Probable Increase

The nonwhite community, with no movements in or out, would have increased by about 105,000 to 115,000 persons in the four-year period. The survey estimates it increased by about 285,000 persons. This indicates that 170,600 more nonwhites moved into the city than out of it.

The Puerto Rican population would have grown naturally by between 75,000 and 81,000 persons. The survey indicated the increase was about 98,600. This suggests that the net migration from Puerto Rico in the last few years was a minor factor, amounting at most to 17,600 persons.

Tiat these population movements represent changes by class rather than by ethnic group is indicated in the analysis of the city's population by boroughs.

"As the Puerto Rican population gained about 98,600, there was strong evidence that old as well as new residents in this group chose to establish homes in the Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens rather than Manhattan," the Health Department said. "The survey estimates that there were 24,600 fewer Puerto Ricans in Manhattan in 1964 than in 1960."

The drop in Manhattan's population cut across all ethnic groups. Manhattan lost 8.1 per cent of its population, dropping from 1,681,400 in 1960 to 1,545,000 in 1964. The loss in white persons was 114,400, or 10.9 per cent. In Puerto Ricans the loss was relatively greater, 11.1 per cent, reflecting a net movement out of 24,600. Nonwhites, on balance, increased by oly 700 persons, or 0.2 per cent.

### 7 Per Cent Drop in the Bronx

The population of the Bronx dropped from 1,410,000 to 1,306,000, a loss of 104,300 persons, 7.4 per cent of the total. About 195,600 whites were lost, a drop of 18.3 per cent in the borough's white population. Nonwhites rose by 21 per cent, a net gain of 33,30 persons; Puerto Ricans even more by 31.6 per cent, a net gain of 58,000 persons.

Brooklyn's population was practically unchanged, with a 500-person gain reflected in its 1964 total of 2,605,500. But the borough had a further loss of 209,700 in its white population total, 10.2 per cent of it. Nonwhites rose from 373,100 to 529,000, a gain of 41.8 per cent. Puerto Ricans rose 54,200 to 231,500, a gain of 30.6 per cent.

URBAN PROBLEMS

# Local Sales Taxes Opposed by Group

AC 5/22/66

By WILLIAM O. SMITH

If Georiga cities and counties are to share in sales and excise taxes, these taxes should be collected by the state and rebated to the local governments, the Georgia Tax Research Foundation, Inc., says.

The foundaton said in a recent letter to city officials that under no circumstances should the General Assembly authorize local sales and excise taxes in addition to similar state taxes.

Such authorization "would bring about a very unsatisfactory, in fact, chaotic tax collecting condition in this state," the foundation said.

The independent public affairs service organization said it is possible, in fact, that cities and counties would derive more funds from a one-half cent sales tax increase collected by the state and rebated to them than an added 1 per cent collected locally.

The letter, written to Elmer George, executive director of th Georgia Municipal Association, followed recent suggestions that cities and counties should begin a campaign to obtain statutory authority from the General Assembly to levy local sales and excise taxes.

THE FOUNDATION said it has long opposed cities and counites getting into such tax fields but recognizes the "urgent need for additional sources of revenue for our local political subdivisions."

It was pointed out that several states permit locally levied sales and excise taxes and the result is a lack of uniformity "confusing to the public."

Some local governments levy the taxes and some do not, the foundation said. "The result is that consumers shop over the line into the county or over the line into an adjoining city, sometimes only a few blocks away, to make their purchases. Purchasers of large items such as automobiles, appliances, furniture and items such as gasoline, cigarettes, and even clothes and groceries, attempt, where possible, to shop in a nearby city or county area where such taxes are not levied."

"Unquestionably, few counties in Georgia would levy such sales and use taxes because of lack of administrative and collection facilities within the county government," the foundation said.

"Also, in counties such as Fulton County, having several municipalities, it is probable that some of the cities would not levy such taxes or, at least, have no uniformity in the levy. Therefore there would be a considerable rearrangement of the buying practices of the residents of such cities and counties."

THE FOUNDATION, in the letter written by general counsel William L. Norton Jr., said the cost of collecting such taxes are high and means the establishment of new tax collecting offices in most instances with a major part of such taxes spent in administrative costs.

"In any event, in conclusion, the Georgia Tax Research Foundation has uniformly taken the position that piece-meal enactment of tax measures designed to relieve certain problems confronting municipalities, counties, industry, consumers, is generally unwise," the letter said.

"GTRF feels that any major consideration of such complex matters as additional tax sources for cities and counties, the tax problems of our present taxation of manufacturing inventories, the tax problem of certain inequitable taxes upon industry, proposed increases in the Georgia sales and use tax, or modification or revision of the property tax, should be accompanied by a general mature review of and research into the over-all tax structure of this state before any enactment of any such and similar proposals.

July 13, 1966

Mr. Clarence Coleman, Director
Southern Regional Office
National Urban League
78 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Coleman:

This is to notify you that you were elected to the Executive Committee of the Southern Inter-Agency Conference for a period of one year at the last meeting of that group.

We hope that you will be able and willing to serve and unless I hear from you to the contrary we shall assume that you will do so.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/km

E NEW YORK TIMES,

# URBAN PROBLEMS FACING CONGRESS

URBAN PROBLEMS

## Both Houses Will Take Up City and Transit Bills

8/15/66

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14—Congress is scheduled to focus its attention this week on proposed legislation that could help shape the future of the cities and of the nation's vast transportation network.

Faced with a backlog of dozens of major bills on which action has not been completed, leaders in both houses have set up a heavy schedule for the week.

Both houses are expected to act on broadening the urban mass transit program set up last year.

In addition, the House is scheduled to take up bills dealing with automobile safety and highway safety, while the Senate acts on the Administration's demonstration cities plan for rehabilitating blighted urban areas.

There is still a strong possibility, however, that the House might have to scuttle its planned schedule to debate a more immediate transportation problem—the airline strike.

If current negotiations between the airlines and the striking machinists fail, a resolution to temporarily force strikers back to work may reach the House floor early in the week.

### Long Debate Seen

The debate, legislative leaders have said, will likely tie up the House for days. The resolution has already passed the Senate.

Unless knocked off the calendar by the airline dispute, the auto safety bill is scheduled for House action on Tuesday. It was unanimously approved by the House Commerce Committee on July 25. A similar bill passed the Senate on June 24 by a vote of 76 to 0.

The bill, strongly endorsed by the White House, would require the establishment of Federal safety standards for all new motor vehicles sold for highway use after Jan. 31, 1968. Some "interim" standards would cover some 26 items, including impact-absorbing steering columns, rear window defrosting devices, front-seat headrests, interior padding, recessed knobs and handles, signaling devices for stopped vehicles and antiglare surfaces inside and out.

House action also is scheduled on a separate highway safety bill that would provide Federal grants to states to establish or strengthen highway safety programs.

### Has Strong Support

The bill to broaden the urban mass transit program is scheduled to be acted on by the Senate tomorrow and by the House on Tuesday. It has strong support in both houses.

Under the bill, Federal outlays would be increased from the current $150-million to $175-million a year. The money is used for grants and loans to states and local governing bodies to assist public or private transportation companies in providing new or improved mass transportation services.

The Senate also has scheduled action early in the week on another urban-based measure, the Administration's demonstration cities plan for rehabilitating blighted city areas.

During the first year, Federal funds would be limited to helping cities draw up plans. It has been estimated that perhaps 60 to 70 cities would receive aid initially.

A similar bill has cleared the House Banking and Currency Committee but has not reached the floor.

Senate action on the demonstration cities bill will coincide with the opening of Senate subcommittee hearings tomorrow on what Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff, Democrat of Connecticut, has called "the crisis of the cities."

Among the first witnesses before Senator Ribicoff's subcommittee on executive reorganization will be several Senate liberals, including Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat of New York.

Senator Kennedy and others have urged the Federal Government in recent months to step up its efforts to erase city blights.

Other witnesses will include members of the Cabinet.

## President Signs Bill to Pay 10% Interest on G.I. Savings

JOHNSON CITY, Tex., Aug. 14—President Johnson signed today a bill to pay servicemen overseas up to 10 per cent interest on savings deposited with the Government.

One objective of the legislation is to encourage savings that will help aid the United States balance-of-payments problem. Money spent by servicemen overseas adds to the balance-of-payments deficit, while money saved does not.

URBAN PROBLEMS 8/17/66

NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 1

# City Planners Chided at Parley For Failing to Plan for People

By LAWRENCE E. DAVIES

Special to The New York Times

PORTLAND, Ore., Aug. 16—City planners were accused today of forgetting people and emphasizing things.

This observation, by Prof. Bertram M. Gross of Syracuse University, was repeated in different phraseology by other experts at the annual meeting of the 49-year-old American Institute of Planners.

Stephen Carr of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology took urban designers to task for what he called their failure to collaborate with their "clients," the city dwellers.

He said the method of approach to most city design was like that of the Renaissance period. The present-day "patron," he said, is usually a director of planning or redevelopment, and there is also "the currently favored 'urban designer,' often not a planner and often brought in specially for the job."

But the amount of contact between this designer and the users of the environment is "usually nil," he added.

Professor Carr appealed to planners and designers to be on the side of the people in a "revolution" to increase popular participation in "inventing the future metropolis."

pu 1st add.

### 'A Small Price to Pay'

If the designer "loses some of his cherished artistic license" in watching the city take form as a joint product of designers and the people who use it, this would be "a small price to pay for better cities," Mr. Carr asserted.

"We are overcommunicated and underinformed," he said. "We are overassimilated without being individualized. We are surrounded by visual images of the city, yet we do not understand them."

Professor Gross, who directs Syracuse University's national planning studies program, complained that the conventional model of city planners was "still the City of Things."

"Yet," he said, "the idea of city planning as physical planning alone has been riddled with bullets on the streets of Watts and Harlem. The body stinks. Let's bury it quickly."

Professor Gross, who spoke at the institute's awards dinner at the Hilton Hotel, viewed "the old hard good techniques of zoning, building regulation, subdivision control and capital budgeting" as insufficient to cope with "pressing urban problems of postindustrial America in the emerging world society."

### The City's Potential

"They have but little bearing," he said, "on economic growth, civil rights, education, poverty, ugliness, air and water pollution and traffic congestion. They do not relate sufficiently to the great potentials of our cities as dynamic centers of art, culture, science and education."

Moshe Safdie, Israeli-born Canadian architect, challenged architects and planners to find a way for man in North America to "have his cake and eat it."

He said there was no reason that every family or individual should not live in a spacious, attractive dwelling, that a pedestrian should ever have to cross the path of a car, that a car should ever have to stop for a red light, or that cities should not be so organized as to give complete mobility.

"But we have no image," he said, "we do not know where we are going, we are unable to exercise selection because this clear, simple image of what we want is nonexistent.

"Our problem today is to conceive Utopia, a city which allows men to enjoy all the extremes, from open space and wilderness to the intense enclosure and urbanity of the market and meeting place."

Awards were presented to the Hartford, Conn., area in the population category exceeding 500,000, and to Camden, N. J., in the category of 50,000 to 500,000, for their planning programs.

The institute's annual distinguished service award went to Howard K. Menhinick, Regents Professor of City Planning at the Georgia Institute of Technology.

Irving Hand, executive director of the Pennsylvania State Planning Board, assumed the presidency of the institute, which concludes its sessions tomorrow.

URBAN PROBLEMS

# Katzenbach Warns Senate 30 to 40 Cities Face Riots

NYT 8/18/66

## He Blames Poverty and Despair, Not Reds or Black Nationalists

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 17 — Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach warned today that "some unpredictable event" could touch off rioting in 30 to 40 of the nation's cities. But he said that poverty and despair, not Communists or black nationalists, were the villains.

"I don't know of a city that is not facing a serious problem today," Mr. Katzenbach said in testimony, before a Senate subcommittee looking into what has been called the crisis of the cities. The Attorney General declined to pinpoint any one city as the most likely scene of new rioting.

"But there are 30 to 40 cities with the same problems, the same frustrations, the same tensions," he said.

He did not disclose the names of the potentially explosive cities at the hearing and declined later to make the list public.

Mr. Katzenbach indignantly stood up to Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat of New York, who has accused the Johnson Administration of having "no program" for dealing with the ills of the cities.

"I disagree with you, Sena-

Continued on Page 35, Column 3

## McCone Report on Watts Tells of Progress but Asks Bigger Effort

By GLADWIN HILL

Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 17— The McCone Commission reported today that there had been extensive progress in the Negro district of Watts since the riots of a year ago, but it said that along with other parts of the country, Watts needed a greatly expanded effort to alleviate racial problems.

The commission stressed particularly a need for special programs for the disadvantaged, and cited New York City's More Effective Schools pilot program as an admirable example.

Last weekend was the first anniversary of the five-day rampage in south-central Los Angeles that brought 34 deaths and some $40-million in property damage.

The McCone Commission was established by Gov. Edmund G. Brown to investigate causes and remedies. It is headed by John A. McCone, industrialist and former Director of Central Intelligence.

Today Mr. McCone handed Governor Brown a 49-page "inventory" of progress on recommendations the commission made last December.

"We are encouraged, but far from satisfied, by the progress

Continued on Page 35, Column 6



# M'CONE REPORTS WATTS PROGRESS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

made," the report said. "Significant progress has been made on all but a few of the recommendations."

"There has been no major disturbance this summer in the south-central area," the report said. "Nevertheless, tension has continued to be high. There is no room for complacency about this problem.

"Perhaps the most encouraging single development has been the emergence of community efforts to improve conditions and prevent a recurrence of strife."

The commission reported that jobs had been found for 10,000 of 25,000 unemployed in the riot area and that in the field of law enforcement there had been improvements but still were deficiencies.

### Education Is Stressed

"Improvement in the educational achievement of the Negro is of fundamental importance to the solution of the whole spectrum of problems of race relations," the report continued. "A commendable start has been made, but a larger commitment of resources is essential."

"I feel it's absolutely to the country's welfare that the level of educational achievement of the underprivileged groups be raised," Mr. Cone said at a news conference on the lawn of Governor Brown's temporary Los Angeles residence.

"It has to be done throughout the United States," he continued. " The level of achievement at every grade is much below the average. Children advance through schools on the basis of age rather than achievement. After high school, we have people coming into society who are virtually illiterate.

"I recommend a costly emergency program—starting with Operation Head Start [a Federal anti-poverty program preschool educational project] and continuing throughout all school levels."

### Cites Small Classes

The New York program, he noted, involves such features as 15-pupil classes, special tutoring for problem cases, psychological counseling, and special inducements to attract teachers to this work.

All this, Mr. McCone said, has been "very, very effective" in the opinion of commission representatives who have observed it.

There is general agreement with the idea in California, he continued, but "budgetary considerations have kept the Federal, state and local governments from further implementation of the recommendations."

Advancement of pupils generally on the basis of age is an inescapable school operating policy because of the incessant influx of new entrants, he acknowledged, but it needs to be modified for the educationally underprivileged. He said he did not know how much this might cost.

Warren Christopher, commission vice chairman, said that, for California, the cost of such special schooling had been put at $250 a pupil per year.

### Sees 'Dangerous Risk'

"We believe," Mr. McCone said, "that it may be much more expensive in the long run for our society if such programs are not promptly adopted. It is our conviction that we are taking an unnecessary and dangerous risk with our national destiny if we do not make a massive effort to raise the educational levels in disadvantaged areas."

Despite the initial success of the job-finding program—a collaborative effort of the State Employment Service, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and 240 industrial concerns—Mr. McCone said, its ultimate effectiveness depends "upon the motivation of the Negro to enter into training programs and upon his ability to compete for employment and advancement."

"This after all is a competitive society," Mr. McCone said. "That's what we have. We must all compete. And the Negro must compete along with others if he wants to attain certain goals."

Governor Brown said that last weekend's three-day Watts Festival "showed magnificent community spirit." But he said "there is no room for complacency whatever."

The Governor asked the McCone Commission to continue its surveillance and periodic reporting on Watts conditions.

The "inventory" noted that an "inspector general" responsible to the civilian police commission had been established as recommended to review complaints. But the report said this inspector had not been given the staff needed for adequate investigations. It also questioned whether the unpaid police commission's once-a-week meetings were adequate for its responsibilities.

Concerning specific recommendations made last December, the McCone report noted that:

¶Preschool programs had not been put on a year-around basis, and had been attended by only 8 per cent of three- and-four-year olds in disadvantaged areas.

¶Opportunities for gifted students to attend advanced classes had been limited to summer courses.

¶Legislation requiring employers of 250 or more persons to report the racial composition of their forces had not been enacted.

On the positive side, the report noted that there had been considerable expansion of bus routes through Watts to improve transportation to jobs and job-training centers.

# Eastland Would Ban Protests That Disturb Private Property

WASHINGTON Aug. 17 (AP) —Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, introduced today amendments to the civil rights bill to provide for injunctions against demonstrations that interfere with the use of private and public property.

Mr. Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, who is a foe of the House-passed civil rights measure, told the Senate he was seeking to give equal protection to all people.

"If the civil rights marcher is protected while asserting his rights to demonstrate," he said, "correspondingly, private parties whose rights are infringed by the demonstrators are accorded their day in court."

The first of his three amendments would authorize private citizens to go into court for injunctions against demonstrations that interfere with the lawful use of their homes or other private property.

Similarly, injunctions could be obtained against civil rights demonstrations that unreasonably interfere with the free use of public streets and buildings.

The two other amendments he proposed would deal with economic boycotts or other economic coercion by civil rights groups. One would provide for criminal penalties, and the other would authorize injunction suits to be brought either by private individuals or by the Attorney General.

Mr. Eastland said:

"The so-called civil rights movement has embarked upon a campaign of terror, coercion and intimidation to achieve its announced objectives.

"These organizations are now threatening community after community with mass mob action and economic reprisal if their arbitrary demands are not met."

# Katzenbach Warns of New City Riots

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

tor," Mr. Katzenbach said sternly. "I think there is a program."

The two old friends—the Attorney General and the man he once served as deputy and later succeeded—clashed repeatedly during the two-hour hearing.

Mr. Katzenbach reeled off a list of programs, some under way, some still before Congress, seeking to aid cities and urban dwellers.

He cited aid to schools, medicare, the antipoverty drive, demonstration cities, rent supplements, teachers corps, urban renewal, urban mass transit and others.

"We're looking at all this as a whole for the first time in a generation," he said. "You have to crawl before you walk and walk before you run."

"I'm just not satisfied," Mr. Kennedy interrupted.

"You've made that quite clear, Senator," Mr. Katzenbach retorted.

At another point, Senator Kennedy said that the Administration's demonstration cities program—designed to combine physical renewal and social improvements in city slum areas —"is really just a drop in the bucket for what we really need."

"Senator," Mr. Katzenbach said patiently, "this demonstration cities program is just the kind of philosophy you've been asking for."

President Johnson had sought $2.3-billion over six years for the demonstration cities program. The bill, tentatively scheduled for debate this week in the Senate, has been reduced by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee to $900-million over a three-year period.

A strong move is under way to reduce the program still further on the Senate floor. The House has not yet acted.

Mr. Katzenbach said that the demonstration cities program was essential if the nation was to wipe out urban blight and erase the causes of rioting.

But he firmly discounted the assertions of some groups and individuals that riots were fomented by "Communists or black nationalists or terrorists."

Attempts by left-wing groups to exploit racial violence in the Hough area of Cleveland and the Watts area of Los Angeles did not succeed, he said.

"There is no indication that these riots were planned, controlled or run by extreme left-wing elements," he said.

In this, he disagreed with a Cleveland grand jury, which last week concluded that left-wing agitators had fomented the Hough rioting.

The true agitators, Mr. Katzenbach said, are "named disease and despair, joblessness and hopelessness, rat-infested housing and long-impacted cynicism."

He placed the blame on "generations of indifference by all the American people to the rot and rust and mold which we have allowed to eat into the core of our cities."

Much of the tension, he said, stems from antagonism of slum dwellers toward the police. To the poor, he said, policemen are often "the visible symbol of faceless, nameless frustrations."

"It's just essential," the Attorney General said, "that police officers have the respect and confidence of the community, particularly deprived sections of the community, and they just don't have it today."

Asked if he considered it wise for cities to have police review boards, such as that in New York City, Mr. Katzenbach replied:

"If you regard a board as the one solution, it would be disastrous. But if it's recognized as one step in a much more complicated program, I have no objection to it."

Mr. Katzenbach said that the Community Relations Service within his department had assigned mediators to 40 racially troubled cities. He declined to name the cities.

Mediation service is not always welcome, he conceded. For example, he said, he sent two mediators to New York City on July 22, at the request of New York's two Senators, Mr. Kennedy and Jacob K. Javits.

"I mean no criticism of Mayor Lindsay," the Attorney General said, "but he informed us the city could handle the problem."

This occurred at the time of the racial unrest in the East New York area of Brooklyn.

## Dallas Reports 88 Cases Of Suspected Encephalitis

DALLAS, Tex., Aug. 17 (AP) —The number of suspected encephalitis cases in Dallas rose to 88 today, a spokesman for Parkland Hospital reported. This was more than double the 41 suspected cases reported through yesterday since the outbreak began in July.

City Health Director Hal J. Dewlett's office reported that aerial spraying of the city had been called for in an attempt to kill the mosquitoes that carry the disease, commonly known as sleeping sickness.

# SENATE APPROVES JOHNSON SLUM AID

URBAN PROBLEMS

## Votes 1.2-Billion Bill, 53-22, for Selected City Areas —G.O.P. Sees 'Waste'

8/20/66

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 19 — President Johnson's $1.2-billion plan for erasing city slums passed the Senate today after a sharp debate. The vote was 53 to 22.

The bill now goes to the House, where strong Republican efforts will be made to strip it down. Nevertheless, it is expected to win final approval there.

The demonstration cities plan, regarded by President Johnson a his major new domestic proposal of the year, grew out of nearly two years of study on how best to attack the social and economic problems of the slums.

The program calls for a coordinated attack by Federal and local agencies on blighted neighborhoods in selected cities of various sizes. The effort would involve the upgrading of dwellings and other buildings as well as the setting up of a wide variety of health, education, recreational and other social services.

### White House Maneuvers

The bill encountered rocky going after it was first proposed last February by the President. At times, only backstage maneuvering by the White House saved it from extinction.

The President originally proposed a $2.3-billion, five-year program. As passed by the Senate, it provides $1.2-billion over three years.

The start this year would be modest, with $12-million in planning funds. The authorization for the next fiscal year, starting in July, would be $400-million, plus $12-million more for planning. For the following year, the authorization would be $500-million.

The Senate also authorized $250-million in additional urban renewal funds to be channeled into the demonstration projects.

Also approved was an amendment by Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, authorizing $100,000 for studying the problems of noise in homes near airports.

Administration forces easily turned back a move by Senator John G. Tower, Republican of Texas, to cut $900-million from the bill. The amendment failed 33 to 27.

The sharpest attack on the bill came from the Senate's

Continued on Page 26, Column 2

# SENATE APPROVES JOHNSON SLUM AID

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

minority leader, Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois.

"This has the prospect of becoming one of the greatest boondoggles this country has ever known," Senator Dirksen said. "It will be shot through with waste and corruption and goodness knows what all before we get through."

But Senator Edmund S. Muskie, Democrat of Maine, pleaded with the Senate to help "achieve the American dream for the child whose playground is a trash-strewn alley, whose classroom is a rat-infested cellar."

Republican critics noted pointedly that two of the bills's supporters — Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat of New York, and Abraham A. Ribicoff, Democrat of Connecticut — had been highly critical this week of Administration efforts to aid the cities.

**'Crisis of Cities'**

Senator Ribicoff is chairman and Senator Kennedy is a member of a subcommittee that has held hearings all week on what they call "the crisis of the cities."

The witnesses at today's hearings were Sargent Shriver, director of the Ofice of Economic Opportunity, and Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz.

Senator Kennedy, who sharply criticized Cabinet members testifying earlier this week, clashed for more gently with his brother-in-law, Mr. Shriver.

Noting that the Administration of which Mr. Shriver is a part had given priority to construction of a civilian supersonic plane over certain anti-poverty programs, Mr. Kennedy said:

"I just can't be content with that. It's an outrage."

Mr. Shriver conceded that his agency could use an additional $200-million for its program of preparing deprived children for school.

But he said that his budget was determined by priorities set by the President and by Congress.

URBAN PROBLEMS

8/19/66

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

# Money Called No Cureall for Urban Problems

By MARJORIE HUNIER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 18 — An Administration official said today that a well-meaning Congress had occasionally tried to force more money on his department than it could "intelligently handle."

John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, told a Senate subcommittee that vast sums of money would be needed to cure the problems of the cities.

But he said:

"I think we should be particularly wary of the old American habit of spending a lot of money to still our anxieties."

He had nothing but praise, however, for the Administration's demonstration cities program, scheduled for final action in the Senate tomorrow.

The program is designed to combine the renewal of physical resources with social services in city slums. The first-year authorization would be limited to $12-million for planning.

### A 'New Framework'

Testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization, which is conducting a two-year inquiry into city problems, Mr. Gardner described the demonstration cities plan as "an exciting new framework" within which to tackle urban ills.

He said that the first priority on the domestic agenda embraces "the interlocking problems of the Negro, poverty and the cities."

## But Gardner Tells Senate Unit Huge Sums Are Needed to Cope With Cities' Ills

Cautioning against reliance on money alone, he said that Federal dollars "may help the city on to new solutions, or they may confirm the old, bad ways of doing things."

He cited one example of current Congressional efforts to force more money on his department than he wants.

A Senate subcommittee has approved a bill calling for a major change in the allocation formula under which Federal funds are given to school districts serving low-income children.

### Would Change Level

Under this change, the poverty income level on which allocations are based would be increased from the present $2,000-a-year family income to $3,000 a year. This would double the Federal expenditure of this year-old program.

"We went from zero to $900-million last year," Mr. Gardner said. "We're just not geared up to go from $900-million to $1.8-billion."

The House Education and Labor Committee, heeding Mr. Gardner's wishes, has approved a bill postponing the allocation change for a year. Thus, a fight is likely to shape up on the issue between the Senate and House.

Discussing other programs within his department, Mr. Gardner conceded that up to half of the $6-billion or so in welfare payments each year ended up in rent payments to so-called "slumlords."

"We are trying to do something about this," he assured the investigating subcommittee's chairman, Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff, Democrat of Connecticut.

### Defends Report Release

Mr. Gardner also denied charges by Senator Ribicoff that a controversial report on schools had been treated "in a cavalier manner."

The study, ordered by the Civil Rights Act of 1965, was prepared by James Coleman, a sociologist with Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. It was made public Friday afternoon before the Fourth of July weekend.

"In my experience in Government," Mr. Ribicoff said, "that's the best way for keeping anyone from knowing about it."

The report concluded that students from poor families left school "with greater deficiencies" than when they entered. It urged that poor children be exposed to middle-class pupils in the classrooms.

"I don't know whether Coleman is right or wrong," Senator Ribicoff said. "a lot of these concepts are loaded with political dynamite."

# Johnson in N.Y., Rips Slum Lords

URBAN PROBLEMS

AC 8/20/66

ELLENVILLE, N.Y. (AP) — President Lyndon B. Johnson swung across New York state on Friday in campaign fashion, offering pledges to "take the profit out of poverty" and replace pollution with sparkle in the Great Lakes.

Johnson drew big crowds in the cities and, on a comparative basis, just as big and just as enthusiastic ones in small, rural towns — from Buffalo in the west to Syracuse in the middle of the state and to the Catskill resort area in the south.

It was at Buffalo that Johnson started talking about the sparkle and it was at Syracuse that Johnson declared: "I think it's wrong for some people to line their pockets with the tattered dollars of the poor. So the first thing we should pledge ourselves to do is to take the profit out of poverty."

**5-STATE TOUR**

The stumping tour through New York was the first stage of a three-day, five-state expedition that ends Sunday in Canada. Saturday, the President moves into Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine.

He meets Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson at Campobello Island, New Brunswick, to confer and to dedicate a reception center at Roosevelt International Park named for one of Johnson's predecessors, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

All the way Friday, Johnson was plugging his "Great Society" program and getting some pretty strong applause. But he saw some banners here and there that called for getting out of the war in Viet Nam.

**TWO SENATORS**

He brought along congressmen, of both parties. And for part of the trip New York's two senators turned up — a Democrat and a Republican.

So there were disclaimers of any partisan politics. But, still, the trip was worked out to take Johnson into areas where some freshman Democratic congressmen are in tough races for second terms. And in New York, three of them were picked to introduce him for major speeches, including the windup one at Ellenville on Friday night — just as the sun dipped behind the mountains.

Along the way Johnson summed up: "It's been a very fruitful and productive day. I know I'm going to return to Washington stronger and better."

# France Hits Leftists Slur On Johnson

PARIS (UPI)—French authorities will try to prevent the scheduled "trial" of President Lyndon Johnson and other U.S. officials for Viet Nam "war crimes" by an international group of leftist intellectuals, reliable sources said Friday.

The sources said the French government was seriously concerned that such a mock trial would further damage already badly frayed French-American relations.

British philosopher Bertrand Russell announced recently that November in Paris before a panel including him, leftist French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre, French authoress Sinone de Beauvoir and a number of other persons.

# $1.2 Billion Slum Fund Is Voted

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Senate passed a $1,264,000,000 bill Friday designed to provide improved housing and services in blighted areas of the nation's cities.

The 53-22 vote, after a spirited floor fight, sent the demonstration cities bill to the House where the Banking Committee has approved a similar measure.

President Johnson has repeatedly pointed to the bill as the administration's answer to many of the economic and social problems plaguing cities in all parts of the country.

Its key section would authorize $900 million in supplementary federal grants over the next two years to aid cities in rebuilding slums.

To qualify for some of this money, a city would have to submit and get approval for a broad demonstration cities project. This would include not only "bricks and mortar" spending but also improved services.

These services might include education, recreation, welfare, transportation and health.

Republicans concentrated on trying to knock out the $900 million in grant funds. They proposed to leave only planning money for the demonstration projects.

URBAN PROBLEMS

# Johnson Cites 'Critical' Need of Cities; Urges Quick House Action on Aid Bill

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6 — President Johnson made a fervent plea today for Congressional passage of the demonstration cities bill, the keystone of his program to rescue the nation's cities from decay and poverty.

The $900-million measure—which has survived apathy, bureaucratic infighting and crippling amendments—is again in serious trouble in the House. A vote on the bill will be taken early next week.

At his news conference, Mr. Johnson declared there was no "more critical" domestic problem than the need to rebuild American cities and to provide urban dwellers with the "opportunites to develop as healthy, educated, productive citizens of our society—citizens who have the ability to get and hold jobs and take pride in the place in which they live." [Question 7, Page 20.]

The demonstration cities bill, he went on, was devised by a bi-partisan panel of distinguished citizens and urban specialists, received thorough consideration in the committee rooms of Congress, and received the "overwhelming" approval of the Senate.

### 'For The Good af All'

"As I said in the beginning, and as I would repeat again," he concluded, "I think it's one of the most important pieces of legislation for the good of all American mankind that we can act upon this session." He asked the House to take "prompt and favorable action."

An unfavorable vote next week would kill the measure for this session and leave the Administration with the unhappy choice of abandoning it altogether or making another attempt in the next Congress. If the Republicans make even modest election gains, however, the next Congress may be much less sympathetic to domestic spending than the present one with its large Democratic majority.

A defeat would also be a serious blow to Mr. Johnson's prestige — he has pledged to help transform American cities into "the masterpieces of our civilization"—and a disappointment for many urban experts who believe that the measure represents the first systematic attempt to combine the physical processes of urban renewal with the welfare apparatus of the Great Society.

The proposal, as passed by the Senate, calls for a coordinated attack by Federal and local agencies and private enterprise on blighted neighborhoods in carefully selected cities of various sizes.

The attack would involve upgrading dwelling units and providing a wide variety of social services to neighborhood residents. This is designed to meet one of the most persistent criticisms of urban renewal, which is that it does much to tear down slums but little to help slum dwellers.

The local communities would tailor the program to their own needs but would have to meet certain Federal criteria to insure administrative efficiency.

In exchange, the Federal Government would give those cities chosen to participate in the program $12-million in planning funds for the fiscal year 1967, ready access to Federal urban and social programs and $900-million spread over two years to carry out the actual work.

The Administration has already been forced to make concessions to get the bill this far. It had asked originally for $2.3-billion spread over five years, but agreed to the $900-million figure on the ground that this was all it had planned to spend during the first two years of the program anyway.

In addition, officials quietly permitted the Senate to change beyond recognition a provision that would have favored cities willing to "counteract the segregation of housing by race or income" in the demonstration neighborhoods.

However, new problems as well as some of the old ones, have cropped up in the House, causing one strategist to describe next week's vote as the "toughest" of the year.

The first problem is economic. Many Congressemen simply do not want to vote for nearly $1-billion in new authorizations—the actual funds must be approved in a separate appropriations bill, still to come—during a period of intense inflationary pressures.

The second problem is absenteeism. Many Congressmen are home campaigning for the November elections, and unless they return, according to a leader of the Democratic forces in the House, "We don't have the votes."

Even if the House is at full strength—and it will take a Herculean effort by the leadership to achieve this—the vote will be very close and will depend on perhaps 45 members who say they are undecided.

The third — and highly unexpected — problem is the racial issue. Representative Paul A. Fino, Bronx Republican, has charged that the section covering metropolitan planning could be used as a vehicle for busing Negro students into white suburban neighborhoods.

The Metropolitan Planning Section — known as Title II — provides extra "incentive" grants to localities that work together in ten specific areas, including highway planning, sewage treatment facilities and open space development. Joint educational ventures are not on the list.

However, Mr. Fino, in a release this week, cited testimony before a House subcommittee Feb. 28 by Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Robert C. Weaver to support his case that Title II is an instrument for "educational planning."

Mr. Weaver at that time mentioned educational "planning and programming" as one of criteria metropolitan areas must meet in order to qualify for extra grants.

But the Administration retorts that such language is not in the bill itself and that therefore Mr. Fino is raising a false issue.

# Demonstration Cities Bill Urged By 22 Top Business Executives

URBAN PROBLEMS

10/11/66

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 10 — A group of 22 chief executives of major American corporations—including David Rockefeller and Henry Ford 2d—joined the drive today to insure Congressional passage of the Administration's demonstration cities bill.

The bill, regarded by President Johnson as the main weapon in his attack on urban blight and poverty, passed the Senate by a wide margin but faces a severe test in the House. Debate is scheduled to begin Thursday, and a vote is forecast for Friday

In a statement issued here early this afternoon, the business group said that urban decay constituted "the most pressing domestic problem of our time." The statement described the bill as an "imaginative" response to this problem and urged "prompt passage" by the House.

### Gates and McCone on List

In addition to Mr. Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and Mr. Ford, chairman of the board of the Ford Motor Company, the group included several eading Republicans, among them John A. McCone, investment banker and former director of Central Intelligence; Thomas S. Gates Jr., chairman of the board of the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company and former defense secretary in the Eisenhower Administration; and Thomas J. Watson Jr., chairman of the International Business Machines Corporation.

The guiding spirit behind the two-page statement was said to be Edgar F. Kaiser, president of Kaiser Industries and a member of a Presidential study grou that developed the demonstration cities proposal.

White House officials, who welcomed the statement, said that Mr. Johnson himself had not promoted the gesture in any way and that it had been undertaken at Mr. Kaiser's initiative.

"Our cities are being submerged by a rising tide of confluent forces—disease and despair, joblessness and hopelessness, excessive dependence on welfare payments, and the grim threats of crime, disorder and delinquency," the group declared.

Accordingly, the businessmen said, "America needs the demonstration cities act."

They said they were mindful of inflationary pressures and the need to hold down Federal expenditures. But they argued that the measure was "fiscally responsible" and that in any case the problems of the city presented a "crucial" and unavoidable "challenge."

"In our business judgment," the statement concluded, "it deserves to be ranked as high on any list of national priorities as any program we know."

The bill as passed by the Senate would authorize about $900-million over three years to help selected "demonstration" cities develop and carry out comprehensive plans for rebuilding blighted neighborhoods.

The plan would go beyond urban renewal as traditionally practiced in the sense that it would incorporate the welfare and social programs of the great society in any rebuilding program.

The Administration is now thought to have sufficient strength to pass the bill by a slim margin if it can persuade enough representatives to return to the capital in time for the vote. Many are home campaigning for the elections Nov. 8.

Congressional mail on the bill has recently taken a favorable turn. One Administration strategist said that what he termed "right-wing" mail opposing the bill had dropped off and had been replaced by letters supporting it.

A check of Congressional offices confirmed that although the mail was light—as it often is on complex pieces of legislation—it generally favored the measure.

However, Administration sources would make no firm predictions on the outcome, acknowledging that much depended on representatives who had declared themselves undecided.

Other signers of the businessmen's statement were as follows:

Stephen D. Bechtel, chairman, Bechtel Corporation.

Fred J. Borch, president, General Electric.

Howard L. Clark, president, the American Express Company.

Donald Cook, president, American Electric Power Service Corporation.

Justin Dart, president, Rexall Drug Company.

R. Gwin Follis, chairman, Standard Oil of California.

Ben Heineman, chairman, Chicago & North Western Railway and also a member of the Presidential study group.

David Kennedy, chairman, Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Company.

Robert Lehman, chairman, Lehman Brothers, investment bankers.

Cyril J. Magnin, president, Joseph Magnin Company.

Stanely Marcus, president, Neiman-Marcus.

Alfred E. Perlman, president, Pennsylvania-New York Central Transportation Company.

Herman H. Pevler, president, Norlfolk & Western Railway.

Herbert R. Silverman, chairman, James Talcott, Inc.

Jack I. Strauss, chairman, R. H. Macy, Inc.

# $1.2 Billion Slum Bill Passes House, 178-141

URBAN PROBLEMS
AC 10/15/66

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—A massive $1.2 billion "demonstration cities" bill in which Atlanta has been promised a major role was approved by the House late Friday, 178-141.

The measure, passed by the Senate last August, will give selected cities a priority on federal funds to help them rebuild slums and speed metropolitan planning.

Debated for more than 10 hours, the proposal survived at least six attempts by Rep. Paul A. Fino, R-N.Y., to rid it of connotations permitting bussing of school students which Democrats and other Republicans insisted weren't there.

Congress adopted 21 amendments to the proposal and rejected another 18.

The proposal received strong support on the House floor from Atlanta Rep. Charles L. Weltner, who called it "the only constructive approach" Congress could take to solve urban problems.

Weltner was the only Georgian present to vote for the measure. Reps. Howard (Bo) Callaway, Phil M. Landrum and Maston O'Neal voted against the bill, and Rep. J. Russell Tuten did not vote.

The bill will now go to a Senate-House conference committee.

All told, it would provide $900 million over the next three years for demonstration slum rehabilitation projects.

It would also authorize an ad-

Continued on Page 8, Column 3

# House Approves Slum Bill

Continued from Page 1

ditional $250 million for urban renewal, $75 million for metropolitan planning, and $24 million for preliminary studies.

To cities like Atlanta, which is expected to be selected as a demonstration city, the bill would provide:

1. Additional federal aid totalling up to 80 per cent of local and private funds for projects already authorized under existing programs.

Added to the grants Atlanta is already receiving, the measure would in effect boost the federal government's share of anti-poverty funds from the present 90 per cent up to 98 per cent.

Urban renewal grants would be raised from the present 66 per cent of total cost to as much as 92 per cent. Water and sewer grants would rise from 50 per cent to 62 per cent.

URBAN PROBLEMS

# Lindsay Accuses Johnson Of 'Shortchanging' Cities

12/8/66

## Says $5.3-Billion Budget Cuts That Left Space Program Almost Intact Show Failure to Understand Plight

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

Mayor Lindsay charged yesterday that President Johnson was "shortchanging the cities of America" by cutting $5.3-billion from the Federal budget this week. Most of the cuts came in programs for housing, transportation, poverty and education.

The Federal Government is spending too much on the war in Vietnam and space programs and not enough on improving the lives of slum-dwellers, the Mayor declared at a City Hall news conference.

"If we made a most modest reassessment" in these areas, the Mayor said, "we could do a substantial amount for the cities."

Mr. Lindsay noted that in making his budget reductions last Tuesday the President had said he was cutting only "low-priority" and "less essential items." This statement, the Mayor added, "is tragic evidence of a fundamental misunderstanding of the plight of the cities."

"Something is wrong with our national priorities," the Mayor continued, "when we reduce our commitment to our cities by well over a billion dollars at the same time we leave our space program virtually intact."

He also reiterated his view

Continued on Page 30, Column 4

# Lindsay Accuses the President Of 'Shortchanging' Cities on Aid

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

that the escalation of the war in Vietnam was not the best road to peace.

"The time has come," the Mayor concluded, "to stop the rhetoric about a 'rebirth of the American cities,' unless we are willing as a nation to treat that goal as our highest domestic priority."

Mr. Lindsay made most of his comments in response to a reporter's question, but he was obviously eager to talk on the subject. He read from an extensive prepared statement that was handed to reporters immediately after the news conference.

In seeking increased Federal aid for the city the Mayor said he would work closely with the United States Conference of Mayors, which declared on Wednesday that the poor were bearing the major burden of mounting war costs.

Mr. Lindsay said the nation's mayors should "mobilize" a concerted appeal for more funds for urban needs.

He has said before that the cities require more aid, but has seldom been so critical of the Johnson Administration. He noted with a chuckle that there was "general dismay and shock" when he told a Senate subcommittee last August that New York would need $50-billion in Federal aid for the next 10 years.

"It appears that I was close to being accurate," he added.

### Mortgage Subsidy Cut

The Mayor said he did not yet know precisely how New York would be affected by the Federal budget cuts. But he noted that $750-million was cut from funds the Congress had authorized the President to make available for the purchase of mortgages by the Federal National Mortgage Association.

This would severly limit the city's ability to build lower middle-income housing—about $25 a room per month—under the new Federal mortgage subsidy program, called 221 (d) (3).

This program is considered important for providing reasonable apartments for middle-income families who might otherwise flee to the suburbs. Moreover, rent supplements can be used to permit poor families to live in developments built under the mortgage program.

Most experts here feel, however, that the problem is a broader one, however. They feel that both the President's and the Mayor's promises to make a major attack on slum conditions are doomed if a great deal more Federal money is not available.

Edward J. Logue said in a recent report to the Mayor that the city needed $1.5-billion in urban renewal aid alone to make a significant start in eradicating slums.

### Reason for Refusal

Mr. Logue, the administrator of the Boston Redevelopment Authority, turned down the Mayor's offer to come here largely because he felt New York would not get enough funds to make that start.

New York has had a particularly difficult time attracting Federal funds for development. It received only $50-million for urban renewal this year, or about 6.6 per cent of the national appropriation, and far less per capita than such cities as Boston and New Haven.

Federal officials have in the past been openly critical of the ability of New York's renewal program to handle more aid. A low opinion of New York's operation still prevails among Federal authorities.

This is a major reason why Mayor Lindsay recently reorganized city development programs under a single administrator who could coordinate formerly disparate activities and deal directly with Washington.

The problem in obtaining funds was also one of the strongest reasons for naming Jason R. Nathan to head the new administration. Mr. Nathan spent nine years in the Federal service and reportedly turned down an offer to become an assistant to Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, to come to New York.

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own hearings "a task force right out in the open."

Mr. Ribicoff's aides have ex-

# Urban Renewal Facing Rights Suits

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22—The legal arm of the civil rights movement set the stage today for a possible wave of lawsuits charging that local urban renewal agencies overlook the rights of Negro city dwellers.

In a formal complaint to the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., alleged that an urban renewal project in Pulaski, Tenn., would, if completed, violate a half-dozen sections of the Federal urban renewal law.

The project, the complaint said, would deprive Negro residents of their rights under the 14th Amendment to the Constitution.

The complaint asked the department to reject the city's application for Federal urban renewal funds, pending further hearings, and to make a thorough investigation of the Pulaski project.

The basic charge is that the project will displace nearly 50 Negro families from a "desirable" area and move them into areas "clearly less desirable," in violation of two sections of the Federal urban renewal law.

Boundaries of the project, the complaint asserts, were drawn so that only Negroes would be displaced, leaving adjacent whi neighborhoods undisturbed.

Officials of the Legal Defense Fund said the complaint was the last remedy "prior to formal litigation." They added that if the Department of Housing and Urban Development went ahead and supplied Pulaski with Federal funds, they would attempt to block the project in the courts.

### 'First in a Series'

However, the significance of today's action may extend well beyond Pulaski to the nation as a whole. Officials of the Legal Defense Fund declared that even if this case was settled to their satisfaction, they fully intended to mount a broad, sustained campaign against what they believe have been widespread violations of the urban renewal law by local officials.

"This proceeding is the first in a series," declared Jack Greenberg, counsel and director of the fund, adding:

"We have just furnished our 250 cooperating attorneys with legal materials spelling out means of enforcing the rights of Negro citizens against being uprooted and then compressed further into the ghetto."

A nationwide campaign against alleged urban renewal violations, mounted on the scale of the Legal Defense Fund's assault on school segregation in the nineteen-fifties, would be the first of its kind. It would probably throw the tightly scheduled renewal program into turmoil.

Nearly 2,000 renewal projects have been approved by the housing agency since the program began in 1954, at a cost to the Federal Government of over $6-billion. Of these, some 375 will have been completed by next June 1. The rest are in various stages of construction or planning.

A broad legal assault might delay many projects for months, and would add considerably to the administrative difficulties of the housing agency.

There are many academic critics as well as civil rights advocates who believe that a legal campaign is long overdue. Urban renewal has been charged many times with "exchanging the poor for the prosperous" by clearing slums and then replacing them with either high-income apartments beyond the reach of ghetto residents or with commercial enterprises.

These criticisms were reflected in today's complaint about the Pulaski project. The project approved Sept. 20 by the Mayor and City Council would raze 52 structures on a 17.6-acre site, displacing 46 Negro families, 24 of whom own their own homes.

The cleared area would be used for commercial development; its former occupants would be moved elsewhere in the city.

The complaint criticized both the fundamental assumptions of the project as well as plans for relocating those who would be displaced by it.

It said that the area was one of the "best" Negro neighborhoods in the city and was unsuitable for commercial redevelopment. Federal law requires that a proposed site must contain "environmental deficiencies" before it can be razed, and that proposed re-use of the land be commercially sound.

### Discrimination Denied

Special to The New York Times

PULASKI, Tenn., Dec. 22—The Pulaski Housing Authority denied tonight that discrimination against Negroes existed in plans for the West Side urban renewal project.

Harry Cohn, a businessman who is chairman of the authority, said he was unfamiliar with the complaint filed in Washington. But he recalled that complaints, apparently of a similar nature, were made when the Pulaski City Council conducted a public hearing two months ago.

The project is now in the phase known as Part Two, which means that an application for a loan and grant has been filed with the Atlanta regional office of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

James K. Blackburn, executive director of the Pulaski authority, was in Atlanta today seeking Federal approval for another project. He could not be reached for comment.

### Secretary Outlines Plans

His secretary, Mrs. Mack D. Holt, said the West Side project involved about 19 acres, or the equivalent of two small city blocks.

Forty - seven family units would be demolished, of which 25 are occupied by owners and the rest are rented to tenants. Mrs. Holt said only 15 of the houses were "standard" and the rest were "little more than shacks." A few "nice" houses are involved, she said.

Mrs. Holt said residents of the renewal area were being offered homes in a public housing project that was recently completed at a cost of more than $11,000 a unit.

She said all public housing in Pulaski was offered by the Housing Authority on a completely "open" basis—that is, without regard to race.

"We have made every effort to find suitable housing for the people in the West Side urban renewal area," Mrs. Holt said. "We have 40 new units available and they are nice homes. I would be happy to live in one of them."

Pulaski has a population of about 6,600. It is in Southern Tennessee, 28 miles south of Columbia.

To Friends and Members
of Urban America, Inc.

I am pleased to send you this booklet—the first of several pieces that we at Urban America will be publishing as part of the follow-through to our national conference on "Our People and Their Cities."

To my mind, this collection of the five major speeches represents not only a splendid statement of our theme but a good sample of the provocative ideas that were submitted for discussion. We send it to you with the hope that it will help carry the discussion to the places where it will count the most—your own home towns.

Forty-seven hours of good and stimulating talk—all that was said in both plenary sessions and discussion groups—have been recorded. We are transcribing the tapes as fast as possible, abstracting from them those suggestions which, in our opinion, offer likely solutions to urban problems and which deserve to be heard and debated by a wider audience. From time to time during the next few months, we will be sharing them with you, through special publications, programs of our Local Group Associates, and regional meetings of our National Action Council.

I invite your interest and your reactions. I do hope you will let me hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

William L. Slayton
Executive Vice President

Urban America Inc.
1717 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

URBAN PROBLEMS

Five speeches from the conference "Our People and Their Cities" sponsored by Urban America, Inc. in Washington, D.C. on September 12 and 13, 1966:

Address by John Kenneth Galbraith, Paul M. Warburg Professor of Economics, Harvard University: "We must explicitly assert the claims of the community against those of economics."

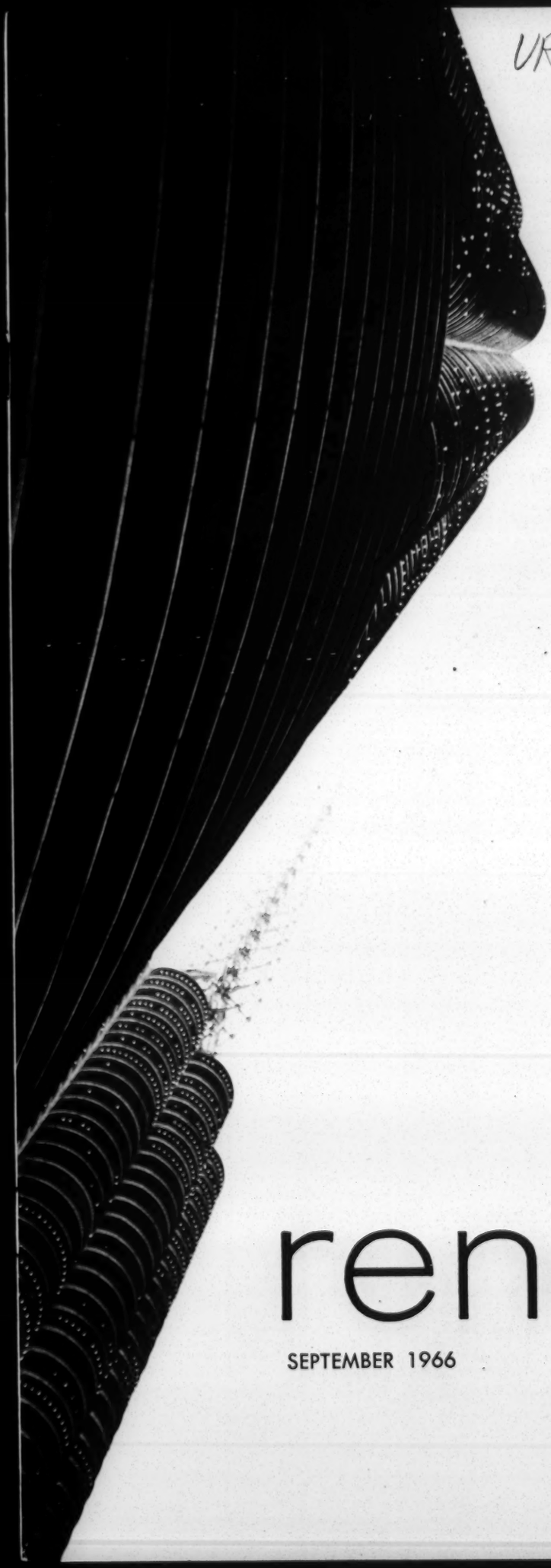
Address by John V. Lindsay, Mayor of New York: "We need help from the Federal Government and...we are entitled to it."

Address by Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice-President of the United States: "There is little doubt that we can—and very soon—reverse the trends we see today in our cities."

Address by Robert C. Weaver, Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development: "The combining of beauty and utility is a natural process..."

Address by Stephen R. Currier, President, Urban America, Inc.: "Whenever a generation has the opportunity to act greatly, that opportunity becomes a command."

URBAN PROBLEMS



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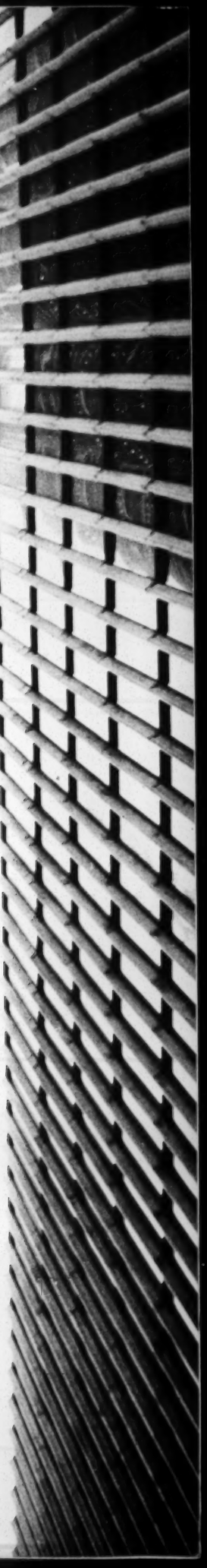

# renewal

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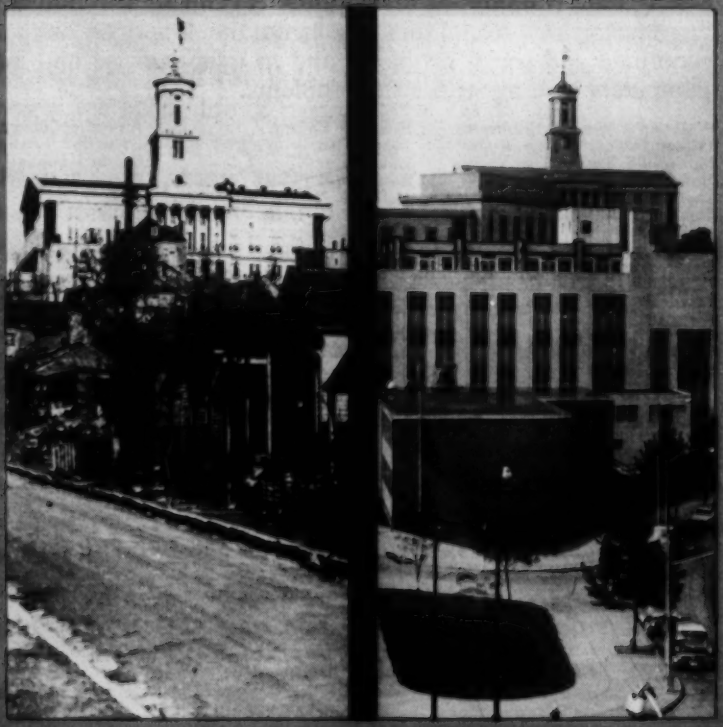

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY ■ URBAN RENEWAL ADMINISTRATION ■ WASHINGTON D.C. 20410

Urban Planning Project

**Bulletin 4**

**URBAN RENEWAL SERVICE**

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URBAN PROBLEMS

# Statement of Purpose: The Urban Coalition

The tangible results of the urban riots in terms of death, injury, and property damage are horrifying in themselves. The intangible damage in terms of the riots' effects on men's minds may yet be even greater.

At this moment, millions of Americans are forming attitudes that could mean disaster to our social structure: the homeowner who vows to shoot the next suspicious character he sees in his neighborhood; the businessman who decides to get out of the slums; the labor leader who determines to keep minorities out; the insurance man who refuses to cover slum properties; the Negro or White who goes out to take whatever he can get his hands on; the legislator who fails to meet his public responsibilities.

These people and others are reversing a trend that, however slowly, was working to the benefit of our cities' disadvantaged minorities. Let them realize that it is the citizen, in the end, who will keep our country united or will divide it. It is government's duty to maintain law and order. But all must understand that law and order is not an excuse for oppression. If law and order is to be accepted by the minorities, the majority must clearly and positively demonstrate its belief that justice, social progress, and equality are rights of every citizen.

We, the undersigned, pledge ourselves to this purpose. We will call upon the leaders of all segments of society, city by city, to publicly commit themselves to programs enabling the disadvantaged minorities to share in all of the benefits of our society.

This conference of leaders of business, labor, religions, education, civil rights, and city government has formed an Urban Coalition to bring about a sense of immediate urgency about the need for positive and progressive action for our cities.

Lawlessness and all its ingredients cannot be tolerated. Looting, burning, and bottle throwing are criminal acts and must be dealt with as such.

But let not a reaction to acts, committed by a small fraction of the population of the country's ghettos, blind us to the absolute necessity of moving dramatically and immediately to correct the desperate condition of our urban centers.

We call upon the nation and the Congress to reorder our national priorities, with a commitment of national resources equal to the dimensions of the problems we face. The crisis requires a full new dimension in both the public and private sectors, working together for jobs, housing, education, and the other needs of our cities.

This Coalition believes the Congress must move without delay on urban programs. The country can wait no longer for model cities, anti-poverty, housing, education, and job training legislation, and a host of other matters that have been too long denied the cities.

We call upon the Federal Government to develop an Emergency Work and Reconstruction Program to provide new training programs and jobs for the unemployed.

The Coalition also believes that the private sector of America must directly and vigorously involve itself in the crisis of the cities by a commitment to investment, job training and hiring, and all other things that are necessary to the full enjoyment of the free enterprise system, and also to its survival.

To carry this forward, the Coalition commits itself to proceed immediately to promote "Earn and Learn Centers" in the cities of the country to provide job training and jobs. The Coalition agrees these centers might well be the joint venture of business, labor, and local government.

The Coalition believes the sickness of the cities, including civic disorder within them, is the responsibility of the whole of America. Therefore, it is the responsibility of every American to join in the creation of a new political, social, economic, and moral climate which will make possible the breaking up of the vicious cycle of the ghetto.

The Coalition's commitment can be for no less and its determination is for even more.

The Coalition further commits itself to convene an Urban Coalition Emergency Convocation in Washington near the end of August.

The Convocation will be attended by 1,000 leaders across the nation of business, labor, religion, education, civil rights, and city government.

The Urban Coalition
July 31, 1967
Washington, D. C.

URBAN PROBLEMS

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES, GOALS, AND COMMITMENTS
EMERGENCY CONVOCATION: THE URBAN COALITION

We are experiencing our third summer of widespread civil disorder. In 1965, it was Harlem, and the disaster of Watts. In 1966, it was the Hough area of Cleveland, Omaha, Atlanta, Dayton, San Francisco and 24 other cities. This summer, Newark and Detroit were only the most tragic of 80 explosions of violence in the streets.

Confronted by these catastrophic events, we, as representatives of business, labor, religion, civil rights, and local government, have joined in this Convocation to create a sense of national urgency on the need for positive action for all the people of our cities.

We are united in the following convictions:

We believe the tangible effects of the urban riots in terms of death, injury, and property damage, horrifying though they are, are less to be feared than the intangible damage to men's minds.

We believe it is the government's duty to maintain law and order.

We believe that our thoughts and actions should be directed to the deep-rooted and historic problems of the cities.

We believe that we, as a nation, must clearly and positively demonstrate our belief that justice, social progress, and equality of opportunity are rights of every citizen.

We believe the American people and the Congress must reorder national priorities, with a commitment of resources equal to the magnitude of the problems we face. The crisis requires a new dimension of effort in both the public and private sectors, working together to provide jobs, housing,

education , and the other needs of our cities.

We believe the Congress must move without delay on urban programs. The country can wait no longer for measures that have too long been denied the people of the cities and the nation as a whole--additional civil rights legislation, adequately funded model cities, anti-poverty, housing, education, and job-training programs, and a host of others.

We believe the private sector of America must directly and vigorously involve itself in the crisis of the cities by a commitment to investment, job-training, and hiring, and all that is necessary to the full enjoyment of the free enterprise system--and also to its survival.

We believe the sickness of the cities, including civic disorder within them, is the responsibility of the whole of America. Therefore, it is the responsibility of every American to join in the creation of a new political, social, economic, and moral climate that will make possible the breaking of the vicious cycle of the ghetto. Efforts must be made to insure the broadest possible opportunity for all citizens and groups, including those in the ghetto, to participate fully in shaping and directing the society of which they are a part.

This Convocation calls upon the nation to end once and for all the shame of poverty amid general affluence. Government and business must accept responsibility to provide all Americans with opportunity to earn an adequate income. Private industry must greatly accelerate its efforts to

recruit, train, and hire the hard-core unemployed. When the private sector is unable to provide employment to those who are both able and willing to work, then in a free society the government must of necessity assume the responsibility and act as the employer of last resort or must assure adequate income levels for those who are unable to work.

Emergency Work Program

This Convocation calls upon the Federal Government to develop an emergency work program to provide jobs and new training opportunities for the unemployed and underemployed consistent with the following principles:

--The Federal Government must enlist the cooperation of government at all levels and of private industry to assure that meaningful, productive work is available to everyone willing and able to work.

--To create socially useful jobs, the emergency work program should concentrate on the huge backlog of employment needs in parks, streets, slums, countryside, schools, colleges, libraries, and hospitals. To this end an emergency work program should be initiated and should have as its first goal putting at least one million of the presently unemployed into productive work at the earliest possible moment.

--The program must provide meaningful jobs--not dead-end, make work projects--so that the employment experience gained adds to the capabilities and broadens the opportunities of the employees to become productive members of the permanent work force of our nation.

--Basic education, training, and counseling must be an integral part of the program to assure extended opportunities for upward job mobility and to improve employee productivity. Funds for training, education, and counseling should be made available to private industry as well as to public and private nonprofit agencies.

--Funds for employment should be made available to local and state governments, nonprofit institutions, and Federal agencies able to demonstrate their ability to use labor productively without reducing existing levels of employment or undercutting existing labor standards or wages which prevail for comparable work or services in the area but are not less than the Federal minimum wage.

--Such a program should seek to qualify new employees to become part of the regular work force and that normal performance standards are met.

--The operation of the program should be keyed to specific, localized unemployment problems and focused initially on those areas where the need is most apparent.

Private Employment Assistance and Investment

All representatives of the private sector in this Urban Coalition decisively commit themselves to assist the deprived among us to achieve full participation in the economy as self-supporting citizens. We pledge full-scale private endeavor through creative job-training and employment,

managerial assistance, and basic investment in all phases of urban development.

The alternatives to a massive and concerted drive by the private sector are clear. They include the burden of wasted human and physical potential, the deterioration of the healthy environment basic to the successful operation of any business, and the dangers of permanent alienation from our society of millions of citizens.

We propose to initiate an all-out attack on the unemployment problem through the following steps:

--In cooperation with government, to move systematically and directly into the ghettos and barrios to seek out the unemployed and underemployed and enlist them in basic and positive private training and employment programs. We will re-evaluate our current testing procedures and employment standards so as to modify or eliminate those practices and requirements that unnecessarily bar many persons from gainful employment by business or access to union membership.

--To create a closer relationship between private employers and public training and emergency employment programs to widen career opportunities for our disadvantaged citizens. To this end, we will proceed immediately to promote "Earn and Learn Centers" in depressed urban areas that might well be the joint venture of business, labor and local government.

--To develop new training and related programs to facilitate the early entry of under-qualified persons into industrial and commercial employment.

--To develop large-scale programs to motivate the young to continue their education. Working closely with educators, we will redouble our efforts to provide part-time employment, training, and other incentives for young men and women. We also pledge our active support to making quality education readily accessible to deprived as well as advantaged young people.

--To expand on-the-job training programs to enhance the career advancement prospects of all employees, with particular emphasis on those who now must work at the lowest level of job classifications because of educational and skill deficiencies.

We pledge to mobilize the managerial resources and experience of the private sector in every way possible. We will expand part-time and full-time assistance to small business development. We will strive to help residents of these areas both to raise their level of managerial know-how and to obtain private and public investment funds for development. We will work more closely with public agencies to assist in the management of public projects. We will encourage more leaders in the private sector to get directly and personally involved in urban problems so that they may gain a deeper understanding of these problems and be of greater assistance.

We pledge our best efforts to develop means by which major private investment may be attracted to the renovation of deteriorating neighborhoods in our cities. We will explore and encourage governmental incentives to expedite private investment. We will develop new methods of combining

investment and managerial assistance so that the residents may achieve a leadership position in the development of their areas.

Housing, Reconstruction, and Education

This Convocation calls upon the nation to take bold and immediate action to fulfill the national need to provide "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" with guarantees of equal access to all housing, new and existing. The Urban Coalition shall, as its next order of business, address itself to the development of a broad program of urban reconstruction and advocacy of appropriate public and private action to move toward these objectives, including the goal of rehabilitation and construction of at least a million housing units for lower-income families annually.

This Convocation calls upon the nation to create educational programs that will equip all young Americans for full and productive participation in our society to the full potential of their abilities. This will require concentrated compensatory programs to equalize opportunities for achievement. Early childhood education must be made universal. Work and study programs must be greatly expanded to enlist those young people who now drop out of school. Financial barriers that now deny to youngsters from low-income families the opportunity for higher education must be eliminated. Current programs must be increased sufficiently to wipe out adult illiteracy within five years.

This Convocation calls upon local government, business, labor, religions, and civil rights groups to create counterpart local coalitions where they do not exist to support and supplement this declaration of principles.

This Convocation calls upon all Americans to apply the same determination to these programs that they have to past emergencies. We are confident that, given this commitment, our society has the ingenuity to allocate its resources and devise the techniques necessary to rebuild cities and still meet our other national obligations without impairing our financial integrity. Out of past emergencies, we have drawn strength and progress. Out of the present urban crisis we can build cities that are places, not of disorder and despair, but of hope and opportunity. The task we set for outselves will not be easy, but the needs are massive and urgent, and the hour is late. We pledge ourselves to this goal for as long as it takes to accomplish it. We ask the help of the Congress and the Nation.

###

This statement was unanimously adopted by members of the Steering Committee and their representatives at a meeting Wednesday, August 23, 1967. Mr. Roy Ash and Mr. Theodore Schlesinger were unable to attend or to be represented.

# Birmingham Finds Clue in Bombing

VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION (V+d)

AC 2/24/66

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (UPI) — Police officials announced Wednesday they soon may have enough evidence to arrest the Birmingham racial bombers who killed four Negro girls in 1963 and struck terror in the hearts of residents for years.

Jefferson County Sheriff Mel Bailey, an ex-FBI agent, said the discovery of six and one-half cases of dynamite in a rural area Sunday afternoon had established the "first direct link" to the bombers.

Suspects in the case, he said were "members of an organization," but declined to name the group.

**CALLED BEST FIND**

"This evidence is the best and most exciting find yet in tracing the identity of the bombers," Bailey declared.

He referred not only to the dynamite, but to the blasting caps, timing devices and other paraphernalia discovered along with the cache of explosives.

"This and other physical evidence at the scene has established that this is likely the place where plotters rigged, or at least partially rigged, the fiendish green time bombs placed outside Mayor Albert Boutwell's home, the home of a Birmingham councilman and homes in Negro communities," Bailey said.

He said he believed the "same person or persons who planted the green box time bombs also were involved in the church bombing." This was a reference to the dynamite blast that shattered one side of the 16th Street Baptist Church Sept. 15, 1963 killing four young Negro girls who were attending Sunday school.

**OTHER EXPLOSIONS**

Long before this bombing, explosions had been touched off in other sections of the Negro district. So many such incidents occurred in one area that Negroes nicknamed it "dynamite hill."

Coming at a time when racial tensions were at an all-time high in the southern steel center, the blasts frequently touched off riots in the Negro district. At least three Negroes were shot to death in such riots, two of them following the church bombings.

Bailey said he was "optimistic" that someone with additional evidence of the bombings, "or possibly even one of the bombers," might come forward now that police had uncovered the dynamite.

The sheriff said he expected to "be in contact soon" with someone who had talked to "the bomber of bombers," but that he did not want to discuss this aspect of the case further in fear of scaring off his contact.

"I cannot over-emphasize how excited we are about this discovery," Bailey said. "In the past there has been an almost void of physical evidence in bombing investigations. Now we have something we can work with."

NYT 2/26/66

V+d

# Two Blasts Wreck Integrated School In Alabama Town

ELBA, Ala., Feb. 25 (AP) — Two heavy explosions wrecked one wing of newly integrated Elba High School Thursday night, less than an hour after a banquet attended by some 200 people had ended. Police Chief I. F. Dunaway said that the area around the explosions "smelled just like dynamite."

Mr. Dunaway said there were no injuries as a result of the blast, which occurred about 10:30 P.M.

The chief said the blast blew one wall and a classroom "right out of existence and left another room and the hall in a shambles."

He said that officials "just can't imagine why anyone would dynamite that school."

One Negro senior and one Negro junior had enrolled in the predominantly white school in September, he said, but "there was absolutely no trouble between the two races and, frankly, we never expected any."

The officer said that there had been no threats against the school.

He said, however, that his officers had found two dynamite bundles in a house on the outskirts of town last week, one of 24 sticks, the other of 12, both capped and fused.

He said an investigation of the explosives had produced no results and there were no concrete indications that the two incidents were related.

1966. V+d NYT 3/12/66

# Negro Army Captain Shot in Bogalusa

BOGALUSA, La., March 11 (UPI) — A Negro Army captain preparing to ship out to Vietnam was shot by a sniper while his back was turned early today.

The captain, Donald Sims, tearfully said he believed the shooting was linked to the racial quarrels that have erupted in violence several times in Bogalusa.

Captain Sims, 29 years old, was hit by one of at least three shots that ripped through a plate glass window as he spoke on a public telephone in a brightly lighted all-night service station.

The bullet penetrated his shoulder and lodged in his neck, but he walked to a hospital after two Negroes in a car refused to take him. He was in good condition.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation joined local and state police in the investigation. In Washington, Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara called on the Justice Department to step in.

Captain Sims, a six-year Army veteran just back from Germany and on his way to guerrilla training for Vietnam, was in civilian clothes.

"There was no advance warning, I saw nothing, heard nothing," the muscular six-footer said from his hospital bed.

"I have no idea who did it," he said. His eyes filled with tears as he told of thinking of the irony of being shot at home just as he was about to be sent to Vietnam.

Three spent 22-caliber cartridges were found at the scene on Columbia Road, the main street where civil rights demonstrations were staged last spring and summer.

Captain Sims was transferred from Bogalusa to the United States Public Health Service Hospital in New Orleans.

In a bedside interview, the captain said that he had gasped on the phone to his brother Richard, in Los Angeles, that he had been shot.

The brother telephoned their parents at Sun, La., 10 miles from Bogalusa in southeast Louisiana near the Mississippi border, and told them what happened. The police arrived moments later.

The lone attendant at the service station, Ross Thomas, said he had been on the other side of the building and had not even heard the shots.

Mr. Thomas said he tried to get a Negro couple who drove into the station shortly after the shooting to take Captain Sims to the hospital, but they refused, saying they did not want to get involved.

V+d AJ 3/14/66

# Phone Call Cited in Shooting

BOGALUSA, La. (AP) — A white man charged in the shooting of a Negro Army captain was free in $10,000 bond Monday awaiting arraignment.

Police quoted Thomas Bennett, 43, a Bogalusa sheet metal worker, as saying he shot Capt. Donald Ray Sims, 29, because Sims talked too long on a public telephone.

Bennett was booked Saturday on charges of attempted murder.

Bennett's bond was posted by Saxon Farmer, who has been identified as a Ku Klux Klan leader, by Earnest Ray McElveen, charged with the murder of a Negro deputy sheriff near here last June, and by six others. His arraignment was set for March 24.

Sims was wounded in the right shoulder early Friday while he talked on a telephone in a service station where Bennett once was employed. He was in satisfactory condition at a New Orleans hospital. Sims was to be assigned to Viet Nam following home leave.

Police said Bennett told them he went to the service station to talk with the attendant and to use the telephone. He found Sims talking on the phone. Bennett left, returned about an hour later to find Sims still on the telephone, left again, then returned with his rifle and fired four times.

Three spent cartridge casings were found outside the service station. They matched a rifle taken from Bennett's home, according to the state police crime laboratory in Baton Rouge.

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Cases

# Bond Loses Appeal for A Speedup

V+d
AC 3/29/66

By REMER TYSON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The U.S. Supreme Court on Monday upheld the federal government's right under an 1870 law to prosecute six men on charges of conspiring to oppress Negroes in northeast Georgia.

The court held in a companion case that the government can try 17 Mississippi men under the same conspiracy law on charges growing out of the June 1964 slaying of three civil rights workers near Philadelphia, Miss.

In separate actions the court turned down a request to speed up proceedings on an appeal by Julian Bond, who was denied a seat in the Georgia House, and rejected an appeal challenging the Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority Act of 1965.

**MISSISSIPPI CASE**

In the Mississippi case, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that the government had a right to prosecute because the 17 defendants were clearly acting "under color of law."

The Mississippi defendants include Sheriff Lawrence A. Rainey of Neshoba County, deputy Cecil Price and Richard A. Willis, a Philadelphia policeman.

Four opinions were written in the Georgia case, however. Justice Potter Stewart wrote the majority opinion.

**PENN DEATH BASIS**

Although the slaying of Lemuel Penn, a Washington, D.C., educator, was not mentioned in the federal indictment against the six Georgians, three of them were charged under state law with murder in connection with his death.

Cecil William Myers, Joseph Howard Sims and James S.

Continued on Page 6, Column 1

# High Court Rules 6 Klansmen Can Be Tried in Rights Cases

Continued From Page 1

Lackey, all identified at Athens as Ku Klux Klansmen, were charged with murder in the Penn slaying.

In U.S. District Court at Macon, Ga., Judge W. A. Bootle, in his decision overturning the federal conspiracy indictments, noted that Myers and Sims had been acquitted in state court of the murder charges.

**GUNNED IN CAR**

Lackey has not been tried in state court.

Penn, a lieutenant colonel in the Army reserves, was slain by a shotgun blast as he drove along a northeast Georgia highway. He was returning to Washington from summer military duty in Fort Benning, Ga.

The other three men named in the federal indictment were Herbert Guest, Denver Willis Phillips and George Hampton Turner.

Judge Bootle had ruled the indictment invalid on grounds that the alleged actions were not federal crimes. The majority opinion found Judge Bootle in error on two parts of the indictment and did not rule on a third part.

One portion of the indictment upheld by the Supreme Court accused the six men of conspiring "to injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate Negro citizens" by impeding interstate travel on highways and other facilities.

"The constitutional right to travel from one state to another, and necessarily to use the highways and other instrumentalities of interstate commerce in doing so, occupy the position fundamental to the concept of our Federal Union," wrote Justice Stewart. "It is a right that has been firmly established and repeatedly recognized."

The majority opinion continued, "A specific intent to interfere with the federal right must be proved, and at a trial the defendants are entitled to a jury instruction phrased in those terms . . ."

**ARRESTS CITED**

Justice Stewart's opinion said the extent of official state action was not made clear in the Georgia indictment, but that the allegation was sufficient for prosecution.

Part of the indictment charged the six defendants with "causing the arrest of Negroes by means of false reports that such Negroes had committed criminal acts."

The majority opinion held that "the allegation is broad enough to cover a charge of active connivance by agents of the state in making of the 'false reports' or other conduct amounting to official discrimination clearly sufficient to constitute denial of rights protected by the equal protection clause."

**DISMISSAL OUT**

Although it may be proved in court proceedings that no state action was involved, the majority opinion said, "the allegation is enough to prevent dismissal of this branch of the indictment."

The court said "settled principles of review" prevented it from ruling in this case on part of the indictment charging the six Georgians with conspiring to deprive Negroes of their rights to public accommodations such as theaters and restaurants.

**OVERRULED**
**Judge W. A. Bootle**

Justice John M. Harlan wrote an opinion concurring with the majority, except in the interpretation of the right to interstate travel without private interference.

**HARLAN ON TRAVEL**

"While past cases do indeed establish that there is a constitutional right to travel between states free from unreasonable governmental interference," wrote Justice Harlan, "today's decision is the first to hold that such movement is also protected against private interference, and, depending on the constitutional source of the right, I think it is either unwise or impermissable so to read the Constitution."

Harlan said he would sustain that part of the indictment only on the premise that it "sufficiently alleges state interference with interstate travel, and on no other ground."

# 13 Klansmen In Mississippi Held in Slaying

By JAMES BONNEY

HATTIESBURG, Miss. (AP)—Federal agents climaxed an intense investigation into the fiery death of a Negro leader here with the arrest Monday of 13 men they identified as Mississippi Ku Klux Klansmen.

A 14th, who the FBI identified as Imperial Wizard Sam Holloway Bowers Jr., was being hunted. The FBI described him as armed and dangerous.

The 14 were charged with civil rights law violations stemming from the Jan. 10 slaying of Vernon F. Dahmer, 58. Dahmer awoke that day and found his home and nearby store in flames. He exchanged shots with his attackers but died from burns several hours later at a Hattiesburg hospital.

Dahmer was a past president of the Forrest County Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He had been active in voter registration work.

The FBI charged the 14 men with violating a 19th century law that makes it a crime to conspire to intimidate persons pursuing their constitutional righs. This law, passed during the post Civil War reconstruction era, was aimed at the Klan of that day.

The 14 men also were charged in the FBI complaint with violation of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which makes it a crime to harm or intimidate persons attempting to vote or urging others to vote.

Agents fanned over adjoining Jones County at dawn Monday, and within two hours had picked up 12 men, all of them described as members of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi. Among them were Cecil V. Sessum, 30, of Ellisville, listed by the FBI as Exalted Cyclops of the Jones County klavern, and Howard T. Giles, 37, described as a former exalted cyclops of the Ellisville klavern.

A 13th man, Charles Lamar Lowe, 23, was arrested at Houston, Tex., where he recently got a job as a clerk and stockman. Lowe denied belonging to the Klan.

Those arrested in Jones County were arraigned in Hattiesburg before U.S. Commissioner Jack Pittman. Pittman set a preliminary hearing for April 12. Their bonds varied from $10,000-$15,000.

They were: Lawrence Byrd, 44, Laurel; Henry E. de Boxtel, 29, Laurel; Howard T. Giles, 37, Ellisville; Clifton E. Lowe, 50, father of Charles Lowe; James F. Lyons, 33, Laurel; Melvin E. Martin, 33, Laurel; Emanuel B. Boss, 52, Laurel; Deavours Nix, 42, Laurel.

Charles R. Noble, 23, Laurel; Billy Roy Pitts, 22, Laurel; Cecil V. Sessum, 30, Ellisville; William R. Smith, Laurel.

# Court Rules Athens Kluxers Can Face Penn Rights Trial

Vtd As 3/29/66

By MARGARET SHANNON
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, March 29—The U.S. Supreme Court has reversed the dismissal of a conspiracy case against six Athens, Ga., Ku Klux Klansmen and sent it back to the federal district court for middle Georgia for further proceedings.

The decision in effect held that the six men could be tried on charges of conspiring to deprive Negroes of their civil rights. The case was the aftermath of the slaying of Washington Negro educator Lemuel Penn near Athens in 1964.

At the same time Monday, the Supreme Court also reversed a lower court decision in a Mississippi case growing out of the slaying of three civil rights workers near Philadelphia, Mississippi.

The court held that 15 men allegedly involved in the conspiracy were subject to trial along with three law enforcement officers because they were acting with the officers "under cover" of law.

Both the Georgia and Mississippi cases involved laws enacted during Reconstruction. The decisions Monday give the federal government a strong weapon in seeking to end intimidation and violence againce Negroes in the South.

THE SIX MEN involved in the Georgia case are Herbert Guest, James Spergeon Lackey, Cecil William Myers, Denver Willis Phillips, Joseph Howard Sims and George Hampton Turner.

They were charged with conspiring to violate the rights of Negroes by shooting, beating, killing and other means, including the arrests of Negroes through false reports of criminal acts.

Myers and Sims have been tried and acquitted in state court in the Penn murder. Lackey was indicted in the murder, but has not been tried. The federal indictment does not specifically mention the Penn case.

The majority opinion, delivered by Justice Potter Stewart, said that it was unnecessary for the court to determine whether the 14th amendment and the reconstruction laws apply when there is no state action—that is, action by law enforcement officers or official agencies — involved.

The opinion said that the indictment contains "an express allegation of state involvement sufficient at least to require the denial of a motion to dismiss."

That allegation, the majority opinion said, is implied in the indictment statement about false arrests of Negroes. If there was connivance by agents of the state, the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment would clearly be involved, the opinion said.

Three of the justices dissented to the extent that they thought the majority opinion did not go far enough.

Justice William Brennan, joined by Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice William O. Douglas, said that a conspiracy by non-offical persons could be prosecuted as well as the conspiracies involving any state action.

He said that "severe limitations" are placed on the prosecution in the case of the Athens Klansmen because of the majority opinion.

On a key issue in the Athens case—the right of an interstate traveler to use the highways without interference — the Supreme Court said that "freedom to travel throughout the United States had long been recognized as a basic right under the Constitution."

The Penn slaying occurred along a highway as Penn, a reserve officer, was returning to Washington from Ft. Benning, where he had been for a training period.

THE SUPREME COURT said it has in previous decisions settled that "the federal commerce power authorizes Congress to legislate for the protection of individuals from violations of civil rights that impinge on their free movement in interstate commerce."

The court said that a specific intent to interfere with the federal right must be proved and "at a trial the defendants are entitled to a jury instruction phrased in those terms."

A conspiracy to rob an interstate traveler would not violate the Reconstruction law, the court said. It added:

"But if the predominate purpose of the conspiracy is to impede or prevent the exercise of the right of interstate travel, or to oppress a person because of his exercise of that right, then, whether or not motivated by racial discrimination, the conspiracy becomes a proper object of the federal law under which the indictment in this case was brought."

Much of the court's decision in the Georgia case was based on what it decided in the Mississippi case Monday.

The slaying of civil rights workers Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman and James Chaney occurred in 1964. Their bodies were found in an earthen dam in Neshoba County, Miss.,

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CITY EDITION

Weather Bureau Report (Page 69) forecasts: air and cool today. Partly cloudy and cool tonight and tomorrow. range: 43—25; yesterday: 37—24.

TEN CENTS

JUSTICE

# HIGH COURT BACKS U.S. PROSECUTIONS IN RIGHTS DEATHS

3/29/66 NYT

## Says Suspects in Mississippi and Georgia Can Be Tried, but Not for Murder

## CONSPIRACY ACT APPLIED

### Bench Holds Statute Allows Federal Punishment for Violations of Freedoms

By FRED P. GRAHAM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 28 — The Supreme Court ruled today that the Federal Government may try, on charges other than that of murder, persons it believed were involved in 1964 in the slaying of three civil rights workers in Mississippi and a Negro educator in Georgia.

By broadening previous court interpretations of a civil rights law of the reconstruction era, the Court empowered the Justice Department to act in certain situations in which Southern state courts have not punished acts of racial violence. The Court's vote was 9 to 0.

For the first time, also, the court declared that the Federal Government may punish individuals for interfering with

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For the first time, also, the court declared that the Federal Government may punish individuals for interfering with the constitutional rights of citizens to travel from one state to another.

**Says Congress Can Act**

Moreover, six Justices stated in concurring opinions that Congress has the constitutional power to pass broader laws against racial violence.

The Johnson administration has been holding up its recommendations to Congress for legislation to curb the Ku Klux Klan in hopes of obtaining such an indication from the Court. Sources within the Justice Department said today's decisions were already being studied with an eye toward broadening present laws.

At issue today were the following murders during the summer of 1964, a time of tumultous civil rights activity in the Deep South:

¶First, the slaying on June 21 of Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, both white men from New York, and James E. Chaney, a Mississippi Negro, near Philadelphia, Miss.

¶Second, the shotgun killing on July 11 of Lemuel A. Penn, of Washington, on a highway near Colbert, Ga.

**2 Acquitted in Georgia**

In the Mississippi case no state charges have been brought. In the Georgia case, two alleged klansmen were tried and acquitted in a Georgia court. A third was indicted but not tried.

In the Mississippi case, the Justice Department indicted 18 men, including three police officers. They were charged under two sections of a civil rights law of 1870.

The first section accused them of acting "under color of state law" to deprive the three slain men of their rights. This statute, Section 242 of Title 18, United States Code, carries a maximum penalty of one year in prison and a $1,000 fine.

The Secnd Statute, Section 24 of Title 18, provides for 10 years imprisonment and a $5,000 fine for conspiring to injure a citizen in the free exercise of any Federal right or privilege.

In ruling on 17 of the 18 cases, Federal District Judge Harold Cox of Jackson,

Continued on Page 23, Column 1

# Supreme Court Holds, 9 to 0, U.S. Can Prosecute Rights Murder Suspects as Violators of Freedoms

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

Miss., threw out the "color of law" charges against 14 defendants who were private citizens but left standing the charges against the three officers.

He dismissed all the charges under the 'conspiracy' section, 241. In so doing he ruled that murder is a state crime only, and that this section protects only "federally created" rights such as the right to use a Federal post office or to vote in Federal election.

The 18th man had his case transferred to another Federal court before Judge Cox ruled.

Writing for the unanimous Court today, Justice Abe Fortas reversed Judge Cox on both issues.

Justice Fortas said that when private persons acted with state officials to deny citizens their rights, all were equally guilty of violating Section 242.

On the conspiracy charge he acknowledged that in 1951 Justice Felix Frankfurter wrote an opinion, affirming a decision by a 4-to-4, vote, that accepted Judge Cox's theory that Section 241 protects only federally created rights.

**Early View Re-examined**

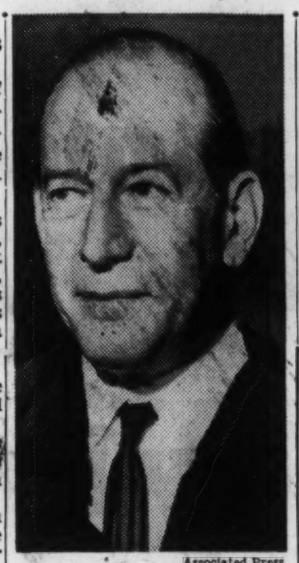
But based on a reexamination of the question, Justice Fortas said, the rights protected by the section include the 14th Amendment's right not to be denied life and liberty without due process of law.

In the Georgia case, the Federal Government indicted six men for conspiring to deprive Negroes of their rights to use both private and state-owned public facilities and to travel freely to and from the State of Georgia. The indictment covered a period of several months and did not mention Dr. Penn by name.

Federal District Judge W. A. Bootle dismissed the indictments on ground similar to that cited by Judge Cox, also relying upon Justice Frankfurter's opinion in 1951.

The Justice Department's position was complicated by the fact that none of the six men were public officials, and that the federal courts have consistently ruled that the 14th Amendment applies to state action only, and not to the discriminatory acts of private persons.

Speaking for all the justices except Justice John M. Harlan, Justice Potter Stewart partly avoided this problem by stating that aside from 14th Amendment rights, Section 241 protects the right of citizens to travel from state to state.



Associated Press

**Justice Abe Fortas wrote the opinion of the Court.**

**Regarded as Fundamental**

This right is so fundamental, he said, it was not written into the Constitution, although it had been stated in the Articles of the Confederation.

He cited a number of cases in which the Supreme Court had safeguarded this right against state interference, and concluded that it protects "persons as well as livestock and frozen fish."

In a footnote, Justice Stewart said Federal Courts could punish violations of this right even by private individuals, since it does not depend upon the 14th Amendment. Justice Harlan dissented from this part of the opinion on the ground that all the cases relied upon by Justice Stewart concerned interference by states.

In the first section of his opinion, which had the backing of the entire Court, Justice Stewart did not decide whether the Federal courts could punish private persons for violence against Negroes who were exercising the right of free access to public accommodations guaranteed by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This issue was improperly appealed to the Supreme Court, Justice Stewart said, in refusing to rule on it.

He said that the defendants could be prosecuted for trying to deny Negroes access to state-owned public accommodations, if it developed that state officials had conspired with the defendants to charge the Negroes falsely with criminal acts. This would supply the necessary "state action" to support a case under the 14th Amendment, he said.

**3 Offer Qualification**

On this point, Justice Tom C. Clark, joined by Justices Hugo L. Black and Fortas, said in a concurring opinion that Justice Stewart was being too cautious.

"There can be no doubt," Justice Clark said, that Congress has the power "to enact laws punishing all conspiracies—with or without state action—that interfere with 14th Amendment rights."

A second concurring opinion by Justice William J. Brennan Jr., in which Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice William O. Douglas joined, agreed with this conclusion. This concurrence noted that six Justices—a clear majority of the high court—had gone on record asserting the constitutionality of a statute providing punishment for private persons who interfere with 14th Amendment rights to enjoy state-owned public facilities.

In a pointed suggestion that Congress broaden the existing laws, Justice Brennan said that Section 241 does not specifically cover action by private individuals and that "the remedy is for Congress to write a law without this defect."

Now that the Supreme Court has increased the utility of Section 241 and by broadening its application, the Justice Department is expected to ask Congress to increase its penalties.

Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach is known to favor a flexible set of penalties that could be matched with the severity of the violence used. This would allow the Federal courts to mete out the same types of sentences that defendants would have received if they had been convicted in state courts.

Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall argued the Government's case. H. C. Mike Watkins of Meridian, Miss., argued for the defendants in the Mississippi case. James E. Hudson of Athens, Ga., and Charles J. Bloch of Macon, Ga., argued for the defendants in the Georgia case.

## End of 'Apathy' Sought

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, Miss., March 28—A Methodist minister said today that the Supreme Court's decision on civil rights slayings could force the community to re-examine its position of "apathy" on the Government's charges.

Up until now, said the Rev. Clay Lee, most of the persons in Neshoba County have been "inclined to think the Federal Government has concocted the case" against Sheriff Lawrence Rainey, Deputy Cecil Price and 16 others.

"The decision will mean a trial and a trial—I should hope—will mean facts instead of rumors," said Mr. Lee, one of the few whites in Philadelphia who consistently had been willing to discuss the case publicly.

"The slaying," he continued, "has not been a conversation piece for a long time—it has been swept under the rug. But if the Government has a strong case it might arouse the public to do something. If it is a weak case it may have the reverse effect."

Another Philadelphian said that the Supreme Court's decision had been given a "mixed reaction."

"Some of us are absolutely elated to finally get the case in court," the person said. "But the majority has been apathetic—they said, 'oh, I thought it was settled.' "

Among the group of persons in Philadelphia who thought the slayings had been dismissed too lightly in the county, there was a general feeling that a strong case could damage any chances Deputy Price might have of succeeding Sheriff Rainey in next year's elections.

It is widely believed here that Deputy Price will run for the post. A state law bars Sheriff Rainey and other Mississippi sheriffs from succeeding themselves in office.

urt's Actions

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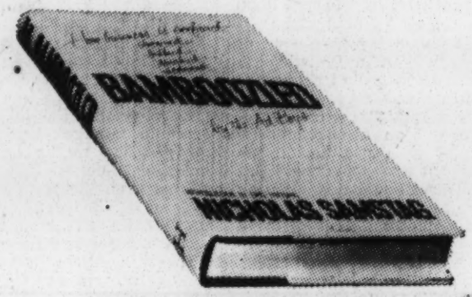
—Eric Hodgins in introduction




HOW BUSINESS IS

# 13 in Klan Arrested in Negro's Death

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

Act that prohibits intimidating prospective voters. The section carries a penalty of five years in prison.

They are also charged with violating Section 241 of the United States Code prohbiting conspiracy to violate a person's civil rights. The section carries a 10-year prison term. The Supreme Court approved today the prosecution of two other Federal cases involving Section 241.

### Inquiry Continuing

Mississippi authorities, who worked with the F.B.I. in the Dahmer killing, are continuing their investigation and are expected to file state charges, possibly homicide.

Attorney General Nicholas de B. Katzenbach announced the arrests in Washington.

"As in past civil rights cases," he said, "the arrests today culminate thousands of hours of exceptional and painstaking investigative effort by the F.B.I."

Roy K. Moore, special agent in charge of the F.B.I. in Mississippi, has lived in a motel room at Hattiesburg for all but three of the 76 days since the killing. He has directed some 30 agents. Eight to 10 state highway patrol detectives and members of the Forrest County Sheriff's Office also worked on the case.

The arrests began at dawn today. The agents picked up the first of the suspects at 6 A.M. Central standard time. All except Bowers had been arrested by 7:10 A.M. One man, Charles Lamar Lowe, 23, formerly of Laurel, was arrested at Houston, Tex.

When Bowers had not been arrested by noon, he was classified as a fugitive.

### Warned of Red Invasion

Bowers, 41, blond and single, owns the Sambo Amusement Company at Laurel. Some of his coin-operated amusement machines are in Negro businesses.

He has warned his members repeatedly that Communists and Negroes are trying to take over the United States. He once prepared his men for a Communist invasion from the Gulf of Mexico, some 100 miles to the south.

Twelve of the men were arrested in neighboring Jones County, the main stronghold of the White Knights. They were taken before United States Commissioner Jack H. Pittman in the Forrest County Courthouse at Hattiesburg. He set bonds of $10,000 for 10 of the men and $15,000 for two others.

Among those arrested were Cecil Victor Sessum, 30, Exalted Cyclops of Klavern No. 4 of the White Knights in Jones County; Deavours Nix, 42, state Klan hero investigator for the organization: Howard Travis Giles, 37, former Exalted Cyclops of the Ellisville (Jones County) Keavern, and Lawrence Byrd, 44, "county senator" of the White Knights for Jones County.

### Hearing Set April 12

The two other lawyers representing the 13 men are State Representative Charles Blackwell of Jones County and Travis Buckley, county attorney of nearby Jasper County. Mr. Buckley is encouraging speculation that he will run for Congress on the Republican ticket this year.

The men will be given a preliminary hearing here April 12.

Others arrested were:

Henry Edward DeBoxtel, 29, of Laurel, a restaurant worker. He is married and has five children.

Clifton Eudell Lowe, 50, father of Charles Lowe. He is a painter at Laurel and has three other children.

James Franklin Lyons, 33, an employe of the Masonite Corporation at Laurel. He is married and has two stepchildren. He was arrested for car theft and burglary in 1953, but was released.

Melvin Sennett Martin, 33, a tractor operator for Masonite at Laurel. He is divorced and has one daughter. He was charged with nightriding in September and possession of dynamite in January. The charges were dropped when a Jones County grand jury refused to indict.

Emanuel Benjamin Moss, 52, a service station operator at Laurel. He is married and has five children. The F.B.I. said he had been arrested 15 to 20 times for fighting.

Charles Richard Noble, 23, an employe of Masonite at Laurel. He is married and has two children.

Billy Ry Pitts, 22, employed by his father at Pitts Auto Trim at Laurel. He is married and has two children. He was arrested for grand larceny in Copiah County, Miss., in 1959 and placed on probation.

William Ray Smith, 28, an ejmploye of Masonite in Laurel. He has been married tiwce and is the father of three children.

The F.B.I. has charged that the White Knights were involved in the murder of three civil rights workers near Philadelphia, Miss., during the summer of 1964.

Two White Knights members were charged, and later released, in the killing of two Negro youths whose bodies were found in the Mississippi River near Meadville the same summer. Staff investigators for the House Committee on Un-American Activities testified during this winter's Klan hearings—when members of the White Knights invoked the self incrimination protection of the Fifth Amendment and refused to testify—that the killings had been engineered by the White Knights.

The organization has about 500 members, down from its peak of 2,000 two years ago, the F.B.I. estimates.

White leaders of Hattiesburg, where Klan membership is small, were outaged by the Dahmer killing. They raised a memorial fund to rebuild the home.

Mr. Dahmer owned, in addition to a four-bedroom brick house, a grocery store, a small lumber mill and 200 acres of land.

The day before his death, he announced on the radio that he would collect money from Negroes to pay the poll tax for this year's elections.

## Doomed Negro Loses Appeal in Rape Case

WASHINGTON, March 28 (AP)—The Supreme Court denied today a hearing to a Florida Negro who said the death penalty had been used as an instrument of discrimination against members of his race convicted of raping white women.

A hearing was asked by William Benjamin Craig, convicted in the Circuit Court in Leon County, Fla., on June 27, 1963. He was sentended to die for the rape of a white woman. Craig later asked that the sentence be reduced to life imprisonment or less, but this was denied.

Craig's appeal to the Supreme Court said that in the 25-year period ended June 31, 1964, 54 men had been sentenced to death in Florida for rape. Forty-eight of them were Negroes.

The appeal said that imposition of the death sentence for rape amounts to cruel and unusual punishment in violation of the Constitution.

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# 13 Mississippi Klansmen Seized in Negro's Death

Vtd 8/29/66

By ROY REED
Special to The New York Times

HATTIESBURG, Miss., March 28—The Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested 13 men and sought a 14th today on Federal charges of violating the civil rights of a prosperous Negro leader who was slain by fire bombs near here Jan. 10.

They were identified by J. Edgar Hoover, director of the F.B.I., as members and leaders of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The White Knights have the reputation of being the most violent Klan group in the South. Federal investigative agencies have implicated the organization in six civil rights murders in less than two years.

Sam Holloway Bowers Jr. of Laurel, the man still being sought, is the Imperial Wizard of the White Knights. F.B.I. sources said he was "armed and dangerous."

**Lawyers Retained**

Dudley Conner of Hattiesburg, one of three lawyers retained by the 13 men, declined to identify his clients as Klan members.

"As far as I know," he said, "they are just 13 American citizens who have been seized by the F.B.I."

The Government complaint charges the 14 men with violating the civil rights of Vernon F. Dahmer, 58 years old, a former president of the Forrest County branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Dahmer and his family were awakened at 2 A.M. Jan. 10 by gunfire and a series of "Molotov cocktail" explosions. He made his way through the flames and fired his shotgun at one of the nightriders' cars. He died of burns 13 hours later.

The arrested men face up to 15 years in prison. They are charged with violating a section of the 1965 Voting Rights

Continued on Page 24, Column 3

# G.O.P. CHIEFS URGE A CUT IN SPENDING

## Warn of Inflation on Eve of a Test Vote in the House on Great Society Funds

By DAVID S. BRODER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 28—The leadership of the Republican party set the stage today for the first major fiscal battle of the election-year Congress by charging that Johnson Administration policies have brought the nation to the "threshold of dangerous inflation."

The Republican Coordinating Committee called for sharp cuts in non-defense spending to bring the budget into balance and avoid the need for additional tax increases this year.

The unanimous declaration of the G. O. P. Congressional leaders, major governors, party officials and past Presidential candidates came on the eve of the first clear test of sentiment in the House of Representatives on spending for Great Society programs.

Republican leaders in the House have served notice that they will try to pare about $200-million from a $2.5-billion supplemental appropriation bill scheduled for action tomorrow.

Particular targets are $12-million to start the rent-supplement program and $10-million to start a Teachers' Corps.

The House Republican lead-

Continued on Page 19, Column 4

# Conspiracy in Slayings Laid To Mississippi Klansman

AG 3/31/66 P42

By The Associated Press

A Ku Klux Klansman whose statement aided in getting indictments in connection with the slaying of three civil rights workers in Mississippi will face conspiracy charges here.

U.S. District Attorney Charles L. Goodson said James Edward Jordan will be called to formally answer charges of conspiring to deprive persons of their civil rights.

Jordan, 40, was arrested in January, 1965, in connection with the slaying of Michael Schwerner, 24, and Andrew Goodman, 20, both white and of New York, and James Chaney, 20, a Meridian Negro.

The three had driven from Meridian, Miss., to Philadelphia, Miss., June 21, 1964, to investigate a burned Negro church and they disappeared.

Their bodies were found beneath an earthen dam after federal, county and state officials —along with Navy personnel— searched throughout Neshoba County, Miss.

Goodson said Jordan had not appeared before a district judge since his arrest because the 1870 law making it a crime to conspire to oppress Negroes was under court attack.

The Supreme Court ruled in the matter Monday and held the law was applicable for the arrests of Jordan and the other 17 men who were indicted under the law.

When Jordan was arrested, the FBI identified him as an admitted member of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Jordan, and Horace Doyle Barnett of Shreveport, La., gave statements in the case, officials said, and Mississippi officials repeatedly tried without success to get a copy of Jordan's statement for litigation.

A federal attorney in Goodson's office said there has been no trial date set for Jordan, who was arrested in Gulfport, Miss., and spirited away by federal officers pending his testifying before a federal grand jury.

Barnett had given a statement in the case and the government attempted to use it to have a group of Philadelphia area men taken into custody, but U.S. Commissioner Esther Carter ruled the statement inadmissable, thereby prompting the Justice department to go to the grand jury.

Goodson said Jordan would ordinarily have to face charges in Mississippi, where the civil rights workers were killed. Goodson said, however, Jordan entered a plea of no contest to the charges during an arraignment before U.S. Commisisoner Frank A. Holden here Jan. 28, 1965.

VIRGINIA



# Fast Va. Action Seen On Local Sales Tax

RICHMOND, April 12 (AP) —An official of the Virginia Association of Counties predicted today at least 75 per cent of all Virginia localities will adopt a 1 per cent local sales tax this year.

C. F. Hicks of Glouster, legal counsel for the Association, said he based his figure on informational meetings on the new State sales tax and on talks with officials around the State.

Hicks, answering a newsman's query, said the response to the new tax was "greater than what I had thought it would be" when the 1966 General Assembly adopted the statewide 2 per cent levy and 1 per cent local option.

He said he believed much of the response is because of acceptance of the idea that the optional tax can be used as a means of lowering real estate taxes and eliminating the personal property tax on household goods.

At the same time, Hicks noted that some localities—notably in the areas of Washington, Danville and Central Virginia — are resisting the move toward the optional levy.

Hicks said he believed there are two reasons for the lack of enthusiasm for the tax in the Washington and Danville areas:

- In both areas, nearby localities already had a 3 per cent sales tax and local officials apparently hopted that retention of a 2 per cent sales tax would be a boon to local business firms.
- Neither area apparently is in great need of revenue at present.

So far, only a handful of localities have given formal approval to the local option. But several others have indicated they favor it and have scheduled public hearings.

# Integration In Hospitals Attacked

RICHMOND, April 12 (AP) A Virginia hospital official says he "profoundly disagrees with the methods the Federal Government is using" to enforce the Civil Rights Act as it applies to hospitals.

Stuart Ogren, executive secretary of the Virginia Hospital Association, said yesterday the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is pushing the rights issue too far.

As Ogren spoke, 22 Federal agents were spread out over five southern states in search of violations of the 1964 Act. He said their tactics will "influence some hospitals to forget medicare and other welfare programs."

Ogren said the equal care provision of the Act "means the individual is no longer able to define his own privacy in a hospital," in a reference to an "enforced mixing of patients of different races."

The Government has threatened to withhold Federal aid to the hospitals if patients of all races are not provided equal care.

VIRGINIA

# 3 Primary Fights Certain in Virginia

WP 4/14/66

Three Democratic congressional primaries in Virginia, including two in the Washington suburbs, were in prospect as yesterday's filing deadline drew to a close.

One of the last candidates to qualify was Thomas H. Woods, a Falls Church travel agency operator, who will challenge Del. Clive DuVal (D-Fairfax-Falls Church) in the 10th District primary.

Woods' petition was accepted by 10th District Democratic Vice Chairman Flora Crater despite earlier doubt over whether he would have sufficient signatures.

The 10th District is currently held by Rep. Joel T. Broyhill (R-Va.), who is expected to seek a ninth term.

In the 8th District, which was reapportioned last year to include part of Fairfax County, a two-way race was assured when a third prospective candidate, John S. Barrett, a Stafford County pharmacist, dropped out.

Previously in the race were Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va.), seeking his 19th term, and Del. George C. Rawlings Jr. (D-Fredericksburg). Barrett said he would support Rawlings in the primary.

The Democratic contest will be held July 12. The filing deadline was last midnight.

Lewis A. Curling, a Chesapeake attorney and last-minute entrant against Rep. Watkins N. Abbitt (D-Va.) in the 4th District, was racing the clock to make it.

Because it was a State holiday (Jefferson's birthday), it took intercession from the Governor's office to find someone to whom Gurling could pay his filing fee and then he had to race to Waverly, Va., to get his papers to 4th District Chairman Garland Gray.

Already qualified for the State's first double-barrelled U.S. Senate primary in more than a half century were Sens. Harry F. Byrd Jr. and A. Willis Robertson (D-Va.) and their respective challengers, former Alexandria State Sen. Armistead L. Boothe and Portsmouth State Sen. William B. Spong.

There was no Democrat in sight shortly before the deadline in the 6th District, now represented by Rep. Richard H. Poff (R-Va.) The other Democratic Congressman will be unopposed in the primary.

V+&

AN



PENN, MRS. LIUZZIO MURDER CASES

# Sadness Stalks 7 in Slayings

By JACK NELSON
Los Angeles Times News Service

Death, insanity, fear, criminal charges and family trouble have plagued principals in two of the nation's most notorious civil rights murder cases.

Affected have been the four Ku Klux Klansmen who were accused of slaying Lemuel Penn of Washington, and the three klansmen accused of killing Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a volunteer in civil rights work.

An eighth klansman, Mathew H. Murphy Jr., who served as defense counsel in the first of three trials held in the Liuzzo case, died in a car crash.

Penn, an Army Reserve lieutenant colonel, was killed by a shotgun blast July 11, 1964, as he and two other Negro Reserve officers drove through Madison County, Ga., en route to Washington from military training at Ft. Benning.

Charged with murder after a lengthy FBI investigation were four Athens klansmen — Joseph Howard Sims, 43; Cecil William Myers, 28; Howard Guest, 39, and James S. Lackey, 30.

AN ALL-WHITE jury in Madison County freed Sims and Myers of the murder charges. Guest and Lackey have never been tried. All four still face felony charges under an 1870 federal statute (recently held constitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court) of violating Penn's civil rights.

Since the Madison trial, Sims and Myers, wearing black shirts with military officers' emblems on the shoulders and calling themselves Black Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, frequently have been seen armed at klan rallies and have turned up at such civil rights trouble spots as Americus and Crawfordville, Ga.

Both have been arrested on assault and disturbance charges in connection with incidents involving civil rights demonstrations.

On May 6, Sims, who has been unemployed since the trial, stalked into an Athens hospital where his estranged wife worked as a nurse's aide and shot her in the face, police said. Mrs. Sims, 35, mother of eight, was not injured critically.

Sims, who said his wife left him because he was a "good for nothing," was charged with assault with intent to murder. Last Thursday he was committed to the State Mental Hospital at Milledgeville as a "suicidal and homicidal paranoid."

MYERS, who has been unemployed most of the time since the trial, has been sued for nonsupport by his wife, a mother of four.

Guest and his wife, Blanche, a klanswoman at the time of the trial, have stayed away from klan activities since then and have operated a rather profitable garage. She bosses the business.

Guest's most recent run-in with the law involves a charge of violating the federal Pure Food and Drug Act. He is accused of selling pep pills (amphetamine).

Lackey, who according to testimony by a psychiatrist, has a "borderline mentality" with an IQ of about 90, went into virtual seclusion at his family's chicken farm near Clermont in North Georgia after the trial, according to a federal source. He reportedly fears that other klansmen might harm him.

A written confession from Lackey, implicating Sims, Myers and Guest in the Penn killing, was the FBI's major piece of evidence in the case. Lackey repudiated the confession, but it was read to the jury and evidence corroborating major points of it was introduced by the prosecution.

MRS. LIUZZO was killed by pistol fire March 25, 1965, as she drove through Lowndes County en route to Montgomery to pick up demonstrators who had participated in the five-day voting rights March from Selma.

The next day the FBI filed charges of violating Mrs. Liuzzo's civil rights against four persons — Collie Leroy Wilkins, 21; William Orville Eaton, 42; Eugene Thomas, 43, and Gary Tommy Rowe Jr., 35.

All four were identified as klansmen, but later it was revealed that Rowe actually was an undercover agent who had joined the klan at the request of the FBI. The federal charges against him were dropped and state murder charges were brought against the other three men.

Wilkins, the only one to be tried on the murder charge, was defended by klan attorney Murphy, whose racist appeals to an all-white jury included the charge that "Communists and the niggers have taken us over."

The jury deadlocked and a mistrial was declared. Klansmen hailed it as a victory and Murphy and Wilkins made a road show of the Liuzzo case, attending klan rallies as honored guests and speakers from Alabama to North Carolina.

On Aug. 19, about two weeks before a second trial was scheduled, Murphy fell asleep driving his car and it slammed into a tanker truck. He was killed.

A SECOND Lowndes jury acquitted Wilkins last September, but three months later he, Eaton and Thomas were sentenced to 10 years each after a federal jury at Montgomery found them guilty of violating an 1872 civil rights statute.

They were freed on appeal bonds, but federal authorities jailed Wilkins for a year on grounds he violated provisions of a probationary term by going out of the court's jurisdiction to attend the out-of-state klan rallies. He had been sentenced originally upon conviction of possessing an unlawful weapon.

On March 9 Eaton, father of five children, died of a heart attack.

Last month, Thomas was convicted and sentenced to two years on a federal charge of possessing an unlawful weapon — a sawed-off shotgun seized at his house after his arrest in the Liuzzo case.

A murder trial for Thomas in the Liuzzo case had been scheduled to be called Monday, but it was postponed indefinitely after a federal official disclosed that FBI informer Rowe would not testify again.

Rowe has remained in hiding, often under FBI protection, since the Liuzzo case.

The emotional stress of testifying at length at the three different trials that have been held in the case, the Hayneville exoneration of Wilkins, who, he had testified, fired the fatal shot, and the necessity of changing his own identity and appearance to guard against reprisal by the klan apparently left Rowe unwilling to testify further.

A federal official said Rowe "has had a belly full."

# 2 Pals Killed Negro, Says Klansman

V+2

AC 6/18/66

NATCHEZ, Miss. (UPI) — An alleged Ku Klux Klanman who said we couldn't live with his conscience said Friday his two companions shot a 65-year-old Negro to death last week on a lonely country road.

James L. Jones, 56, said the victim, Ben Chester White, screamed "Oh, Lord, what I done to deserve this?" seconds before two alleged klansmen opened fire on him.

Jones, 56, was testifying at a preliminary hearing on Claude Fuller, 46, identified by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Klansman.

Jones said they he watched Fuller and Ernest Avants, 35, kill White last Friday and dump his riddled body in Pretty Creek. Jones said he didn't know why they did it.

Avants' hearing began after Fuller's. Jones, the state's key witness, had a brief, closed preliminary hearing earlier this week and was rushed to a jail in Jackson for safekeeping.

# Jury in Mississippi Indicts 15 Klansmen In Killing of Negro

NYT
V+D 6/24/66

By United Press International

BILOXI, Miss., June 23 (UPI) —A Federal grand jury has returned indictments against 15 alleged Ku Klux Klansmen in connection with the firebomb slaying of a Hattiesburg, Miss., Negro leader last January.

The indictments were returned yesterday by the 23-member biracial panel but were kept secret until today pending the arrest of the 15th suspect. The 14 others were arrested earlier and are free on bond.

The latest to be charged in the case was identified as Mordauant William Hamilton Sr., 58 years old, the owner of a Hattiesburg hardware store. He was arrested this morning in Hattiesburg and taken before United States Commissioner Jack Pittman.

**Two-Count Indictment**

All 15 were charged with two counts of violating a section of the United States Code in connection with the death of Vernon Dahmer last Jan. 10. The indictments came under the Voting Rights Act of 1965 concerning the right to vote.

Mr. Dahmer, a former branch president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was fatally burned when nightriders hurled firebombs into his home and grocery outside Hattiesburg.

Among those indicted was Sam H. Bowers Jr., identified by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as the imperial wiz-

Continued on Page 20, Column 6

# A MISSISSIPPI JURY INDICTS 15 IN KLAN

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

ard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi. The bureau said all but Hamilton were members of the White Knights, one of the most secretive and militant Klan groups in the nation.

Federal authorities said Hamilton was a member of the White Knights until the fall of 1964 when he switched to the United Klans after an argument with Bowers over finances.

**Coercion Charged**

The indictments accused the group of conspiring to "intimidate, threaten and coerce" Mr. Dahmer and other Negroes for voting, attempting to vote and urging other Negroes to vote in Mississippi elections.

The jury said it was "part of the plan and purpose of the conspiracy" to go to the Dahmer grocery "and to shoot guns and set fire to the house and grocery store." The second count accused the group of actually setting fire to the grocery and firing guns at the store.

The indictments were voted after a 2½-day investigation by the grand jury, composed of 17 whites and six Negroes. The panel was sworn in Monday by Federal District Judke W. Harold Cox.

No date was set for the trial of the 15 white men.

Thirteen of those indicted were arrested in March by the F.B.I. Bowers, who eluded capture, turned himself in later. All were residents or former residents of the Laurel area.

They were bound over to the grand jury by Commissioner Pittman and freed on bond.

**Testify on Meeting**

At a preliminary hearing before the Commissioner, F.B.I. agents told of a clandestine meeting in a swamp near Hattiesburg where Bowers allegedly ordered the attack against Mr. Dahmer. Investigators testified six of the suspects had given statements implicating the others in a plot to "stop" Mr. Dahmer because he was "getting too many Niggers to vote."

Besides Bowers and Hamilton, those indicted included:

Deavours Nix, 40, a Laurel restaurant owner and alleged head of the White Knights' investigation bureau; Lawrence Byrd, 44, owner of a Laurel radio and television repair shop; Henry E. De Boxtel, 29, Laurel, restaurant employe; Howard Travis Giles, 37, Ellisville, a cafe operator; Clifton Eudell Lowe, 50, Laurel, a carpenter; Charles Lamar Lowe, 23, Laurel; James Franklin Lyons, 33, Laurel; Melvin Sennett Martin, 33, Laurel; Emanrel, part-time carpenter; Charles Richard Noble, 23, Laurel; Billy Roy Pitts, 22, Laurel, an employe of an auto trim shop; Cecil Victor Sessum, 30, Ellisville, a welder, and William Ray Smith, 28, Laurel.

*New 1966 Valiant, Sun., 6 PM through Fri., 5 PM; first 400 miles FREE!

VIRGINIA

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional
Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga., 30303


# The VOICE

## OF PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY

VOL. 2—No. 3 | P. O. Box 193, Farmville, Virginia | May, 1966


## Question Box

**By Vonita White**

(Ed. Note: The VOICE offers a new public service to its readers. If you have a question about your county, we might find out the answer for you. Talk with a member of the staff, or send your question to P.O. Box 193. We will try to find the answer for you.)

"What is a Primary Election," asked Carolyn Patterson, a sophomore at R. R. Moton High School.

A primary election is part of the electoral system in the United States by which candidates for local, state and national offices are nominated. In the primary election, such as the one to be held in Virginia on July 12, the voters will decide which candidates of the Democratic Party will run in the general election in November. For instance, Armistead Booth is running against Harry F. Byrd, Jr., in the primary election. After the election in July, one of these men will run against a candidate chosen by the Republican Party. These men are running for the United States Senate.

*"Push For 1,200"*

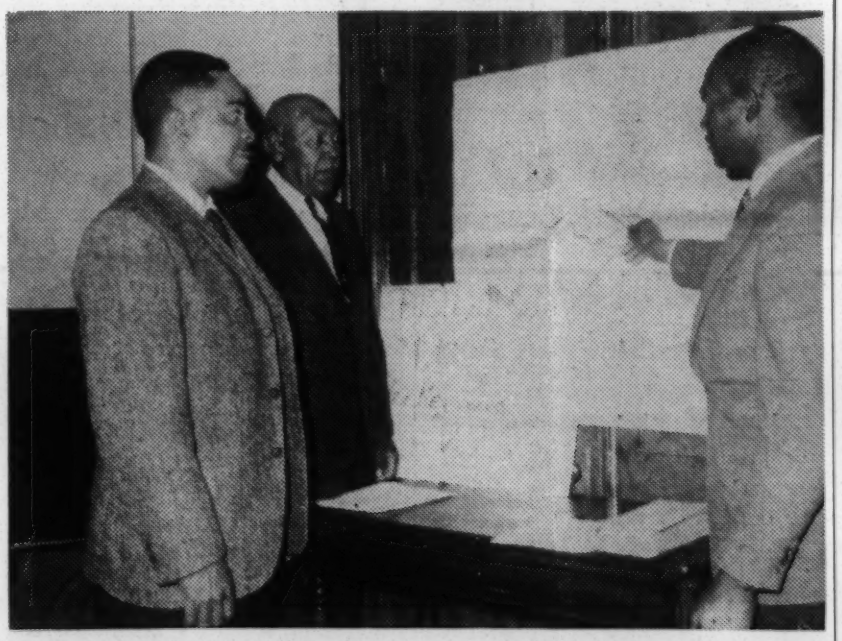
# Voter Registration Drive Active in Prince Edward

In Prince Edward County, people are "Pushing for 1200." What is "Push for 1,200." and what does it mean for the people of this county?

According to Mr. Warren J. Scott of Prospect, director of "Push for 1,200", the project is the voter registration drive now is progress to register 1,200 new Negro voters before the July 12 primary election in Virginia. Although there are about 1,700 people in the county who are not registered to vote, the goal of the project is to register 1,200 voters before July 12.

"If each person in the county who is registered talks to one other person who is NOT registered, we could reach all the people in the county," Mr. Scott told THE VOICE.

The Prince Edward County voter registration drive is part of a large effort in the Fourth Congressional District to register Negro voters in time to vote in the July primary. Mr. Scott is



**"We start in this area." Mr. Warren Scott, right, points out the area where "Push for 1,200" began seeking new voters. Looking on (from left) are Mr. James Holmes, chairman of the drive in Leigh District; and Mr. Robert Ellis, chairman for Hampden District.**

"Push for 1,200" are chairmen for each magisterial district in the county. Chairman of Farmville District and the Town of Farmville is Mrs. Etta Lee of 416 Hill Street, Farmville. Chairman of Lockett District is Mrs. Sydney Dove of Rt. 1, Rice. Mr. James Holmes is chairman of the

**(Continued on Page 2)**

# NAACP Sparks Lunenberg Buying, Voting Campaign

**By Donzella White**

The Negroes in Lunenburg County are encountering many long awaited fortunate experiences. On the civil rights front, Mr. Nathaniel Lee Hawthorne, president of the Lunenburg Chapter of the NAACP has said a selective buying campaign is well underway. The Negro people there are not buying goods from stores that uphold racial discrimination. The campaign, Mr. Hawthorne told THE VOICE is 80% effective. One local merchant stated he has already lost $1,500 without Negro trade.

Negroes are placing their applications for jobs in department stores. A test has to be taken before a person is given the job. Those who have taken the test said they didn't have enough time to finish the test.

People are actively working in the voter registration drive in Lunenburg County. Students from the City College of New York have given out leaflets concerning voter registration to

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Primary elections may be open. This means all voters are allowed to vote, not just members of a

**(Continued on Page 2)**

## Prof. Recalls Teaching Boothe in Alexandria

**By O. Jerome Jackson**

Dr. C. G. Moss, a history professor at Longwood College taught Armistead Booth, a candidate for the U.S. Senate, at Episcopal High School, in Alexandria, Virginia. Booth was Dr. Moss's student between 1921 and 1924.

At that time, Episcopal High School had about 200 boarding students and some day students. Armistead Booth was one of the day students.

Dr. Moss said, "I always remembered him as a clean cut intelligent boy and have remembered him ever since."

Booth attended the University of Virginia and the University of Virginia Law School. From there, he was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship and studied at Oxford University in England.

In 1948, he was elected to the Virginia State legislature. He first served in the House of Delegates and then in the Virginia legislature.

During the late 1940's and and early 1950's Aristead Booth was called "a young turk," meaning a liberal who opposed the Byrd machine in Virginia.

After the Supreme Court decision of 1954 supporting school desegregation, he proposed a freedom of choice plan for school desegregation. This was killed by

**(Continued on Page 2)**

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A nephew of Mr. Ottis ("register and vote") Scott of Prospect, Virginia, Mr. Warren Scott is active in many county civic affairs. He is one of the founders of the Prospect Association for Progress and Action which was formed last summer and is an active member of the county PTA.

Working with Mr. Scott on "Push for 1,200" are chairmen for each magisterial district in the county. Chairman of Farmville District and the Town of Farmville is Mrs. Etta Lee of 416 Hill Street, Farmville. Chairman of Lockett District is Mrs. Sydney Dove of Rt. 1, Rice. Mr. James Holmes is chairman of the

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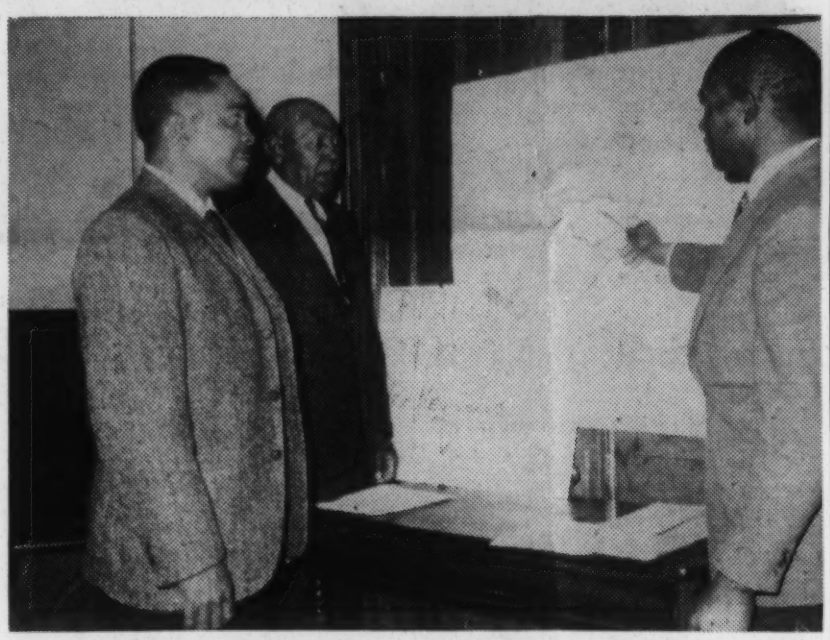

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## L.F. Griffin Urges 'Disrupting Religion'

**By O. Jerome Jackson**

"Disrupting Religion" was the topic of an unusual sermon given by the Rev. L. F. Griffin, Sr., pastor of the First Baptist Church in Farmville, Va., on Easter Sunday. This is a topic not generally thought of in the rural South.

Rev. Griffin's sermon was mainly concerned with the role of religion in our society and the concept that many people still have of religion.

Rev. Griffin said that, "a tragic thing about Christian religion was that we have more people now than ever and have still failed to establish universal brotherhood. We are still emptying money into war and there are children all over the world starving."

**On God in Our Lives**

Some of us still have the concept of "old time religion", Rev. Griffin told his congreation. What is old time religion? Some think we are going to be glorified.

"Are you satisified with that by emotional outbursts in religious ceremonies, he said.

A man's religion is measured by his willingness to sacrifice, not by how often he goes to church, Rev. Griffin continued.

Many of us want a universal "bell-hop" that will sacrifice for us. We want a God who will "make a way" instead one helping us to make a way.

"We want a God," Rev. Griffin stated, "not whose way we are going, but who's going our way. We don't feel identified with anyone but ourselves. We open the doors on Sunday with no provisions for Monday," he added.

"This is a very controversial issue to which more and more clegymen and Christians are today searching for answers. We need answers!!! Think about it. "It will mean more to you than you think," Rev. Griffin said.

"Are you satisfied with that mild concept of religion? Or do you want to disrupt yours?", Rev. Griffin asked.

Know Your Candidates

# Armistead L. Boothe

**An Interpretative Report**

**By Pheaby Dupey**

Armistead L. Boothe of Alexandria is a candidate for the U.S. Senate from Virginia. He is running against Harry F. Byrd, Jr., who was appointed to the senate in November, 1965.

Former State Senator Boothe has been called an excellent campaigner, with good platform presence and the ability to express himself well. Mr. Boothe stands for the liberal viewpoint in contrast to the conservatism of Mr. Byrd who viewpoints are similar to those of his father, Harry F. Byrd, Sr. For instance, Mr. Boothe has worked against programs and laws such as those which closed schools in Prince Edward County.

While in the Virginia Legislature, Boothe was classified as a "militant moderate." This means he advocated positive state action rather than Federal government involvement in local affairs. He also supports advances in education and industrial development.

Armistead Boothe is best remembered for his hard fight after 1954 to keep open the public schools in Virginia. He was one

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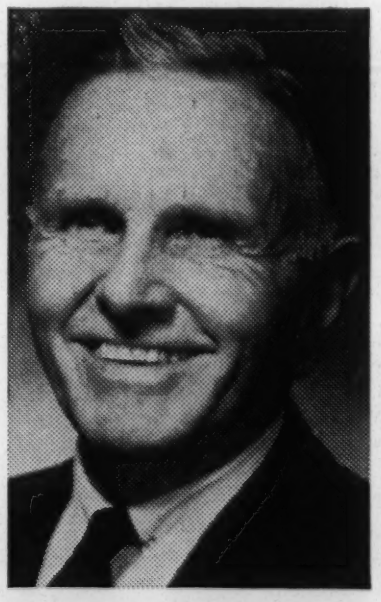

**Armistead L. Boothe, running for U.S. Senate**

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Negroes are placing their applications for jobs in department stores. A test has to be taken before a person is given the job. Those who have taken the test said they didn't have enough time to finish the test.

People are actively working in the voter registration drive in Lunenburg County. Students from the City College of New York have given out leaflets concerning voter registration to people in the area.

Also leaflets were passed out on desegregation. Parents in the county received forms on which they could choose which school their children could attend. The purpose of this new plan is to eliminate from the schools racial segregation and all other forms of discrimination based on color.

In Lunenburg Country, 16 Negroes attend white schools. Mr. Hawthorne also stated that when Negroes were applying to all-white schools that the superintendent gave them two weeks to return the forms, which the Negro people felt was too little time.

Mr. Hawthorne spoke at a meeting held in Richmond on April 9 concerning "the choice of schools". He also spoke on "difficulties the Negro students have in the rural sections."

## REGISTER TO VOTE

WHERE?.— Prince Edward County Courthouse, Main Street, Farmville, Virginia

WHEN?—From 9 a.m to 5 p.m., Mondays and Fridays. To vote in the primary election, you must register by June 12

WHAT'S REQUIRED?— You must be at least 21, live in the state for at least one year, Prince Edward County for 6 months, and the district for 30 days

You are a Citizen

You Deserve a Say in How Your Country Is Run

You lose your say if you Don't VOTE

**THE VOICE**
**OF PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY**
The VOICE is published in Farmville, Virginia
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O. Jerome Jackson, Editor; Armistead Reid, Circulation Manager
James White, Jr., Business Manager
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# *Editorials:*

## Moton Handicaps Students

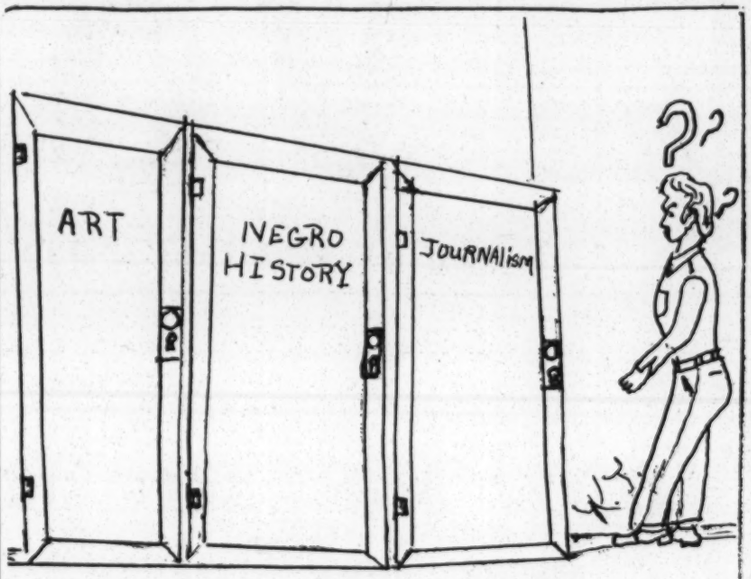
In the last issue of THE VOICE, an editorial contained a few statements that weren't completely factual. One of these concerned our library. Our opinion about the books being in poor conditions was wrong. Perhaps we should have talked about the quality of the books and our feeling that a number of the library books are out-of-date and need to be replaced.

Also, we stated that there were no higher math courses in the school. Perhaps we should have said that there aren't enough high math courses. At the present time, there is **one** trigonometry class and one class in advanced high school mathematics. This last class is offered without credit to about ten students, and was started sometime in March.

The administration says that all a student has to do is ask for a course. How does this justify our not having them? As students at R. R. Moton, we ask that more courses such as those mentioned in this and in past editorials be offered next year!

When can we take our Negro 1963. These students need special attention in order to come up to about their grade level. This cannot be done in a class of 30 students. We think the school and county officials should make an attempt to make classes smaller. For instance, in a class with as few as 20 students, 10 may need special, individual attention. This is impossible for the teacher. Groupng students and class size are special problems in a school system with ENORMOUS problems.

However, the main point of our last editorial was that above average students at R. R. Moton are being cheated. In all the discussion which the last editorial caused, we heard NO answer to this opinion. Instead, criticisms were heaped upon us for small factual errors. We have explained the areas in which we were incorrect. Will someone please answer the question raised in the last editorial? "In our opinion, students who graduate from Robert R. Moton High School usually aren't prepared for a good college education." Another




Will These Doors Open?

## Voter Registration Drive Active in PE

**(Continued from Page 1)**
drive for Leigh District. Mr. Robert Ellis of Hampden-Sydney is chairman of the drive for Leigh District. In Prospect District, Mrs. Jacqueline Allen is chairman. Chairman of Buffalo District drive is Mrs. Grace Johnson.

**Youth Chairman**

An important part of the voter registration drive in Prince Edward County is the work being done by students from R. R. Moton High School. James "Huck" White of Farmville is county coordinator of the youth workers in "Push for 1,200." James is a senior at R. R. Moton and is bussiness manager of THE VOICE.

James is chairman of some 64 high school students who are now working after school and on 5745 in Farmville to have office workers check on this. If you have already registered, Mr. Scott says you do not have re-register.

"For the first time, everyone in Virginia is able to register and vote," Mr. Scott says. "We in Virginia have a choice in electing a United States Senator, for the first time in this century! Don't take a chance, register and vote. Won't you help us in the "Push for 1,200?"

Mr. Scott urges all citizens who have questions about the voter registration drive or who want information about registering or who need rides into Farmville to contact him or one of the district chairman right away. "Most of all, if you are a registered voter, we need your help to register all the Negro people of

## *Letters to the Editor*

Dear Sir:

I hope this information will find its way to one issue of your newspaper. Personally, I do not care as to the changing or improvements you make in this writing, so long as the idea reaches the people.

Thank you,
(Disturbed)

**"For Whom the Bell Tolls"**

Let's take a moment to sum up a situation in which we, as Prince Edward Countians can take no pride. Is it really true, that in this county the democratic processes have crumbled until the milk of human kindness is no longer practiced as a virtue belonging to the human race?

How can one human being take from another knowingly, when the need is so apparent in all areas?

Just to enlighten you a bit, please follow:

To get one Visiting Teacher, one principal was eliminated, and the other principal was given the job of this principal. For three (3) years the services of this principal whose job was eliminated were necessary. Economically who is suffering? Will there be a new principal appointed?

The plot thickens as we glide deeper into the injustices. One Director of Instructions was secured for this system. No qualified person could be found of the pre-dominant group of this school system to be appointed (Ed. note: the new director of instructions is white). As we look around us, we see far and near persons with the same educational offerings, more experience, and a thorough knowledge of the needs of the people.

If democracy is to prevail, then a little practice will have to abound in our county.

Where are we on these issues, P.T.A.?

Taxation without representation could very well apply in our fair county, too. We have a school board for this school system whose colors have no hue at all (Ed. note: also, all

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## Moton Handicaps Students

In the last issue of THE VOICE, an editorial contained a few statements that weren't completely factual. One of these concerned our library. Our opinion about the books being in poor conditions was wrong. Perhaps we should have talked about the quality of the books and our feeling that a number of the library books are out-of-date and need to be replaced.

Also, we stated that there were no higher math courses in the school. Perhaps we should have said that there aren't enough high math courses. At the present time, there is **one** trigonometry class and one class in advanced high school mathematics. This last class is offered without credit to about ten students, and was started sometime in March.

The administration says that all a student has to do is ask for a course. How does this justify our not having them? As students at R. R. Moton, we ask that more courses such as those mentioned in this and in past editorials be offered next year!

When can we take our Negro History Course, our creative writing course, our journalism courses? When?

When can we join the debate team, the drama club? When?

Another part of our editorial needing explanation is the problem of over-crowded classes. In the Prince Edward case, since public schools here were closed for five years, most students missed school for four years until the Free Schools opened in 1963. These students need special attention in order to come up to about their grade level. This cannot be done in a class of 30 students. We think the school and county officials should make an attempt to make classes smaller. For instance, in a class with as few as 20 students, 10 may need special, individual attention. This is impossible for the teacher. Groupng students and class size are special problems in a school system with ENORMOUS problems.

However, the main point of our last editorial was that above average students at R. R. Moton are being cheated. In all the discussion which the last editorial caused, we heard NO answer to this opinion. Instead, criticisms were heaped upon us for small factual errors. We have explained the areas in which we were incorrect. Will someone please answer the question raised in the last editorial? "In our opinion, students who graduate from Robert R. Moton High School usually aren't prepared for a good college education." Another question—"If the students of Prince Edward County are blocked from having a good education will they, even with a diploma, still be locked out of opportunities needed to lead a decent life?"

Will someone, school administrators, county school officials, teachers, parents PLEASE answer this? Does anyone, school administrators, county school officials, teachers, parents care about this school system?

## Poverty Is For The Poor

Sometime last year, the war on Poverty entered Prince Edward County. The War on Poverty was responsible for running the project "Operation Catch-up" held here to teach remedial reading. "Operation Catch-up" was planned after many months of hard work by a committee of local citizens who saw a great need for such a project.

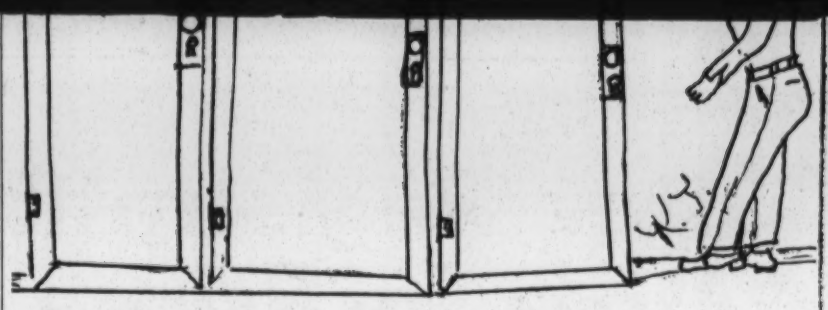
The War on Poverty in this county, Prince Edward Community Action Group, Inc., has some 69 members. Since the first few open meetings of the group last Spring, there have been no public meetings of Prince Edward's War on Poverty.

Some of the leadership of PECAG, Inc., is composed of people who have been opponents for many years in the Prince Edward County school fight. For instance, how does a person who holds a position of some authority in the private, segregated Prince Edward Academy also hold a position of authority in a local fight on poverty? What does such a person know of poverty?

Late last year, an adult education project was started here to teach reading. This is good—this project has been needed for sometime. But, is this what the people want? Who asked them? When were they asked? Now, this project has been discontinued. Why? Is is right for the Prince Edward Community Action Group to start a program, provide a FEW jobs for some people in this county and then stop the project?

To date, there has been little involvement of the poor in Prince Edward County's War on Poverty. In a county where 79.1% of the Negro population and 31.9% of the white population earn less than $3,000 a year, could it be that poor people are hard to find? Or, is anyone looking? When do the poor of this county have the opportunity to request projects and programs they making an effort to involve the poor whites of this county in the War on Poverty? Why have there been no poor whites involved in poverty projects?

In our opinion, if the war on Poverty in Prince Edward County makes no more effort to reach the people than has been done in the past, then the War on Poverty here will be a cruel joke on the people. Poverty in Prince Edward County will be for the poor since everything else here appears to be against them.



Will These Doors Open?

## Voter Registration Drive Active in PE

**(Continued from Page 1)**

drive for Leigh District. Mr. Robert Ellis of Hampden-Sydney is chairman of the drive for Leigh District. In Prospect District, Mrs. Jacqueline Allen is chairman. Chairman of Buffalo District drive is Mrs. Grace Johnson.

**Youth Chairman**

An important part of the voter registration drive in Prince Edward County is the work being done by students from R. R. Moton High School. James "Huck" White of Farmville is county coordinator of the youth workers in "Push for 1,200." James is a senior at R. R. Moton and is bussiness manager of THE VOICE.

James is chairman of some 64 high school students who are now working after school and on week-ends visiting homes and checking on people who have not registered to vote.

Youth chairman in each district are helping James and Mr. Scott in the voter registration drive. James is chairman of Farmville District and the Town of Farmville. Co-chairmen of Hampden District are Barbara Botts and Larry Hines. Eunice Dove is chairman of Lockett District. Arlean Winkler is chairman of the youth working in Leigh District. Gloria Berryman is chairman in Buffalo District and Harold White, Prospect District.

Workers in the "Push for 1,200" are providing rides into Farmville for people who want to register to vote. The Registrar's office in the county courthouse is open on Mondays and Fridays from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

How do people register to vote? Mr. Scott says that because of the new laws, people do not have to pay their poll tax in order to register. Also, under the new laws, people do not have to be able to read or write in order to register. The Registrar will help all people who cannot read or write in registering to vote. All you have to do is ask for this help!

Mr. Scott urges all people who are not sure whether they are registered to vote to call 392-5745 in Farmville to have office workers check on this. If you have already registered, Mr. Scott says you do not have re-register.

"For the first time, everyone in Virginia is able to register and vote," Mr. Scott says. "We in Virginia have a choice in electing a United States Senator, for the first time in this century! Don't take a chance, register and vote. Won't you help us in the "Push for 1,200?"

Mr. Scott urges all citizens who have questions about the voter registration drive or who want information about registering or who need rides into Farmville to contact him or one of the district chairman right away. "Most of all, if you are a registered voter, we need your help to register all the Negro people of this county. We don't have time to wait, the time is now to register and vote," he added.

Mr. Scott says that a request has been made to open the registrar's office on Saturday to help those people who work on Monday and Fridays.

## Armistead Boothe

**(Continued from Page 1)**

of the five members of the House of Delegates who vote against the Gray Plan of referendum. The Gray Plan included pupil assignment which could mean that all Negro children could be excluded from attending all-white schools. It also included tuition grants which could be given to children attending integrated schools, so they could go to private, segregated schools.

Boothe urged the state to accept the Supreme Court's decision and he was among the Legislative leaders who helped steer Virginia from a course of massive resistance to school integration to the present freedom of choice policy.

Some spoke out against the moderate legislators. However, the State Senator Armistead L. Boothe and Republican State Senator Ted Dalton working as a team, made a valiant last ditch fight for local option in a session of the legislature. At one point in the fight, Boothe was acting chairman of the Virginia Society for the Preservation of Public Education.

Don't forget that people judge you by your actions, not your intentions. You may have a heart of gold, but so does a hardboiled egg.

**"For Whom the Bell Tolls"**

Let's take a moment to sum up a situation in which we, as Prince Edward Countians can take no pride. Is it really true, that in this county the democratic processes have crumbled until the milk of human kindness is no longer practiced as a virtue belonging to the human race?

How can one human being take from another knowingly, when the need is so apparent in all areas?

Just to enlighten you a bit, please follow:

To get one Visiting Teacher, one principal was eliminated, and the other principal was given the job of this principal. For three (3) years the services of this principal whose job was eliminated were necessary. Economically who is suffering? Will there be a new principal appointed?

The plot thickens as we glide deeper into the injustices. One Director of Instructions was secured for this system. No qualified person could be found of the pre-dominant group of this school system to be appointed (Ed. note: the new director of instructions is white). As we look around us, we see far and near persons with the same educational offerings, more experience, and a thorough knowledge of the needs of the people.

If democracy is to prevail, then a little practice will have to abound in our county.

Where are we on these issues, P.T.A.?

Taxation without representation could very well apply in our fair county, too. We have a school board for this school system whose colors have no hue at all (Ed. note: also, all white). Could this be an accident? Do not tell us these knowledgeable ones have no equals. Look around you and you can see replacements everywhere.

Last but not least is the case of 500 plus children and 18 teachers using two (2) restrooms. This is inadequacy personified with a capital "I." How naive can we be? Where is this thing called standards in sanitation? Where are those who are to look out for the welfare, interest, and well-being of the citizens and children of this county?

(Ed.. Note: **The Voice** generally does not publish unsigned letters. However, we felt our readers would be interested in this one.)

## Professor Recalls

**(Continued from Page 1)**

the legislature. He also opposed the state's massive resistance laws. Booth was one of the leaders in causing them to be declared unconstitutional.:

Dr. Moss commented, "Mr. Booth told me about 3 years ago that he hoped to run for United States Senator. I feel that he is one of the real, true Statesman in Virginia, not just a politician."

## Question Box

**(Continued from Page 1)**

single party. The primary election is an official election. It is provided for by legislation in all the states and it is paid for the state.

In states such as Virginia in which one party usually wins over the other, a victory in the primary usually means a victory in the November election. For this reason, it is important that everyone who is over 21 register and vote in Virginia in time for the July 12 election.

VIRGINIA

# County in Virginia Is Held in Contempt Over White Tuitions

NYT 6/20/66

RICHMOND, June 20 (AP) —The Board of Supervisors of Prince Edward county was cited for civil contempt by the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit here today for paying out $180,000 in tuition grants to parents of white school children.

The court made the 3-to-2 ruling against a county action that Negro plaintiffs had called "a midnight raid on the county treasury." It ordered the $180,000 restored to the treasury.

Prince Edward, the only locality in the nation to abandon public schools rather than desegrate them, distributed the money on Aug. 5, 1964. The money was for use in a private school system for the county's white children.

In the majority opinion written by Justice Albert V. Bryan, the court said:

"Obviously, the aim was to thwart the impact of any adverse decree which might ultimately be forthcoming on the use of tuition grants."

The money was distibruted while the appeals court was considering a request for a permanent injunction against the use of tuition grants.

The payments represented one-half of the total amount of the tuition grants for the 1964-65 school year. White parents were notified by telephone in the early morning hours of Aug. 5 and, the court noted, most of them received the money at 9 o'clock that morning.

Public schools were closed in the county in 1959 to avoid racial desegregation. The county's white children attended a quickly organized private academy, but Negroes received no formal education until the Kennedy Administration promoted the formation of a private foundation for them in 1963.

# BANKERS' SUPPORT ISSUE IN VIRGINIA

## Aid to Senator Robertson Is Cited by Rival's Backers

NYT 6/17/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

RICHMOND, Va., June 15—When William B. Spong Jr., a candidate for the United States Senate, is in Richmond he frequently makes hand-shaking forays into the financial district on Main Street, where the bank buildings are high and shiny.

A large banner stretched across the street is a reminder that this sector of the Virginia establishment is enemy territory for Mr. Spong, a 45-year-old state Senator from Portsmouth.

The banner urges the re-election of A. Willis Robertson, the 79-year-old conservative who is chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

The best that Mr. Spong has done on Main Street is to come away with the support of some lower rung employes who like his scholarly, straightforward approach and the way he says that Senator Robertson is "a member of a small band who refuse to recognize the problems of the 20th century."

### Spong Draws Strength

Recent disclosures of the assistance that the banking industry has been giving Mr. Robertson in the Senate race, however, seem to have added more steam to the surprisingly strong campaign Mr. Spong is waging to win the July 12 Democratic primary.

Many political observers of Virginia say that Mr. Spong now has a fair chance of unseating Senator Robertson, a member of the Byrd political organization, who has been in Congress since 1933.

To the surprise of many, the race is getting much more attention than a parallel contest between Senator Harry F. Byrd Jr., who was appointed last year to fill his father's seat, and Armistead L. Boothe of Alexandria, a former member of the General Assembly.

The disclosures of campaign assistance by bankers for Senator Robertson began a few days ago when Dr. Russell M. Cox, a Portsmouth physician, who is a friend of Mr. Spong, disclosed that he had resigned from the advisory board of the Bank of Virginia because banking interests were using "coercion and arm twisting tactics" to raise money for the Robertson campaign.

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Dr. Cox, a member of the Byrd organization, said that the Virginia Bankers Association had set a quota of $54,000 or more from member banks and in one bank officers and board members had been told to contribute $2,500 each.

At the same time, newspapers printed copies of a letter sent to stockholders in the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company of New York urging them to thank Senator Robertson for legislation that had permitted a merger between the Manufacturers Trust Company and the Hanover Bank, both of New York.

The letter, which went to about 200 stockholders in Virginia as well as several thousand elsewhere, was written by R. E. McNeill Jr., chairman of the board.

**Legislation Aided Bank**

Senator Robertson was the sponsor of a bill enacted last year that exempted from antitrust action bank mergers consumated before June 17, 1963. The legislation had the effect of setting aside a Federal Court ruling that the New York merger had violated the Sherman Antitrust act.

Banking interests are concerned that if Senator Robertson is defeated the new chairman may be Senator Paul H. Douglas, the Illinois liberal who is third-ranking Democrat on the committee.

Senator John J. Sparkman of Alabama ranks ahead of Mr. Douglas but faces serious Republican opposition in November.

It was disclosed also that Charles Emmett Lucey, who served as counsel for Manufacturers Hanover last year and who was a registered lobbyist for a banking group, had been hired on a temporary basis as a "research assistant" for Senator Robertson.

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**Bank Won't Comment**

Neither Manufacturers Hanover Trust nor Mr. McNeill would comment yesterday on the letter asking stockholders to thank Senator Robertson. The text of the letter, dated Feb. 24, 1966, follows:

"As you know, Congress passed the bank legislation which will terminate the antitrust legislation against your bank.

"The original bill to correct the situation following the Supreme Court decision on the bank merger act was introduced by Senator A. Willis Robertson of Virginia. Senator Robertson has been an outstanding Chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, and instrumental in many pieces of bank legislation. He is a man of individual opinion, but a student and knowledgeable in the field of banking, and felt very keenly that the situation in which some 2,000 banks found themselves following the Supreme Court decision should be corrected. He therefore proceeded to act accordingly.

"While many of us often ask our Senators and Representatives to consider our point of view and be helpful, many of us do not always remember to say "Thank you." We believe that Senator Robertson, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. would like to know that you appreciated his attitude and his efforts."

# Smith, Robertson Beaten in Virginia As Sen. Byrd Wins

VIRGINIA

AC 7/13/66

By JOHN F. DAFFRON

RICHMOND, Va. (AP) — The conservative Byrd political organization suffered two major setbacks with the defeat of Sen. A. Willis Robertson and Rep. Howard W. Smith in Tuesday's Democratic primary election.

Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. staved off an organization rout by scoring a close victory in the face of a tough challenge from a former State Senate colleague, Armistead L. Boothe.

Robertson, a 20-year senator wtih a dozen years prior experience in the House, was edged by a moderate, State Sen. William B. Spong Jr., on the basis of virtually complete returns. Robertson is 79, Spong is 45.

**CONTEST TALKED**

But the razor-thin margin of the defeat of Robertson and Smith on the basis of the unofficial returns raised the probability of the results being contested. Only a few hundred votes each separated the winner from the loser in the two races.

Smith, 83, chairman of the House Rules Committee and a pillar of Southern conservatism, was sidetracked in his bid for a 19th term by a Virginia rarity — an avowed liberal — George C.. Rawlings Jr., a Fredericksburg attorney who serves in the Virginia Legislature.

Returns — 99 per cent complete — from 2,043 of the state's 2,063 precincts show: Robertson, 216,336; Spong 216,833; Byrd 221,435; Boothe 213,154.

**THE BREAKDOWN**

Unofficial complete returns from the Smith-Rawlings House race in the central Virginia 8th District showed: Smith, 26,521, Rawlings 26,885.

With less than a single percentage point separating the winners and losers in the Robertson-Spong and Smith-Rawlings races there was a likelihood of requests for a recount — but there was no immediate indication from the apparent losers themselves that this would be done.

Byrd Jr., with only eight months seniority in the Senate since his appointment to succeed his ailing father — ailing patriarch of the organization — thus is in line to become Virginia's senior senator.

**IS GRATEFUL**

When the results were conclusive, Byrd left his Winchester home and went with his wife and sons to a hotel ballroom. He told his supporters "I am very grateful" and said he would endeavor to continue to represent all of the people.

His campaign associates said he would have a formal statement Wednesday.

The outcome of the primary obviously will tend to reshape Virginia's staunchly conserva-

Continued on Page 8, Column 1

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# Robertson, Smith Lose in Virginia

Continued from Page 1

tive image in Washington. And the results portend a thaw in the chilly relations between the top Democratic leadership in Virginia and the national Democratic administration.

Another organization stalwart, Rep. Watkins M. Abbitt, state Democratic chairman, had opposition from a virtual unknown, Lewis A. Curling, and was a runaway winner for renomination in the 4th District.

In the only other primary contest, Clive L. Du Vai II, a northern Virginia attorney, defeated Thomas H. Woods, a Falls Church travel agent, for the nomination in the 10th, now represented by Republican Joel T. Broyhill.

The outcome of the Robertson fight for the full six-year Senate term was something of an upset —although the attorney, 45, had been given a good chance to turn the trick.

But the main surprise was the defeat of Smith, who was much more of an inner circle figure in the Byrd organization that Robertson has ever been. And Smith, something of a conservative's conservative, fell before the challenge of an avowed liberal.

Byrd Jr., who broke off his campaigning a few days ago when the condition of his seriously ill father became critical, was heavily favored over Boothe. But Boothe, a former state senator with Byrd, pressed him all the way. Boothe too, curtailed his campaigning in deference to his opponent's family concern.

Spong, and Boothe ran about two to one ahead of Robertson and Byrd in the populous Norfolk and northern Virginia areas and well ahead in the southwest 9th—as they knew they had to do to have a chance. And both challengers took the coastal 1st District narrowly and were strong losing contenders in the north central 8th.

A council that seeks — through fact-finding, discussion and action — to attain equal opportunity for all people in Virginia

August 31, 1966

17 EAST CARY STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23219
TELEPHONE: AREA CODE 703—648-4444

# SPECIAL REPORT

## AMELIA COURTHOUSE VIRGINIA

## WHAT PICTURE OF AMERICA?

--- EXPERIENCES OF FOREIGN STUDENTS
(Studying in the U.S.A.)

FOREWARD

During the summer of 1966 many students from different parts of the U.S.A. have worked in Amelia and Nottoway Counties through the Parish Volunteer Service Corps under the direction of The Rev. Robert L. Craghead (Pastor of the Zion Hill United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.). Some of these students are from foreign countries and studying in America. The VCHR has obtained per mission from them to relate their impressions. VCHR asked them, "What picture of America have you obtained from your experiences in Amelia County, Virginia, U.S.A.? These are their stories:

AFFIDAVIT

I am a Ghanaian student studying Divinity at Duke Divinity School, Durham, North Carolina. Since June 23, I have been working with Amelia-Nottoway Parish Volunteer Service Corps, under The Rev. Robert L. Craghead. (Zion Hill United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.)

On Saturday, August 13, 1966, a Freedom Rally was held under the auspices of the Amelia Branch of the NAACP, in front of the Amelia Courthouse. The rally was held in connection with Negro Voter Registration which formed part of the work I did.

The Rally scheduled at 10:00 a.m., started at 10:45 a.m. The Rev. Craghead opened it with prayer. He asked God's blessings and peace and harmony among all races regardless of color, creed or race. Miss Carolyn Brumskill spoke briefly, stating the purpose of the rally.

But before she spoke, Miss Elaine Hoisington, call my attention to a Klansman who was coming towards the Confederate Statute. She and one girl followed by Mr. Wilkerson, who led the singing of the Freedom Songs walked towards the Klansmen. They tried to take his picture. It seemed that he agreed to pose for the photo. Miss Hoisington and her group of two came back whilst the Klansman took another turn.

It was my turn to speak. In less than three or four minutes I saw a number of Klansmen in robes coming. They lined up right in front of me and faced the audience. They were about three (3) feet from me.

Though I was somewhat terrified by their presence, I did not give up my address which was on "Africa Today." I pressed on until the end. They were silent while I spoke. Mr. Randall, the Master of Ceremonies, expressed his thanks and the audience applauded.

The Klansmen, led by a certain man dressed in long pants and shirt, started shouting and yelling NEVER with some sort of rhythum. Some of them had a piece of cardboard pinned on them with NEVER printed on them. Others has in their hands leaflets and newspapers apparently for distribution.

Among the first batch, I saw about two (2) women clad in the Klan's robe and another one in in a blouse and skirt.

Just as the behavior of the klansmen did not please me, so did the way of the local peace en forcing people displease me. Whereas, the form er did all their worst with impunity, the latter seemed to have "aided and abetted." I do not think I was wrong in repeating in my head, "O judgement thou art fled to brutish beasts, and men have lost their reason." (With apologies to Shakespeare.) Somewhere in the middle of the rally, a man in his fifties who dressed like a "gentlemen" appeared on the scene. There flowed from him a force of life which affected every klansman. I heard him mutter something which encouraged the 25 to 30 klansmen and women to yell their "nevers" at their loudest. But the Negroes were not perturbed nor disturbed. They stood their ground until the klansmen moved behind the main audience. This gave the Negroes breathing space until finally the klan departed from the grounds of the courthouse. But as they were not too happy to see the rally going smooth ly, they threw a firecracker which boomed very loud. But no one was disturbed by it.

Though there was no major incident, I was very much depressed and stupified by the uncalled for interference of the klansmen. And most shock-- ing of all is that the klan is taking the name of God in vain. They think they have been ordained by God to fight for the American white society. What happened in Amelia on August 13, gives me an idea as to what depths of infamy it was possible for men (black, yellow or white) to descend.

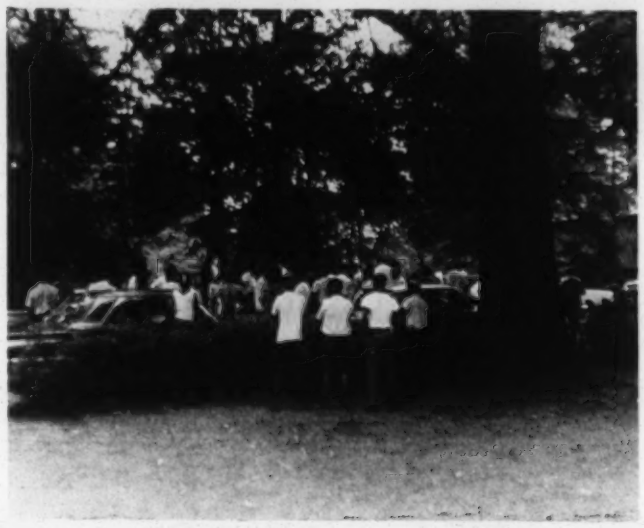
At least, I saw about six or eight policemen the majority of whom were for the most part inside the Courthouse and peeping through the window panes. I saw that the presence of the Klansmen made Messrs. Lester Banks, Randall, Wilkerson and The Rev. Craghead move up and down, going to the Courthouse, and consulting with the peace and law enforcing officers. On one or two occasions I saw the police talking to one or two leaders of the Klansmen away from the main Klan group. There seemed to be a battle of nerves. Whenever the yelling of the NEVER went down, Mr. Wilkerson would call a Freedom Song to be sung. Sometimes there was a clash. The NEVER could continue but the volume of the freedom song would drown it. I heard the U.S. National Anthem sung twice. (By Negroes.) On the first occasion both sides ---- Negroes and Klansmen joined. On the second occa sion, Mr. Wilkerson said it should be left only to the Klan to sing. I saw two or three of them singing but they could do it only halfway. The rest stood mute.

When the first batch of Klansmen were coming, I saw that one of the men has something rather too heavy, and of the shape of a pistol in his pocket. He walked clumsily.

Before the rally was halfway through, more Klansmen and women had joined. Some in their robes, others were not. The climax came when a man in his fifties came. He was not in a Klan robe. He was in tie. He was very good in rousing the Klansmen. They yelled and shouted as he shouted something to them.

I tried to speak to Mr. Mike Barnhart by put ing my hand on his arm. Immediately one of the Klansmen shouted to him, "You Nigger-Lover!" -- Another asked me, "You, where do you come from?" I replied, "Africa." -- He then told me to go home.

I don't know what made the Klan leave their original place to an area behind the audience. Here they pressed on the people while the latter were singing their Freedom Songs.



Finally, the Klansmen in a group moved away from the Court- house grounds to a street nearby. While they were there, I saw some people rushing towards them. Something developed. Soon a Negro woman

with her child accompanied by her husband was es corted in after the police had earlier escorted one of the Klansmen into the Courthouse. Mr. L. Banks was speaking when this incident happened. After a short while, a firecracker boomed aloud on the Courthouse ground. The organizers of the rally approached the police but they appeared to be indifferent to what had happened. No arrest was made. After this incident the Klansmen began to disappear one by one. The Negro Freedom Rally came to an end about 1:00 p.m.

I hereby swear and affirm that the above is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Date: Aug. 19, 1966

/s/ Daniel O. Kwapong

Men's Graduate Center, Box 1153, Duke Universi ty, Durham, N. S. 27706...c/o Presbyterian Ch. of Ghana, Box 1800, Accra, Ghana, West Africa.

Subscribed to and sworn to before me this 19th day of August, 1966. Comm. Expires: 2/10/70

D.H. Grigg, Notary Pub.

Never, Never, Never!
(by Daniel O. Kwapong)

I am barely one year old in this country. I have seen much and observed a lot, but my impressions are still in the melting pot. I am sure that my second year here will help me get a true picture of things, especially if I happen to have the opportunity of travelling just a little further afield. As it usually happens, one may learn so many things about a new country one is travelling to before one actually sets foot there. The pieces of information he receives before he leaves may only help excite that person's fancy. Correct impressions of a country are generally formed after a considerable stay and much observation.

Before I set foot here, some of the ideas passed on to me were really great: America is a Christian country; there is no poverty in America; every family owns a car; on the highways, if you don't travel a safe speed, the patrolman will catch you and give you a ticket. Of course, the plight of the Negro is some thing well known outside America. I knew of segregation and discrimination as social prejudices against American Negroes and occasionally against Africans by "mistake." We read about stories of Little Rock and James Meredith and a lot more. When you said hospitality is characteristic of the African, you will be told to go to America and you will find the same thing and "even more." Nor need I mention the big commitment of the U.S. to save captive nations from the claws of Communism and terrorism, countless technical assistance and aid given to underdeveloped countries "without strings," and different foundations and scholarships from churches and educational agencies to foreign students. Lastly, we hear of America as a land of liberty and home of true democracy. All these facets of American life do not exclude the high incidence of fatal accidents on the high ways and the wave of crime and violence.

As I have already said, I am barely one year old here in America and have not yet had the opportunity of travelling much. Whatever picture I have of this country is still in the making. However, there is one statement I have made as a result of what I have seen and read since coming. I have said that I am yet to be convinced that the U. S. is a Christian country. Perhaps the adjective "Christian" is used only either broadly or vaguely. Secondly, what I have to say is -- either there is too little of it or too much of it. If the Negroes have the liberty to organize a Freedom Rally and some Klansmen also have a kind of liberty to disrupt this meeting, it goes without saying that there is either too much of this freedom or too little, for good or bad.

Let us be honest. What is good for the goose is also good for the gander. So goes the adage. If in the name of humanity, the Negro is a human being, and the white man is also a human being; then both of them by simple deduction are human beings. It is with the common nature of humanity between Negroes and whites in mind that I would like to express a few views of what happened in front of Amelia Courthouse (Virginia) on Saturday, August 13, 1966.

The Negro has for a long time been relegated to an inferior position. He has for centuries waded through a quagmire of despondency. The Civil Rights Act, which is nearly 100 years old, still has very tender roots indeed. The act was never enforced in the fullest sense until barely ten years ago. Negroes have realized that there is no better help than self-help. They have thrown their full weight into the struggle to liberate themselves from petty prejudices and discrimination, let alone economic and social inequalities that exist in the Great Society which is now spending millions of dollars on Poverty Programs.

The Freedom Rally was purposely organized in Amelia County by the NAACP to get Negroes to register because they know that the door to the exercise of enfranchisement has been opened to them. If they won't register, they cannot vote, and the choice will not be theirs. Someone they did not pick themselves will have to speak for them, and how could that work? Use of the grounds of the Courthouse was approved and sanctioned for use by the NAACP Branch of Amelia. At 10:45 a.m., the rally started with a prayer by The Rev. Craghead. The theme of his prayer was peace and harmony among all races here in the Great Society. God is up there but it is up to men, women and children of all races to do things that will bring about peace and harmony, which is more precious than anything I know.

Little did anyone think that the Klan would "invade" the rally and misbehave themselves. Certainly, I know that some whites still think Negroes have no right to be on equal terms with them. That is what the hate literature distributed by the Klan aim at. I was particularly surprised to see women engaged in a "lawless activity." Women for all that I know are "full of the milk of human kindness" and therefore should be the last to actively participate in or give support to any organization whose aim is quasi-violence. And yet some white women dressed in white or in their ordinary frocks were present on this shameful day.

What the Klan means by yelling "Never, Never, Never" can only be surmised. Possibly, it means that the Negro will never rise to the very same status as that of the whites, or that the Civil Rights Act will never come into function, or that Negroes should never be given the opportunity to organize themselves.

My Feeling of the Relationship Between the White and the Negro American in Amelia County, Va.

"Who will win the second World War?" "Oh, I bet the Americans will win the war" ..... This was the discussion of middle age and old farmers of the northern part of Thailand. While I was watching, they were discussing World War II between Japan and the U. S. Then the old man asked why America would win the war. The middle age farmer then answered precisely, "because God stays with them, they are a Christian country, what they are doing is right, and God will be on their side." Those words I heard from them still echo in my ear and from that time America has always been in my dream. To come to see America the Beautiful and God's Country.

Time passed and I graduated from the University with a bachelor degree in education. I met with friends who always asked whether I came to the U.S. because everybody wants to come here to continue a higher education and learn the ideas and way of life of American people. I heard of the programs in technology and education of America and most of all the idea of Democracy, Liberty, Equality and Opportunity of all people. We also heard of human rights and brotherhood. And finally America is more popular to the leadership of the free world in fighting Communism.

Average people understand what the U. S. is fighting for. The answer -- Justice, Liberty, Freedom and the Rights of people all over the world. I think that people of the world are watching you - every American citizen - as the model. If you behave yourselves as the good people they will appreciate you and if you do something wrong they will blame and anti you. So American people must be aware of themselves as the leadership of the free world. Every American has the responsibility to deserve this.

I know and realized when I came to study here that America has a big and severe problem as to every American's citizenship. You can't deny that you won't get involved. For me, I really sympathize with those Americans having limited rights and opportunities. American people consists of a great many nationalities. The majority are called white and black or Negro, but all of the races become one nation under one constitution as Americans. Yes, they are American citizens.

I don't like to hear the words, "you are black" and "you are white." I do not like to see here " Negro bus, Negro school, Negro community, white bus, white school and white church." I come here to call everyone "My American Friend."

I understood that many American people think that racial problems do not exist in America because the law and constitution has been established and reinforced.

As I have been working and and learning the Negro community and having discussions with the whites in Amelia Cty., sponsored by the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., for two months; I realize that the problems occurred on both sides, but in different attitudes and forms. The Negroes in Amelia County are the poorest. Their average income is far below $3,000 per family. They have inferior education and job opportunities when compared to whites in the same county. Mostly, each family has more than four children. They want only to get a job and earn money for keeping the family. There is lack of stimulation and they don't have time to think of progress. When they get a job they try to deserve it. I have interviewed many middle age adults about better jobs. One man answered, "How can I get a better job when I finished only the 4th grade?" Their children drop out of school and have no job. The average teenager who graduates from high school leaves home to get a job or study in big cities. The majority of people who still live at home are children and unskilled parents.

As I observed the civil rights workers trying to help Negro people go to register and vote, I find mostly middle class Negroes registering to vote while there are a lot of low educated persons who do not register. They have the attitude that voting gives them no advantage. They are not enthusiastic to register. And the big problem is they do not trust civil rights workers who could help them. It is not their fault not to register and vote. They have gotten used to this kind of situation for many decades. They were prohibited from registering to vote by superstructure power. This is white power or Klan groups. Even the Klansmen are the minority but they have built up their power to make Negroes afraid of them.

Recently, the Klan has become more active in Amelia County. On August 13, 1966, they showed up in public at Amelia Courthouse at the Freedom Rally and disturbed the Negroes, and during the same month 20 Klan groups held their own rallies in Amelia County. KKK ideals depend on hate and fear of the uprising of the Negro. The jealousy and envy are fixed in their minds. The attitude and pride make humans hate and anti each other. I feel that both sides lack understanding and communication. The attitude of inferiority and superiority still exist among too many people. (Cont'd. Pg. 5)

So it seems that if we want to see the great change in the future among Negroes in Amelia, we will have to build up the attitudes and ideas of the Negro youngster.

Finally, do not forget the truth that in getting a job done, working with one side won't be successful, if we neglect the other side. We know white people are the majority of the country and they may cooperate or anti. However, the changing of attitudes of both sides is really significant. I think if white people would understand and want to help, the attitudes of the Negroes would change; but the majority of the whites do not want to get involved. They just want to stay outside and watch. However, everybody has the responsibility to do something to help their neighbors. I think people all over the world want to see American people become one nation under God, with Freedom, Liberty, Equality, Human Rights, Peace and Good Will existing all over the world.

Insorne Matah

(A student at the University of Tulsa, Oklahoma, from Chieng, Thailand, working with the Amelia-Nottoway Parish Volunteer Service Corps, during Summer of 1966.)

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# Virginian Sees No Negroes on Police Force

VIRGINIA
AG 9/25/62

By MICHAEL DROSNIN
Washington Post News Service

WASHINGTON — Virginia's all-white state police can expect to remain all white, the troopers' personnel director declared in the wake of reports the force is 59 men short.

"We don't have any Negroes on the force now," said Capt. M. S. Urick in a telephone interview from Richmond, "and we don't expect to have any in the near future."

URICK'S statement followed reports of continuing shortages in the 847-man Virginia State Police force despite recent "intensive recruiting efforts." Urick made it clear that no special efforts would be made to attract Negroes to a force which has never broken the color bar.

"The fact is that the Negroes just don't meet our standards," he said. "There's no prejudice," he added. "It's just that the majority of the colored people have done miserably on our tests."

The tests on which the Negro applicants have fared so poorly, Urick said, are general intelligence examinations of the type given to high school seniors and college freshmen.

"I THINK it would be quite a good idea to get some Negroes on the force," Urick said, "but I'm not going to go out and employ colored people just to have some in our department."

The personnel supervisor denied that there has been any pressure to keep the state polic segregated. "I'm pretty sure there'd be people who'd be upset if we had Negro troopers," he said, "but I can assure you there's been no pressure."

Few Virginia Negroes have applied for state police jobs in recent years, according to Capt. Urick. He estimated there have not been more than 25 Negro applicants since 1960.

"I don't know why it is that so few of them want to be on our force," he said. "Maybe it's because one who could come up to our standards can command a better job with the situation as it is now."

The starting salary for a state trooper is $5,400 a year, with a maximum of $7,032 after five and one-half years on the force.

# BYRD'S LEAD EBBS IN VIRGINIA DRIVE

VIRGINIA

## He Is Still Expected to Win, but With a Narrow Edge

9/28/66

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

Special to The New York Times

RICHMOND, Sept. 27—Indications that Harry F. Byrd Jr. would handily win election to the remaining four years of his father's Senate term have taken a sudden and, to many Virginians, a shocking turn.

"It is almost unthinkable," a Byrd organization Democrat said today, "but young Harry is in serious trouble. He can't lose, but he is probably going to be humiliated by the closest shave of any Byrd in Virginia history."

Other observers here agree that a Byrd defeat seems unlikely, but there is mounting anxiety among conservatives here over both the short and long-range implications of recent developments.

Foremost among them is the younger Mr. Byrd's decision to withdraw from campaigning until the last two or three weeks before Nov. 8.

Young Harry, as he is still respectfully known at the age of 51, is the heir and appointed successor of former Senator Harry Flood Byrd, 79, for many years chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

### Elder Byrd Still in Coma

The elder Mr. Byrd, still in a terminal coma caused by a malignant brain tumor, resigned from the Senate when his health failed last November. His son was appointed to the vacancy and now faces his first statewide election in a bid to fill the remaining four years of the term.

It is a situation that has encouraged charges of "dynastic succession" from both Republicans and liberal Democrats. The Byrd organization's apparent move away from ultra-conservative positions has also brought militant opposition from Virginia's segregationist Conservative party, which regards Mr. Byrd as "too liberal."

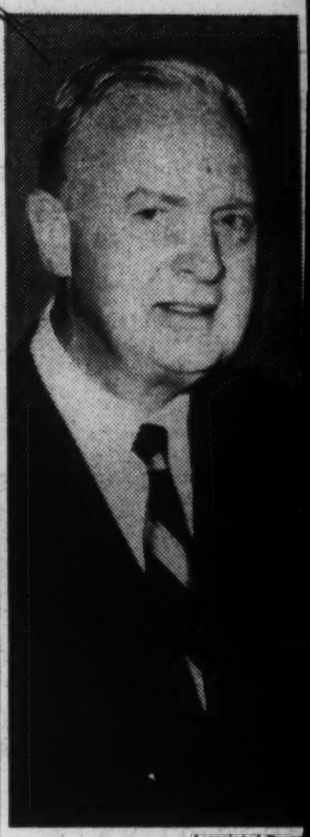
The growing strength of Negro voters is another complication. As a state Senator, the younger Mr. Byrd bitterly opposed school desegregation. About 200,000 Negro voters are registered, and as a Democratic official put it, "they wouldn't vote for Harry now if he married one of them."

Mr. Byrd's Republican opponent, Lawrence M. Traylor of Heathsville, is waging a surprisingly brisk and irreverent campaign, labeling the bearer of Virginia's best-known name "Lyndon Bird's junior Byrd."

And the theme of John W. Carter of Danville, the Conservative candidate—that Mr. Byrd has failed to expose "Communist agitators among Negroes" and is almost as liberal as President Johnson—is reported to have found some support in Virginia's strongly segregationist tobacco areas.

Some of Mr. Byrd's supporters are concerned about a third opponent, J. B. Brayman, a Lynchburg lunchroom counterman running as an anti-Byrd independent. Mr. Brayman polled about 30,000 votes, many of them cast by Negroes, in 1964 as an independent running against the elder Mr. Byrd.

Moreover, Mr. Byrd now faces the threat of defections in urban centers among moderate, anti-organization Democrats. They have complained publicly that, to retain his hold on conservative voters, Mr. Byrd has shunned Democratic Congressional candidates with progressive leanings.



Associated Press

**HIS VICTORY IN DOUBT: Senator Harry F. Byrd Jr., Virginia Democrat, who is seeking election to remaining four years of Senate seat held by his father.**

### Focus of Dispute

The focus of this dispute is in the Eighth Congressional District, just south of Washington. Representative Howard W. Smith, 83, was narrowly denied renomination there in a major primary upset by a young and liberal anti-organization legislator, George C. Rawlings Jr. of Fredericksburg.

Mr. Byrd has avoided an endorsement of Mr. Rawlings, and many of his and Mr. Smith's supporters are working openly for Mr. Rawlings' Republican opponent, William L. Scott of Fairfax.

Against this array of difficulties, Mr. Byrd chose the opening yesterday of a Democratic senatorial headquarters here to announce that he would abandon all campaigning until Congress adjourned.

In effect, this postponed the start of his campaign until Oct. 15, at the earliest.

It would leave Mr. Byrd only three weeks, at best, to deal with the mounting political uncertainties in his own state, and the decision has angered some of his own supporters here, particularly the loyal conservatives.

A joint senatorial campaign is to be carried on alone by William B. Spong, an anti-organization former state Senator from Portsmouth. Mr. Spong, 45, is Mr. Byrd's running mate by virtue of his victory in the primary over Senator A. Willis Robertson, 79, who for long has been an organization stalwart.

Although Mr. Spong, a moderate, probably is acceptable to many conservative Byrd loyalists, Mr. Byrd's assignment of campaign responsibilities to him is expected to cost the Senator some conservative support.

# Turmoil in Virginia's Politics May Bring Upset of Democrats

VIRGINIA By B. D. AYRES 11/6/66

Special to The New York Times

RICHMOND, Nov. 5—There is more turmoil in Virginia politics this fall than at any time since the mid-1920's when the late Senator Harry F. Byrd began building the formidable Democratic machine that was to bear his name.

The last 12 months have seen serious disruptions in the once-staid and ultra-conservative political order of things in the old dominion. In the confusion several political upsets could occur this Tuesday.

However, Republicans are not expected to grab control of this predominantly Democratic state regardless of the results of the various contests. Rather the elections are more likely to clarify or confuse further the future course of the Democratic party in Virginia.

The campaign oratory has been somewhat standard. Republicans have hammered away at the issue of inflation and the "evils" of the Johnson Administration.

Democrats have tried to avoid too many ties to the Administration. The Conservative party, a growing splinter group that espouses segregation, has preached states' rights. And just about everybody has called for an honorable peace in Vietnam.

The most talked-about race involves the late Senator Byrd's 51-year-old son, Harry F. Byrd Jr., who has held a temporary Senate appointment since his father resigned a year ago because of ill health.

Mr. Byrd hopes Virginia voters will send him back to Capitol Hill on his own merit for the remaining four years of the six-year term.

His three opponents are Lawrence M. Traylor, a 38-year-old Republican moderate and lawyer from Heathsville; J. B. Brayman, 65, a sometime short-order cook and ofttime independent political candidate from Lynchburg; and John W. Carter, 45, a Danville lawyer and founder of the Conservative arty.

In a primary contest last July the younger Mr. Byrd, "Little Harry" to many, echoed his father's famed conservation but was unable to reproduce "Big Harry's" special brand of political charisma.

The result was a close race in which Mr Byrd just squeaked past a liberal anti-machine lawyer from Alexandria, former State Senator Arimstead L. Boothe.

Mr. Boothe drew strong support from the Old Dominion's growing Negro vote and from Democrats who had grown increasingly resentful of what was termed "the Byrd dynasty.'

Most political observers here believe Mr. Byrd will win on Tuesday. But the possibility of an upset remains if Mr. Traylor successfully binds together an anti-Byrd coalition somewhat like that Mr. Boothe built, and if there are heavy defections to the Conservative party. The Brayman vote is not expected to be significant.

The Democratic candidate for the other United States Senate seat, State Senator William B. Spong, has been waging a hard campaign.

Mr. Spong, 46, is a Portsmouth moderate and lawyer who last summer thoroughly disturbed old-line Democrats in the state with a narrow primary victory over Senator A. Willis Robertson, a veteran of 33 years on Capitol Hill. The Senator was beaten by a coalition similar to that employed by Mr. Boothe and Mr. Byrd Jr.

Mr. Spong is expected to win handily over his Conservative party opponent, F. Lee Hawthorne, and the Republican candidate, James P. Ould Jr.

Virginia has 10 Congressional seats, but only seven are being contested this fall. Three of the elections—in the Eighth, Ninth and 10th Districts—are considered close.

In the Eighth, which stretches from the mouth of the Potomac River almost to Washington, William L. Scott, a 50-year-old Republican conservative and Fairfax lawyer, is running strongly against state delegate George C. Rawlings, the 44-year-old moderate Democrat from Fredericksburg who beat Representative Howard W. Smith last summer in a primary upset.

In the 10th District, which includes many of the Virginia suburbs next to Washington, Representative Joel T. Broyhill, a 47-year-old Republican, is running for an eighth term against state delegate Clide L. DuVal, a 54-year-old Democrat who has included a trip to Vietnam in his campaigning.

In the Ninth District in the western tip of the state, Representative W. Pat Jennings, a 47-year-old moderate Democrat, is seeking a seventh term against the well-financed challenge of former Representative William C. Wampler, a 40-year-

# G.O.P. in Virginia Makes Gains But Party's Path Is Still Uphill

By B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.

Special to The New York Times

RICHMOND, Nov. 9—Virgini voters answered some old political questions yesterday but they also raised some new ones.

Though Republicans won two key Congressional races and now hold four of the 10 Virginia seats in the House, the future course of the party in the Old Dominion was almost as much in doubt today as ever.

The party, while not financially destitute, does not have the monetary resources available to the Democrats, who have controlled the state for almost a century.

Nor are Virginia Republicans as well organized as their Democratic opponents, whose lines of communication filter down through an elaborate pyramid of patronage and appointive offices to city precincts and county courthouses.

Despite the four House seats now held by the Virginia Republicans, only a scattering of the state's 96 counties are controlled by Republicans. Republicans hold only three seats in the 40-seat State Senate and only 11 seats in the 100-seat Houe of Delegates.

### In Republican Hands

The Congressional districts now in Republican hands are the Sixth, Eighth, Ninth and 10th.

Republican control is nothing new in the Sixth, which includes the rolling Roanoke area in the central part of the state. There, Representative Richard H. Poff, a conservative, has been in office since 1952.

Nor is Republican control unusual in the 10th, which includes the urban areas just across the Potomac River from Washington. There, Representative Joel T. Broyhill, also a conservative, has just won his eighth consecutive term.

However, when Republicans grabbed control of the Eighth and Ninth Districts, Democrats paused for a thought or two.

For the last 33 years, the Eighth, which runs from the mouth of the Potomac almost to Washington, has been represented by a stanchly conservative Democrat, Howard W. Smith.

For the last 12 years, the Ninth, which includes the extreme western tip of the state, has been represented by W. Pat Jennings, a moderate-to-liberal Democrat with strong ties to the Johnson Administration.

Last July in the Eighth District's Democratic primary, Representative Smith was narrowly upset by a hard-working moderate, State Delegate George C. Rawlings Jr. of Fredericksburg.

Bu the Rawlings victory so infuriated old line conservative Democrats in the Eighth, who had been somewhat apathetic to that point, that in yesterday's election they voted by the thousands for the Republican candidate, William L. Scott of Fairfax, a moderate-conservative. Mr. Scott won handily.

I nthe Ninth District, Representative Jennings was beaten by a nold political foe, William C. aWmpler, a moderate who ran an extremely well-financed campaign that was marked by slashing attacks on the Johnson Administration.

The other key races involved contests for Virginia's two Senate seats.

The Republican candidates, James P. Ould Jr. of Lynchburg and Lawrence M. Taylor of Heathsville, ran relatively poor races in losing to their Democratic opponents, State Senator William B. Spong of Pourthsmouh and Harry F. Byrd Jr., son of the late Senator.

*This is the second part of a three-part section consisting of 156 pages. The news summary and index will be found on page 95. Society news begins on Page 90 and obituary articles will be found on Pages 88 and 89.*

# KLAN RESURGENCY AROUSES VIRGINIA

VIRGINIA

## Governor's Threat a Result of Many Cross-Burnings

NYT 12/11/66

Special to The New York Times

RICHMOND, Dec. 10 — An 18-month-old resurgency in Ku Klux Klan activity in Virginia is the factor that prompted the state's Governor this week to denounce the klan "for its record of bigotry."

Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr. coupled the vigorous denunciation with notice that he was posting a $1,000 state reward from his discretionary funds for information leading to the arrest and conviction of any person illegally burning a cross in Virginia.

He noted that it was a felony, with provisions for a penitentiary sentence, to burn a cross without permission on either public or private property in Virginia.

His reward offer and castigation of the Klan came in the wake of a series of cross-burnings in recent weeks, particularly in the Richmond area.

### Burning Follows Offer

There have been at least nine such burnings in Richmond. Ironically, the latest burning took place within an hour after Governor Godwin announced the reward offer Wednesday night at the annual Brotherhood Citation Dinner of the Richmond chapter, National Conference of Christians and Jews.

The burning site was at the home of a high school student who had written sympathetically to a Richmond city councilman who had recently been subjected to telephone harassment. The councilman attributed the harassment to the Klan, which he had castigated publicly.

Governor Godwin, in a speech that drew loud applause at the Wednesday dinner meeting, said that Virginia had strong religious traditions.

But "men of faith," he said, "know that throughout history the crimes committed in liberty's name have been exceeded only by those committed in God's name.

"In our own time, and in our own state," he continued, "the most reprehensible of these is the desecration of the most sacred Christian symbol, the burning of a cross."

He said the burning cross was an old device long associated "with the record of bigotry compiled by the Ku Klux Klan."

"Throughout its history in the South, the flaming cross has been a symbol of terror," he continued. "Insofar as it is humanly possible to do so, its use must be stamped out."

Governor Godwin added that in order to focus law enforcement "on this detestable act," he would soon call a conference with the state's Attorney General, the Virginia State Police and local law enforcement officials.

The Klan — principally the United Klans of America—began a concerted push for Virginia members in the summer of 1965.

Although membership figures are not announced, the Klan has made what is conceded to be considerable progress in Southern Virginia, stronghold of conservatism in the state, and in the Richmond area.

Most knowledgeable sources say Klan membership in Virginia is about 2,000. They supplement that estimate by saying that 8,000 to 10,000 other Virginians are in close sympathy with Klan activities—many of them attending the multiple rallies the Klan has conducted in the state and some contributing financially to the Klan.

Unofficial counts during the last 18 months show up to 175 Klan rallies in Virginia. The Klan has purchased a 50-by-80-foot tent capable of holding 500 to 600 persons and says it plans to hold a series of winter rallies in the state.

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

# THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

*CCR Special Publication—Number 4*

*August 1965*

VOTING



# State SNCC Head Asks U.S. to Send Voting Observers

Rev. Benjamin S. Grinage, director of the Arkansas Project of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, has appealed to the United States Commission on Civil Rights to send a "substantial number" of observers to East Arkansas polling places in the elections coming up this year.

Failure of the Commission to do so could result in violence, Mr. Grinage contended. "Time is running out," he wrote the Commission chairman, John A. Hannah. "We hope that the Commission will not hesitate to use its powers to help minimize the dangers that lie ahead."

Mr. Grinage has been instrumental in numerous integration activities, including the sit-ins at the cafeteria in the basement of the state Capitol, which led to its being desegregated. He said in his letter election practices that he claimed were irregular had kept Negroes from voting or had nullified their ballots when they did vote and that if this were permitted to continue, "the Negro community will ultimately turn to violence."

In a "special report" accompanying the request and covering what it alleged were irregularities in four East Arkansas cities where Negro candidates for school boards were defeated in September, Mr. Grinage said many Arkansas Negroes until now have maintained their faith that the ballot box was the way to secure social justice.

"The continued denial of effective suffrage can be expected to erode that faith," the report said. "And with disillusionment with the political process will come the heightened sense of alienation from American society that prevails in the ghettos of the North

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"The continued denial of effective suffrage can be expected to erode that faith," the report said. "And with disillusionment with the political process will come the heightened sense of alienation from American society that prevails in the ghettos of the North. There can be no assurance that, in such circumstances, the cities of Arkansas will be immune to eruptions of violence such as have stunned the cities of the North."

He asked Hannah, "If the demand for political representation cannot find a legitimate channel, shall we be surprised when it finds its outlet on the streets.?"

He charged that because of what he called irregularities Arkansas Negroes will "remain effectively disfranchised" in this summer's primaries and the general election in the fall.

### *'Arkansas Way' Is Wrong He Says*

While conceding that Negroes have "long been permitted to vote in Arkansas," Mr. Grinage said the "Arkansas way" of maintaining white political supremacy was through election practices, including destruction of Negro ballots, the mistabulation of votes for Negro candidates, illegal voting of the ballots of illiterates by election officials, probable multiple white voting, segregation at the polling places including ballot boxes, and denial of access to Negro poll watchers. Nor, Mr. Grinage said, is the Arkansas numbered ballot a secret one.

He said that the problem "soon will be the problem all across the South" as Negroes, who in many areas make up the majority of the population, become registered voters under provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

The presence of federal election observers would inhibit some of the alleged practices merely by their presence, Mr. Grinage said, but would not stop them altoghether. A Commission study on voting irregularities, however, would have a "favorable effect on federal enforcement policy," clarify some of the legal questions involved, study the integrity of those who are making the charges and draw attention to the existence of the problem, he said.

# Katzenbach Scores Negro Suppression

AJ 2/28/66 VOTING

By WILLIAM B. WILLIAMS

U.S. Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach said here Monday that anyone trying to "frighten or coerce Negro citizens" to keep them from voting "will have the federal government to reckon with."

The attorney general made this remark in a prepared speech during a luncheon meeting sponsored by the Southern Regional Council which currently is promoting Negro voting drives.

On hand was a bevy of civil rights leaders and Georgia political figures. Included in the guest list were National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Director Roy Wilkins and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Mayor Allen was also scheduled to attend.

In a prepared speech, Mr. Katzenbach said, "I have a message for those who may think of trying to frighten or coerce Negro citizens — or any citizens—from trying to register or vote.

"If you do, you will have the federal government to reckon with.

"THE STILL MORE effective antidote to intimidation, however, flows directly from energetic registration efforts and that is numbers. Two men or twenty men can be threatened, fired or harassed; but not a thousand.

"Not only is it impossible to intimidate large numbers, but large-scale exercise of the vote changes the attitudes that might otherwise breed imtimidation," he said.

Mr. Katzenbach said "substantial gains" have been made in registration of Negroes throughout the South. In states affected by the Voting Rights Act, Negro voter registration increased from 588,000 to more than 900,000, he said.

But in spite of the gains, more than half of the adult Negroes in the South "are not participating" in voting.

"None of us can be satisfied until they do," he said.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL congratulated the Southern Regional Council for undertaking its most recent voter education project.

He indicated that getting out the vote may be difficult because many persons aided by the council are inexperienced in voting.

"The day of equality will not come merely when Negroes can and do vote freely . . . nor when they elect Negro candidates just because they are Negro. There would be little majesty in an equality that is so superficial," he said.

"We are . . . arriving at the time when the civil rights movement can and should turn from protest to affirmation, from a force against discrimination to a major affirmative force . . . of all the South," he said.

HE SAID that under the Voting Rights Act local officials, had by Feb. 1 registered 17,000 Negroes in Georgia, 56,000 in Alabama, 53,000 in Louisiana, 51,000 in Mississippi and 24,000 in South Carolina.

"But there are still other areas where the response has been grudging, token compliance, areas where even public officials have put maintaining the old ways above maintaining the law.

"The responsibility of the federal government under the act is to insure full compliance with the right to vote," he said.

He said that if necessary more federal examiners would be sent to the South to insure full compliance with the law.

VOTING AC 3/4/66

# U.S. Judges Kill Alabama's Poll Tax

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (AP) — A three-judge federal panel struck down Alabama's $1.50-per-year poll tax Thursday in a split decision with the majority calling the tax "one of the last great pillars of racial discrimination."

The decision is effective immediately and will apply to the state's May 3 Democratic primary and all subsequent state elections.

U.S. Circuit Judge Richard T. Rives and U.S. Dist. Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr., both of Montgomery, said in the majority opinion:

"We hold that from its inception the Alabama poll tax was illegal and invalid as an attempt to subvert the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. The necessary effect of the poll tax as adopted in 1901 was to disenfranchise Negro voters. The history of the poll tax leaves no doubt that this was its sole purpose. Such clear and intentional attempts to deny or abridge the right to vote necessarily runs afoul of the Fifteenth Amendment."

U.S. Circuit Judge Walter P. Gewin of Tuscaloosa dissented, saying, "the poll tax has never been declared invalid by the Suprme Court."

Gewin said similar arguments were presented to the Suprme Court in a Virginia case which is pending and "the principle of judicial restraint dictates that we await the action of the Supreme Court."

However, Gewin said he would readily join in a decree "removing and prohibiting every vestige of racial discriminatory or other unconstitutional application" of the tax.

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VOTING AC 3/1/66

# It's Time to Let Votes Talk On Rights, Katzenbach Says

By REMER TYSON

U.S. Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach said Monday in Atlanta the time is arriving when the civil rights movement "should turn from protest to affirmation."

Katzenbach told a Southwide meeting of the Southern Regional Council, "A year ago, our attention was fastened on what was, in some areas, perhaps the only type of democratic expression possible for Negroes—demonstrations in the streets.

"Today, we join to devote still broader concern to the scope and speed with which Negroes can now exercise the basic form of democratic expression — the vote."

Staff Photo—Bob Dendy

BALLOT IS TEST

Nicholas Katzenbach

The attorney general, who was the principle speaker at a luncheon to kick off a Southern Regional Council voter education project to register two million Negroes, said the time is approaching for civil rights groups to change from "a force against discrimination to a major affirmative force in the life not only of the Negroes of the South but of all the South."

Some of the leaders of the civil rights movement, on hand to hear Katzenbach's speech, said immediately afterwards that demonstrations may be necessary to force the attorney general to send more federal voting examiners into the South —especially Georgia.

Dr. Martin Luther King, presi-

Continued on Page 8, Column 5

# It's Time to Let Votes Talk On Rights, Katzenbach Says

Continued from Page 1

dent of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said, "There has been too much caution in sending out registrars. In some cases, I think we will have to demonstrate."

John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, said, "There needs to be some (federal examiners) in this state—in southwest Georgia, particularly Baker County."

Georgia is the only one of five Deep South states which have been watched closely by the Justice department since enactment of the Voting Rights Act last August that does not have federal examiners.

New registration has been much slower in Georgia than in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina where federal examiners have been designated for 36 counties by the attorney general.

Katzenbach said that since enactment of the Voting Rights Act that federal examiners have registered 100,000 Negroes and local officials have registered another 200,000 in the five Deep South states. Georgia has registered only 17,000 new voters since last August.

More than 900,000 Negroes — nearly 40 per cent of those eligible—are registered to vote in the five Deep South states, said Katzenbach.

"I hope and expect that by the time of the next election in each of these states, more than half of the voting age Negro population will register — and will vote," he said.

The attorney general said "neither local compliance nor federal examiners" make the crucial difference in Negro registration.

"The most important generating factor is local organization," he said. "The counties which have seen extensive Negro registration are those where campaigns have been conducted."

Katzenbach said the real test of efforts to give Negroes a fuller voice in Southern affairs will come on election day.

"Unless it is to be a hollow exercise, it must be followed by voting," he declared.

Later, in remarks to an audience at the Universalist Unitarian Church, the attorney general said that while civil rights progress has been rapid, it hasn't been "fast enough to really satisfy or suit me." He said his dream is that "we stop using so much of our energies on what are really tired old problems," such as Negro rights.

VOTING

# Voter Act Legal, High Court Holds

AC 3/8/66

By BARY SCHWEID

WASHINGTON (AP)—The Supreme Court hs declared constitutional key sections of the 1965 Voting Rights law.

Congress has the power under the 15th Amendment to suspend literary tests and to order federal registrars into the Deep South "to banish the blight of racial discrimination," Chief Justice Earl Warren said Monday for the high court.

"Hopefully," he said, "millions of nonwhite Americans will now be able to participate for the first time on an equal basis in the government under which they live."

Warren's face was expressionless as he read the decision. When he was done, Justice Hugo L. Black, his eyes darting back and forth across the less than half-filled courtroom, announced that with regret he felt compelled to dissent in part.

A provision which Black said should have been declared invalid bars states covered by the law from adding voting amendments to their constitutions or passing new voting laws without review by federal authorities.

"Nothing like that was ever contemplated when the Constitution or the 15th Amendment was adopted," Black said.

In his written opinion, the 80-year-old justice added that this treats states as if they were "little more than conquered provinces."

Otherwise, the decision was unanimous and Black voted with the eight other justices.

The court upheld the voting law four short months after the tribunal granted South Carolina permission to file suit with it instead of waging its attack up the judicial ladder.

Five other Southern states—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Virginia—supported South Carolina's argument that the law unconstitutionally and arbitrarily punishes them. They and North Carolina are its prime targets.

Twenty other states joined Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach in defending the law as a constitutional exercise of Congress'

Continued on Page 7, Column 4

# Key Parts Of Vote Act Upheld

Continued From Page 1

power to enforce Americans' right to vote.

Atty. Gen. Jack Gremillion of Louisiana said in Baton Rouge, of the decision: It "means that the federal judiciary and the federal government have taken over the field of state registration of voters. This is really another step in the total destruction of the rights of states to regulate their internal affairs. It also undoubtedly leads to universal suffrage."

In Atlanta, Georgia's Atty. Gen. Arthur K. Bolton said: "The people of Georgia will go on obeying the law just as they have been."

In its last sitting until March 21, the justices also:

—Reversed two lower federal courts and cleared the way for Dora Surowitz, a Brooklyn seamstress, to sue officers and directors of Hilton Hotels Corp. on a claim they sold their private stockholdings to the company at an artificially inflated price.

—Ruled that a Chicago man, Theodore Robinson, convicted of slaying his girl friend, should have been given a sanity hearing. Justice Tom C. Clark said in a 7-2 decision that if Illinois does not try Robinson again with a "concurrent" sanity hearing he can go free.

—Refused to hear an appeal by embattled U.S. Dist. Judge Stephen S. Chandler of Oklahoma City from an order disqualifying him from trying a case involving Texaco, Inc. The court ruling is a part from a pending appeal by Chandler involving his authority to hear new cases.

# Excerpts From Court's Opinion Upholding Key Provisions of Voting Rights Act

Special to The New York Times

*WASHINGTON, March 7—Following are excerpts from the Supreme Court's opinion upholding key provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and from Justice Hugo L. Black's dissent on one aspect of the case:*

## Court's Opinion

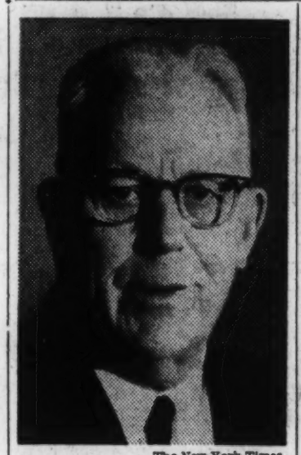
Chief Justice Warren delivered the opinion of the Court.

By leave of the Court, South Carolina has filed a bill of complaint, seeking a declaration that selected provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 violate the Federal Constitution, and asking for an injunction against enforcement of these provisions by the Attorney General. Original jurisdiction is founded on the presence of a controversy between a state and a citizen of another state under Art. III, Section 2, of the Constitution. Because no issues of fact were raised in the complaint, and because of South Carolina's desire to obtain a ruling prior to its primary elections in June, 1966, we dispensed with appointment of a trial master and expedited our hearing of the case.

Recognizing that the questions presented were of urgent concern to the entire country, we invited all of the states to participate in this proceeding as friends of the court. A majority responded by submitting or joining in briefs on the merits, some supporting South Carolina and others the Attorney General. Seven of these states also requested and received permission to argue the case orally at our hearing. Without exception, despite the emotional overtones of the proceeding, the briefs and oral arguments were temperate, lawyer-like and constructive. All viewpoints on the issues have been fully developed, and this additional assistance has been most helpful to the Court.

### New Remedies Cited

The Voting Rights Act was designed by Congress to banish the blight of racial discrimination in voting, which has infected the electoral process in parts of our country for nearly a century. The act creates stringest new remedies for voting discrimination where it persists on a pervasive scale, and in addition the statute strengthens existing remedies for pockets of voting discrimination elsewhere in the country. Congress assumed the power to prescribe these remedies from Section 2 of the 15th Amendment, which authorizes the national legislature to effectuate by "appropriate" measures the constitutional prohibition against racial discrimination



The New York Times

**BACKS VOTING ACT: Chief Justice Earl Warren, writing the majority opinion, upheld key sections of 1965 Voting Rights Act.**

all the tests, without any outside assistance and without the slightest error. The good morals requirement is so vague and subjective that it has constituted an open invitation to abuse at the hands of voting officials. Negroes obliged to obtain vouchers from registered voters have found it virtually impossible to comply in areas where almost no Negroes are on the rolls.

### Previous Laws Recalled

In recent years, Congress has repeatedly tried to cope with the problem of facilitating case-by-case litigation against voting discrimination. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 authorized the Attorney General to seek injunctions against public and private interference with the right to vote on racial grounds. Perfecting amendments in the Civil Rights Act of 1960 permitted the joinder of states as party defendants, gave the Attorney General access to local voting records, and authorized courts to register voters in areas of systematic discrimination.

Title I of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 expedited the hearing of voting cases before three-judge courts and outlawed some of the tactics used to disqualify Negroes from voting in Federal elections.

The previous legislation has proved ineffective for a number of reasons. Voting suits are unusually onerous to prepare, sometimes requiring as many as 6,000 man-hours spent combing through registration records in preparation for trial. Litigation has been exceedingly slow, in part because of the ample opportunities for delay afforded voting officials and others involved in the pro-

to the states by the Constitution.

Has Congress exercised its powers under the 15th Amendment in an appropriate manner with relations to the states?

The ground rules for resolving this question are clear. The language and purpose of the 15th Amendment, the prior decisions construing its several provisions, and the general doctrines of constitutional interpretation, all point to one fundamental principle. As against the reserved powers of the states, Congress may use any rational means to effectuate the constitutional prohibition of racial discrimination in voting.

We therefore reject South Carolina's argument that Congress may appropriately do no more than to forbid violations of the 15th Amendment in general terms—that the task of fashioning specific remedies or of applying them to particular localities must necessarily be left entirely to the courts. Congress is not circumscribed by any such artificial rules under Section 2 of the 15th Amendment. In the oft-repeated words of Chief Justice Marshall, referring to another specific legislative authorization in the Constitution, "this power, like all others vested in Congress, is complete in itself, may be exercised to its utmost extent, and acknowledges no limitations, other than prescribed in the Constitution."

### [4]

Congress exercised its authority under the 15th Amendment in an inventive manner when it enacted the Voting Rights Act of 1965. First: The measure prescribes remedies for voting discrimination which go into effect without any need for prior adjudication. This was clearly a legitimate response to the problem, for which there is ample precedent under other constitutional provisions.

Second: The Act intentionally confines these remedies to a small number of states and political subdivisions which in most instances were familiar to Congress by name. This, too, was a permissible method of dealing the problem. Congress had learned that substantial voting discrimination presently occurs in certain sections of the country, and it knew no way of accurately forecasting whether the evil might spread elsewhere in the future.

In acceptable legislative fashion, Congress chose to limit its attention to the geographic areas where immediate action seemed necessary. The doctrine of the equality of states, invoked by South Carolina, does not bar this approach, for that doctrine applies only to the

# *Supreme Court's Actions*

Special to The New York Times

*WASHINGTON, March 7—The Supreme Court took the following actions today:*

BANKRUPTCY

Ruled, 8 to 1, that an individual may properly file a "wage-earner" plan under Chapter XIII of the Bankruptcy Act for an extension of time within which to pay his debts, even if he has received a discharge in straight bankruptcy in the last six years (No. 694, Perry v. Commerce Loan Company).

CIVIL RIGHTS

Upheld key provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (No. 22, original, South Carolina v. Katzenbach).

CRIMINAL LAW

Ruled, 7 to 2, that a defendant in a state court who had a history of mental disturbances was denied due process because the court did not, on its own motion, conduct a hearing on his competence to stand trial (No. 382, Pate v. Robinson).

LABOR

Let stand a lower court order that the publisher of The Baltimore News American must submit to arbitration under its collective bargaining contract the issue of whether it violated the contract by locking out some of its workers when it ceased operation in sympathy with the strikebound Baltimore Sun (No. 966, Hearst Corp. v. Local 24, International Union of Electrical Workers).

PROCEDURE

Ruled, 7 to 0, that a seamstress-stockholder may swear to a complicated court complaint against officials of the Hilton Hotels Corporation, although she does not understand the details of the allegations (No. 161, Surowitz v. Hilton Hotels Corporation).

TAXATION

Held, 6 to 3, that a deduction for depreciation may be claimed in the year of sale, even though the depreciable asset has been sold at a gain (No. 23, Fribourg Navigation Company, Inc. v. Commissioner of Internal Revenue).

Let stand a lower court decision that New York citizens whose Mexican divorces and subsequent marriages to other women have been declared void by New York courts may still file joint Federal tax returns with their new wives, take $600 dependency deductions for them, and deduct their payments to their first wives as alimony (No. 846, Commissioner of Internal Revenue v. Borax).

*The proceedings in the Supreme Court yesterday are listed in detail on Page 62.*

materialized during the preceding five years. Despite South Carolina's argument to the contrary, Congress might appropriately limit litigation under this provision to a single court in the District of Columbia, pursuant to its constitutional power under Art. III, Sec. 1, to "ordain and establish" inferior Federal tribunals.

South Carolina contends that these termination procedures are a nullity because they impose an impossible burden of proof upon states and political subdivision entitled to relief. As the Attorney General pointed out during hearings on the act, however, an area need do no more than to submit affidavits from voting officials, asserting that they have not been guilty of racial discrimination through the use of tests and devices during the past five years, and then to refute whatever evidence to the contrary may be adduced by the Federal Government.

## Suspension of Tests

We now arrive at consideration of the specific remedies prescribed by the Act for areas included within the coverage formula. South

pointment of Federal Examiners to list qualified applicants who are thereafter entitled to vote, subject to an expeditious challenge procedure. This was clearly an appropriate response to the problem, closely related to remedies authorized in prior cases.

After enduring nearly a century of widespread resistance to the 15th Amendment, Congress has marshalled an array of potent weapons against the evil, with authority in the Attorney General to employ them effectively. Many of the areas directly affected by this development have indicated their willingness to abide by any restraints legitimately imposed upon them.

We here hold that the portions of the Voting Rights Act properly before us are a valid means for carrying out the commands of the 15th Amendment. Hopefully, millions of nonwhite Americans will now be able to participate for the first time on an equal basis in the Government under which they live.

We may finally look forward to the day when truly "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall

judicial forum for settling these important questions of this Court acting under its original Art. III, Section 2, jurisdiction to try cases in which a state is a party. At least a trial in this Court would treat the states with the dignity to which they should be entitled as constituent members of our Federal union.

### A Basic Conflict

(B) My second and more basic objection to Section 5 is that Congress has here exercised its power under Section 2 of the 15th Amendment through the adoption of means that conflict with the most basic principles of the Constitution.

As the Court says, the limitations of the power granted under Section 2 are the same as the limitations imposed on the exercise of any of the powers expressly granted Congress by the Constitution.

Section 5, by providing that some of the states cannot pass state laws or adopt state constitutional amendments without first being compelled to beg Federal authorities to approve their policies, so distorts our constitutional structure of government as to render any distinction drawn in the Constitution betwen state and Federal power almost meaningless.

One of the most basic premises upon which our structure of government was founded that the Federal Government was to have certain specific and limited powers and no others, and all other power was to be reserved either "to the states respectively, or to the people."

Certainly if all the provisions of our Constitution which limit the power of the Federal Government and reserve other power to the states are to mean anything, they mean at least that the states have power to pass laws and amend their constitutions without first sending their officials hundreds of miles away to beg Federal authorities to approve them.

Moreover, it seems to me that Section 5 which gives Federal officials power to veto state laws they do not like is in direct conflict with the clear command of our Constitution that "the United States shall guarantee to every state in this union a republican form of government."

I cannot hel pbut believe that the inevitable effect of any such law which forces any one of the states to entreat Federal authorities in far-away places for approval of local laws before they can become effective is to create the impression that the state or states treated in this way are little more than conquered provinces."

eral. Seven of these States also requested and received permission to argue the case orally at our hearing. Without exception, despite the emotional overtones of the proceeding, the briefs and oral arguments were temperate, lawyer-like and constructive. All viewpoints on the issues have been fully developed, and this additional assistance has been most helpful to the Court.

**New Remedies Cited**

The Voting Rights Act was designed by Congress to banish the blight of racial discrimination in voting, which has infected the electoral process in parts of our country for nearly a century. The act creates stringest new remedies for voting discrimination where it persists on a pervasive scale, and in addition the statute strengthens existing remedies for pockets of voting discrimination elsewhere in the country. Congress assumed the power to prescribe these remedies from Section 2 of the 15th Amendment, which authorizes the national legislature to effectuate by "appropriate" measures the constitutional prohibition against racial discrimination in voting.

We hold that the sections of the act which are properly before us are an appropriate means for carrying out Congress's constitutional responsibilities and are consonant with all other provisions of the Constitution. We therefore deny South Carolina's request that enforcement of these sections of the act be enjoined.

[1]

The constitutional propriety of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 must be judged with reference to the historical experience which it reflects. Before enacting the measure, Congress explored with great care the problem of racial discrimination in voting. The House and Senate Committees on the Judiciary each held hearings for nine days and received testimony from a total of 67 witnesses. More than three full days were consumed discussing the bill on the floor of the House, while the debate in the Senate covered 26 days in all.

At the close of these deliberations, the verdict of both chambers was overwhelming. The House approved the act by a vote of 328-74, and the measure passed the Senate by a margin of 79-18.

Two points emerge vividly from the voluminous legislative history of the act contained in the committee hearings and floor debates.

First: Congress felt itself confronted by an insidious and pervasive evil which had been perpetuated in certain parts of our country through unremitting and ingenious defiance of the Constitution.

Second: Congress concluded that the unsuccessful remedies which it had prescribed in the past would have to be replaced by sterner and more elaborate measures in order to satisfy the clear commands of the 15th Amendment.

**Voting Tests Noted**

According to the results of recent Justice Department voting suits, [discriminatory application of voting tests] is now the principal method used to bar Negroes from the polls. Discriminatory administration of voting qualifications has been found in all eight Alabama cases, in all nine Louisiana cases, and in all nine Mississippi cases which have gone to final judgment. Moreover, in almost all of these cases, the courts have held that the discrimination was pursuant to a widespread "pattern or practice."

White applicants for registration have often been excused altogether from the literacy and understanding tests or have been given easy versions, have received extensive help from voting officials, and have been registered despite serious errors in their answers.

Negroes, on the other hand, have typically been required to pass difficult versions of

against voting discrimination. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 authorized the Attorney General to seek injunctions against public and private interference with the right to vote on racial grounds. Perfecting amendments in the Civil Rights Act of 1960 permitted the joinder of states as party defendants, gave the Attorney General access to local voting records, and authorized courts to register voters in areas of systematic discrimination.

Title I of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 expedited the hearing of voting cases before three-judge courts and outlawed some of the tactics used to disqualify Negroes from voting in Federal elections.

The previous legislation has proved ineffective for a number of reasons. Voting suits are unusually onerous to prepare, sometimes requiring as many as 6,000 man-hours spent combing through registration records in preparation for trial. Litigation has been exceedingly slow, in part because of the ample opportunities for delay afforded voting officials and others involved in the proceedings.

Even when favorable decisions have finally been obtained, some of the states affected have merely switched to discriminatory devices not covered by the Federal decrees or have enacted difficult new tests designed to prolong the existing disparity between white and Negro registration. Alternatively, certain local officials have defied and evaded court orders or have simply closed their registration offices to freeze the voting rolls. The provision of the 1960 law authorizing registration by Federal officers has held little impact on local maladministration because of its procedural complexities.

[2]

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 reflects Congress's firm intention to rid the country of racial discrimination in voting. The heart of the Act is a complex scheme of stringent remedies aimed at areas where voting discrimination has been most flagrant.

Section 4 (a)-(d) lays down a formula defining the states and political subdivisions to which these new remedies apply. The first of the remedies, contained in Section 4 (a), is the suspension of literacy tests and similar voting qualifications for a period of five years from the last occurrence of substantial voting discrimination.

Section 5 prescribes a second remedy, the suspension of all new voting regulations pending review by Federal authorities to determine whether their use would perpetuate voting discrimination.

The third remedy, covered in Sections 6 (b), 7, 9, and 13 (a), is the assignment of Federal examiners by the Attorney General to list qualified applicants who are thereafter entitled to vote in all elections.

**Other Areas Affected**

Other provisions of the act prescribe subsidiary cures for persistent voting discrimination. Section 8 authorizes the appointment of Federal poll-watchers in places to which Federal examiners have already been assigned.

Section 10(d) excuses those made eligible to vote in sections of the country covered by Section 4(b) of the Act from paying accumulated past poll taxes for state and local elections.

Section 12(e) provides for balloting by persons denied access to the polls in areas where Federal examiners have been appointed.

The remaining remedial portions of the Act are aimed at voting discrimination in any area of the country where it may occur.

[3]

These provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 are challenged on the fundamental ground that they exceed the powers of Congress and encroach on an area reserved

manner when it enacted the Voting Rights Act of 1965. First: The measure prescribes remedies for voting discrimination which go into effect without any need for prior adjudication. This was clearly a legitimate response to the problem, for which there is ample precedent under other constitutional provisions.

Second: The Act intentionally confines these remedies to a small number of states and political subdivisions which in most instances were familiar to Congress by name. This, too, was a permissible method of dealing the problem. Congress had learned that substantial voting discrimination presently occurs in certain sections of the country, and it knew no way of accurately forecasting whether the evil might spread elsewhere in the future.

In acceptable legislative fashion, Congress chose to limit its attention to the geographic areas where immediate action seemed necessary. The doctrine of the equality of states, invoked by South Carolina, does not bar this approach, for that doctrine applies only to the terms upon which states are admitted to the union, and not to the remedies for local evils which have subsequently appeared.

## Coverage Formula

We now consider the related question of whether the specific states and political subdivisions within Section 4 (b) of the Act were an appropriate target for the new remedies. South Carolina contends that the coverage formula is awkwardly designed in a number of respects and that it disregards various local conditions, which have nothing to do with racial discrimination. These arguments, however, are largely beside the point.

To be specific, the new remedies of the Act are imposed on three states — Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi—in which Federal courts have repeatedly found substantial voting discrimination. Section 4 (b) of the act also embraces two other states—Georgia and South Carolina—plus large portions of a third state — North Carolina — for which there was more fragmentary evidence of recent voting discrimination mainly adduced by the Justice Department and the Civil Rights Commission. All of these areas were appropriately subjected to the new remedies. In identifying past evils, Congress obviously may avail itself of information from any probative source.

The areas listed above, for which there was evidence of actual voting discrimination, share two characteristics incorporated by Congress into the coverage formula: the use of tests and devices for voter registration, and a voting rate in the 1964 Presidential election at least 12 points below the national average. Tests and devices are relevant to voting discrimination because of their long history as a tool for perpetrating the evil; a low voting rate is pertinent for the obvious reason that widespread disenfranchisement must inevitably affect the number of actual voters.

Accordingly, the coverage formula is rational in both practice and theory.

**Misuse of Tests**

It is irrelevant that the coverage formula excludes certain localities which do not employ voting tests and devices but for which there is evidence of voting discrimination by other means. Congress had learned that widespread and persistent discrimination in voting during recent years has typically entailed the misuse of tests and devices, and this was the evil for which the new remedies were specifically designed.

Acknowledging the possibility of overbreadth, the act provides for termination of special statutory coverage at the behest of states and political subdivisions in which the danger of substantial voting discrimination has not

South Carolina's argument to the contrary, Congress might appropriately limit litigation under this provision to a single court in the District of Columbia, pursuant to its constitutional power under Art. III, Sec. 1, to "ordain and establish" inferior Federal tribunals.

South Carolina contends that these termination procedures are a nullity because they impose an impossible burden of proof upon states and political subdivision entitled to relief. As the Attorney General pointed out during hearings on the act, however, an area need do no more than to submit affidavits from voting officials, asserting that they have not been guilty of racial discrimination through the use of tests and devices during the past five years, and then to refute whatever evidence to the contrary may be adduced by the Federal Government.

## Suspension of Tests

We now arrive at consideration of the specific remedies prescribed by the Act for areas included within the coverage formula. South Carolina assails the temporary suspension of existing voting qualifications. The record shows that in most of the states covered by the Act, including South Carolina, various tests and devices have been instituted with the purpose of disenfranchising Negroes, have been framed in such a way as to facilitate this aim, and have been administered in a discriminatory fashion for many years. Under these circumstances, the 15th Amendment has clearly been violated.

The Act suspends literacy tests and similar devices for a period of five years from the last occurrence of substantial voting discrimination. This was a legitimate response to the problem, for which there is ample precedent in 15th Amendment cases.

Underlying the response was the feeling that states and political subdivisions which had been allowing white illiterates to vote for years could not sincerely complain about "dilution" of their electorates through the registration of Negro illiterates. Congress knew that continuance of the tests and devices in use at the present time, no matter how fairly administered in the future, would freeze the effect of past discrimination in favor of unqualified white registrants. Congress permissibly rejected the alternative of requiring a complete re-registration of all voters, believing that this would be too harsh on many whites who had enjoyed the franchise for their entire adult lives.

## Review of New Rules

The Act suspends new voting regulations pending scrutiny by Federal authorities to determine whether their use would violate the 15 Amendment. This may have been an uncommon exercise of Congressional Power, as South Carolina contends, but the Court has recognized that exceptional conditions can justify legislative measures not otherwise appropriate.

Congress knew that some of the states covered by Sec. 4 (b) of the Act had resorted to the extraordinary strategem of contriving new rules of various kinds for the sole purpose of perpetuating voting discrimination in the face of adverse Federal decrees. Congress had reason to suppose that these states might try similar maneuvers in the future, in order to evade the remedies for voting discrimination contained in the Act itself. Under the compulsion of these unique circumstances, Congress responded in a permissibly decisive manner.

For reasons already stated, there was nothing inappropriate about limiting litigation under this provision to the District Court for the District of Columbia, and in putting the burden of proof on the areas seeking relief.

The Act authorizes the ap-

cants who are thereafter entitled to vote, subject to an expeditious challenge procedure. This was clearly an appropriate response to the problem, closely related to remedies authorized in prior cases.

After enduring nearly a century of widespread resistance to the 15th Amendment, Congress has marshalled an array of potent weapons against the evil, with authority in the Attorney General to employ them effectively. Many of the areas directly affected by this development have indicated their willingness to abide by any restraints legitimately imposed upon them.

We here hold that the portions of the Voting Rights Act properly before us are a valid means for carrying out the commands of the 15th Amendment. Hopefully, millions of nonwhite Americans will now be able to participate for the first time on an equal basis in the Government under which they live.

We may finally look forward to the day when truly "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The bill of complaint is dismissed.

## Black's Dissent

Mr. Justice Black, concurring and dissenting.

I agree with substantially all of the Court's opinion sustaining the power of Congress under Section 2 of the 15th Amendment to suspend state literacy tests and smilar voting qualifications and to authorize the Attorney General to appoint Federal examiners to register qualified voters in various section of the country.

Though, as I have said, I agree with most of the Court's conclusions, I dissent from its holding that every part of Section 5 of the act is constitutional.

Section 4 (a), to which section 5 is linked, suspends for five years all literacy tests and similar devices in those states coming within the formula of Section 4 (b). Section 5 goes on to provide that a state covered by Section 4 (b) can in no way amend its constitution or laws relating to voting without first trying to persuade the Attorney General of the United States or the Federal District Court for the District of Columbia that the new proposed laws do not have the purpose and will not have the effect of denying the right to vote to citizens on account of their race or color.

I think this section is unconstitutional on at least two grounds.

**A Case for the Court**

(A) The Constitution gives Federal courts jurisdiction over cases and controversies only. If it can be said that any case or controversy arises under this section which gives the District Court for the District of Columbia jurisdiction to approve or reject state laws or constitutional amendments, then the case or controversy must be between a state and the United States Government.

But it is hard for me to believe that a justiciable controversy can arise in the constitutional sense from a desire by the United States Government or some of its officials to determine in advance what legislative provisions a state may enact or what constitutional amendments it may adopt. If this dispute between the Federal Government and the states amounts to a case or controversy it is a far cry from the traditional constitutional notion of a case or controversy as a dispute over the meaning of enforceable laws or the manner in which they are applied.

And if by this section Congress has created a case or controversy, and I do not believe it has, then it seems to me that the most appropriate

ple."

Certainly if all the provisions of our Constitution which limit the power of the Federal Government and reserve other power to the states are to mean anything, they mean at least that the states have power to pass laws and amend their constitutions without first sending their officials hundreds of miles away to beg Federal authorities to approve them.

Moreover, it seems to me that Section 5 which gives Federal officials power to veto state laws they do not like is in direct conflict with the clear command of our Constitution that "the United States shall guarantee to every state in this union a republican form of government."

I cannot hel pbut believe that the inevitable effect of any such law which forces any one of the states to entreat Federal authorities in far-away places for approval of local laws before they can become effective is to create the impression that the state or states treated in this way are little more than conquered provinces."

## High Court Refuses to Hear Appeal by Judge Chandler

WASHINGTON, March 7 (AP)—The Supreme Court refused today to hear an appeal by Judge Stephen S. Chandler of the United States District Court in Oklahoma City on an order disqualifying him from trying a case involving Texaco, Inc.

The order was issued by the United States Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit in Denver. It said Judge Chandler's connection with one of the attorneys for several individuals who sued Texaco for services provided was sufficient to require the judge's disqualification.

Judge Chandler's appeal to the Supreme Court contended that the Circuit Court had acted "without any vestige of jurisdiction." It urged that "power of the intermediate appellate courts to control the independence of the trial judiciary should be strictly limited and carefully defined."

## Court Admits 2 New Yorkers

WASHINGTON, March 7—The United States Supreme Court admitted the following New York lawyers to practice today: Russell Franklin Moore and Alan F. Leibowitz.

# HIGH COURT BACKS VOTING RIGHTS ACT ON KEY PROVISIONS

VOTING

## Says Congress Has Right to Remedy 'Pervasive Evil' Curbing Negro Franchise

3/8/66

## BLACK IN MINOR DISSENT

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## Decision Opens the Door to Balloting by Thousands of Negroes in South

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*Excerpts from opinion and dissent are on Page 26.*

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By FRED P. GRAHAM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 7 — The Supreme Court upheld today the major provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and thus cleared the way for large-scale participation by Negroes in this year's elections in the Deep South.

The action was virtually unanimous. Justice Hugo L. Black noted with "regret" a dissent on a minor point, stating that he believed that one section of the law to be unconstitutional.

Otherwise, the Supreme Court was solidly behind Chief Justice Earl Warren's detailed, 31-page opinion.

In brief, the act suspends the literacy and other tests for voting in six Southern states—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia.

It authorizes the Attorney General to dispatch Federal examiners to areas that attempt to evade the law. So far, examiners have been sent to eight counties in the Deep South.

### Speed Deemed Essential

In September South Carolina brought suit directly in the Supreme Court to enjoin the enforcement of the law. The Justices accelerated consideration of the case so that questions about the law's constitutionality could be cleared away before the primary elections this spring.

Today's decision did not affect the provision of the law that nullifies New York State's English language literacy requirement for persons who have completed six years in American-flag schools that teach primarily Spanish.

Lower courts have divided on the constitutionality of this section, which was inserted by New York's Senators to extend the franchise to Puerto Ricans literate in Spanish. The Supreme Court is expected to rule on the issue before it adjourns in June.

### Poll Tax Unaffected

The decision also did not affect the issue of poll taxes. Under a section of the voting law not involved in today's case the Justice Department was instructed to bring court challenges in the four states that still require payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in state elections.

However, an appeal already challenging the Virginia poll tax reached the Supreme Court first, and it is expected to rule soon.

The unanimity of today's decision raised strong hopes among civil rights lawyers that the Court would quickly declare poll taxes unconstitutional.

Chief Justice Warren's opin-

Continued on Page 26, Column 7

# High Court Backs '65 Voting Act To End 'Evil' of Discrimination

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

on today approved the seven provisions that make up the heart of the law. Other less important sections of the law were not challenged in the suit and therefore were not passed upon by the Court. "Hopefully," the Chief Justice said, "millions of nonwhite Americans will now be able to participate for the first time on an equal basis in the Government under which they live."

The decision turned upon a finding that the law was an appropriate means for carrying out Congress's authority under the 15th Amendment to prohibit racial discrimination in voting.

It remarked that Congress had felt itself to be confronted with the "insidious and pervasive evil" of voting discrimination, and that it had resorted to "sterner and more elaborate measures" than the previous laws that had failed to prevent such discrimination.

South Carolina had contended that voting qualifications were within the powers reserved to the states, and that Congress's power under the 15th Amendment could reach only discrimination flowing from them—not the qualifications themselves.

Rejecting this argument in strong terms, the Court ruled that Congress has "full remedial powers" to strike down vehicles of voting discrimination, so long as the means used were not otherwise specifically prohibited.

### Trigger Clause Attacked

The Southern states' attack had also been directed at the law's "trigger" provision. This automatically applied the substantive sections to any state or county in which fewer than 50 per cent of the voting-age residents were registered on Nov. 1, 1964, or voted in the Presidential election of 1964.

They made much of the fact that Alaska, 26 counties in North Carolina, three counties in Arizona, a county in Hawaii and one county in Idaho were also caught up by this formula.

Also areas of Arkansas, Texas and northern Florida, with large Negro populations but few Negro voters, were not before enacting new laws covering voting qualifications, because recent history showed that states could overcome Federal antidiscrimination laws by passing a succession of new statutes of their own.

### Black Voices Regret

Justice Black dissented on this point. In his remarks from the bench, he regretted that "in order to accomplish a wonderful purpose we are compelled to go so far—to treat the states as though they were not states."

He remarked that if the Attorney General turned down a proposed state law and the state took it to court in Washington, this would be an advisory opinion prohibited by Federal practice. If any court were to hear such a case it should be the Supreme Court, he said.

Furthermore, this procedure "so distorts our constitutional structure of government as to render any distinction drawn in the Constitution between state and Federal power almost meaningless."

As of March 1, Federal examiners have certified 101,370 persons — mostly Negroes — as qualified for registration. However, few of these have been placed on the rolls by Southern registrars.

Officials in the covered states obtained court orders from state judges prohibiting the registrars from adding the names, on the ground that the act was unconstitutional.

Now that the law has been held constitutional, the Justice Department expects the names to be enrolled soon. A spokesman said today that court actions would be commenced immediately if this was not done.

State registrars had voluntarily registered about 201,000 as of Feb. 1, which means that almost 40 per cent of the 2.4 million voting-age Negroes in the five affected states are now registered.

South Carolina was joined in its challenge by the five other southern states affected. Twenty states supported the Government's position as friends of the court.

David W. Robinson 2d of Columbia, S. C. argued for South Carolina.

Arguing as amicus curiae for

hibit racial discrimination in voting.

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They made much of the fact that Alaska, 26 counties in North Carolina, three counties in Arizona, a county in Hawaii and one county in Idaho were also caught up by this formula.

Also areas of Arkansas, Texas and northern Florida, with large Negro populations but few Negro voters, were not covered because they do not use literacy tests.

Ruling that Congress can use "any rational means" to enforce the 15th Amendment, the Court brushed these contentions aside and found that the "trigger" was rational both in practice and theory.

This came as a boon to Justice Department officials who are drafting the Administration's anti-discrimination jury bill. They are reported to be considering a similar "trigger" to reach counties where the percentage of Negroes on jury lists is deemed too low. The decision today affords strong evidence that such a device would be upheld by the Court.

The Cheif Justice disposed of the other challenges to the act in short order by holding:

¶The suspension of state literacy requirements does not arbitrarily add Negro illiterates to the rolls, because Congress has evidence that white illiterates have been registered in many areas, despite the tests.

¶The 10-day period granted to state officials to challenge persons enrolled by Federal examiners is not too short, because challengers have been used in the past to harass Negroes.

¶Congress could properly require officials of covered counties or states to come into the District Court of the District of Columbia to prove they had not used their tests to discriminate. This is within its power to "ordain and establish" inferior Federal tribunals.

¶The procedure for proving non-discrimination is fair, since the mere filing of affadavits in the District of Columbia by state officials shifts the burden upon the Government to prove that the state or county has discriminated.

¶Congress could properly require covered states to obtain the Attorney General's approval ion prohibited by Federal practice. If any court were to hear such a case it should be the Supreme Court, he said.

Furthermore, this procedure "so distorts our constitutional structure of government as to render any distinction drawn in the Constitution between state and Federal power almost meaningless."

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South Carolina was joined in its challenge by the five other southern states affected. Twenty states supported the Government's position as friends of the court.

David W. Robinson 2d of Columbia, S. C. argued for South Carolina.

Arguing as amicus curiae for his side were R. D. McIlwaine, 3d, assistant Attorney General of Virginia; Jack P. F. Gremillion, Attorney General of Louisiana; Francis J. Mizell Jr. of Montgomery, Ala., and Attorney General Richmond M. Flowers, for Alabama; Charles Clark of Jackson, Miss. and Attorney General Joe T. Patterson, for Mississippi, and E. Freeman Leverett, deputy assistant Attorney General of Georgia.

Attorney General Nicholas de B. Katzenbach argued for the United States.

Appearing as amicus curiae in support of the Government were former Solicitor General Archibald Cox, now of Boston, Levin H. Campbell, assistant Attorney General of Massachusetts; and Alan B. Handler, first assistant Attorney General of New Jersey.

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ATLANTA, Ga., March 7 (AP) — Louisiana's Attorney General said today the Supreme Court's decision on the voting law was "another step in the total destruction" of states rights.

Georgia's Governor took the attitude that "it won't affect us."

The two statements represented the wide range of reaction to the decision.

Mr. Gremillion, Louisiana's Attorney General, said that the Court's decision 'means that the Federal judiciary and the Federal government have taken over the field of state registration of voters.

"This is really another step in the total destruction of the rights of states to regulate their internal affairs," he said. "It also will undoubtedly lead to universal sufferage."

Attorney General Patterson of Mississippi went further, predicting the decision might open the door to Federal control of elections.

"The Court has upheld the right of Congress to prescribe voting qualifications irrespective of state laws," he said.

Mr. Patterson said that Congress had developed a formula to cover several Southern states that gave the Federal government "control of their registration situations" and "can as easily set up another formula to cover 50 states."

"The Supreme Court has spoken," was the reaction of both Gov. Carl E. Sanders and Attorney General. Arthur K. Bolton of Georgia.

"Federal registrars have not been necessary in Georgia since the passage of this law," Mr. Sanders said, "and I do not believe they will be needed in the future."

Mr. Bolton and Mr. Sanders said that Georgia officials would continue to obey the law. The Governor added that "any citizen has the right to register and vote without regard to race, creed or color."

There was no immediate comment from South Carolina officials, who filed the test suit, or from Alabama's Governor, George C. Wallace, or Attorney General, Mr. Flowers.

VOTING

# Registration Drive Asked of Negroes

AC 3/12/66

Georgia Negro leaders who just concluded a session in Albany have been urged to push voter registration and not to make any early commitments to political candidates.

Jesse Hill of Atlanta addressed the statewide meeting of "Operation Breadbasket" on the subject, "Voter Registration and Political Action."

Hill declared that he was "greatly concerned that we as Negroes do not have more effective or better statewide coordination and support in voter registration and political action."

Hill said that on Monday he will ask the Voter Registration Project of the Southern Regional Council to "immediately finance a statewide forum and coordinating group to improve the lagging program of voter registration in Georgia before the books close for the upcoming congressional and state elections."

He added, "Georgia is subject to the Voting Rights Law and from information we are now studying, I predict that federal voting registrars will be requested for many Georgia counties within the next 45 to 60 days and I feel certain that the Justice department will send them, and many of these registrars will be Negroes."

Hill said the "basic problems of Albany Negroes are not just Albany problems, they are problems for Georgia Negroes to consider by coalition and coordination if we are to have a posture of strength in pursuing them instead of our historically ill-formed, weak, pleading and begging position."

"I suggest," Hill said, "that we give special attention to the Second Congressional District where there are 132,000 eligible Negro citizens against 75,135 white, and white voters outnumber Negroes two to one."

The Negro leader further declared that "the worst thing we can do" is to "get involved in making commitments to potential candidates" at this early date.

Hill said that on Jan. 1, there were 265,081 Negroes registered to vote in Georgia. He said reports show that Georgia Negroes are lagging behind other states in registering since the Voting Rights Bill passed.

3/12/66 THE NEW YORK TIMES

# Changes in Election Rules Balk Negro Bids for Office in South

VOTING

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

NEWTON, Ga., March 10—Southern Negroes are encountering major obstacles in their attempts to elect public officials under the Federal Voting Rights Act of 1965, which became effective seven months ago.

Their problem was dramatized today when an election, in which a Negro candidate had been favored, failed to come off here in Baker County in southwest Georgia.

Amid growing white concern over the possibility of having a Negro officeholder for the first time in this century, the county's all-white Board of Commissioners canceled the election. It also abolished the post of justice of the peace that the Negro and a white candidate had been seeking.

The commission chairman, Price Hall, denied that the racial issue was involved in the board's action. He said that board members had suddenly decided, after the campaign was under way, to "consolidate" the county's petit courts.

### Charge by Rights Leaders

Civil rights leaders here charged that the board had taken its action solely to prevent the election of Walter Singletary, a 65-year-old Negro farmer. They said Mr. Singletary had learned that the office had been abolished less than four days before the election was to be held and only after he had printed campaign posters and had formally qualified as a candidate.

It was the latest in a series of complaints in recent weeks from civil rights workers who are attempting to mobilize newly enfranchised Negro voters in an effort to elect Negro candidates.

In Alabama, the Democratic executive committee in predominantly Negro Lowndes County voted a ten-fold increase in the filing fee for candidates in the May Democratic primary. The new fee of $500 for a sheriff candidate, civil rights workers charged, makes political campaigns prohibitively expensive for Negroes in a county where per capita income is $507 a year.

### Terms Are Extended

When would-be Negro candidates reported to the courthouse two weeks ago in predominantly Negro Bullock County, Ala., to qualify formally as candidates for County Commissioner, they discovered that there were no vacancies for the office this year. In the waning days of its session last year, the Alabama Legislature quietly extended the terms of the Bullock County Commissioners by two years, thus eliminating any necessity for an immediate election.

"The bill completely slipped by us," an Alabama newspaperman said. "There was no way Negroes could have known about the change. Reporters didn't even know about it."

In Mississippi testimony in a Federal Court hearing showed Negro that candidates had learned only after the filing deadline passed three weeks ago that the qualification procedures had been changed in the races for local school boards. The state's white superintendents had been alerted in advance of the change in election practices.

Negro candidates, meanwhile, complained to the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, which succeeded in winning a Federal injunction against the enforcement of the election changes in three school board races.

In each incident in Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia, white officials denied that increasing Negro voter registration had prompted their decision to change election procedures, while Negroes contended that this had been the sole reason.

# Vote: Now for a New Era in South

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 12 — One year ago when the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was leading demonstrations in Alabama for Federal voting legislation he noted that in many ways Southern Negroes had a better life than those who had migrated to the ghettos of the North. Many owned small farms, he said, and most participated in a stable community life that gave them a measure of emotional security. What was lacking, Dr. King said, was political power that would give Negroes a voice in the state capitals, the county court houses and the city halls.

This week, the Supreme Court removed the last obstacle to free participation by Negroes at the polls by upholding the main sections of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The way is now clear for a long-awaited transformation of politics in the Deep South.

"After enduring nearly a century of widespread resistance to the 15th Amendment" to the Constitution, Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote in the controlling opinion, "Congress has marshaled an array of potent weapons against the evil. . . . We may finally look forward to the day when truly 'the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.'"

## Reason for Dissent

The lone dissent was on a minor section of the act. Justice Hugo L. Black said he did not think Congress had authority to tell states they must have the approval of the Attorney General or the Federal courts before enacting new laws governing voting qualifications.

Under the automatic triggering device in the act, tests have been suspended in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia and 26 counties of North Carolina. Since the act was signed last Aug. 6, Attorney General Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach has assigned examiners to 37 counties and promised to send others wherever local officials in the seven-state area use literacy tests or other devices to prevent free and easy access to the registration books.

In the last seven months, Federal examiners have enrolled more than 100,00 Negro citizens. Local officials acting in voluntary compliance with the act have registered at least another 200,000 in the five Deep South states principally affected. This brings to about 950,000 the number of Negro names on the registration books, still only about 40 per cent of those eligible.

But with legal resistance virtually at an end, with the coming of warm weather and political campaigns and with the renewal of registration drives the number registered may increase sharply in the next few months. Mr. Katzenbach told civil rights leaders in Atlanta the other day he hopes and expects that more than half of the voting-age Negro population in the five states will participate in this year's elections in each of the states.

## Registration Tripled

Already the act has worked magic in some areas. Negro registrations have more than tripled in Mississippi. Birmingham, a center of resistance to Negro advances, may soon have more registered Negroes than Atlanta, where Negroes have long participated in political life.

No one, however, expects a transformation overnight. Civil rights groups face a tremendous task in politically activating an enormous reservoir of Negro citizens who have never voted and have never tried. Negro leaders have said demonstrations of the kind seen in Birmingham recently may be necessary in some areas to get the people out and to convince the Justice Department that more examiners are needed.

But the South is not likely ever again to produce the kind of racist politics that marred the region much of this century. With rare exceptions the registration of Negroes in large numbers has eliminated race as an important issue in political campaigns.

There is one possibility, however, that worries officials in Washington and in the South. It is that politics could become so polarized in some areas that a white party and a black party developed with each discouraging membership or support from the other race. It is too early to tell if this will happen.

## A New Mood

It has not happened in states like Tennessee and in pockets of the Deep South where Negroes have voted freely for some time. There they have sought to defeat the racists and elect both moderate whites and Negroes to office.

There is, however, a new mood of Negro militancy in the South and in many areas whites are still trying to keep both parties free of Negro participation. In the Alabama Black Belt, where Negroes generally outnumber whites, a number of Negro candidates have entered the spring primaries for local office.

The immediate responsibility for integration of politics, officials say, rests with both national parties, which can go a long way toward stamping out racism in their Southern branches and with Negro and white leaders in the areas involved.

Herblock in The Washington Post

"First the ballot box, and next the jury box. It just ain't fair."

# Negroes to Get Election Class

VOTING

AJ 3/18/66

About 60 Negro political candidates from Alabama will attend a workshop here sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and aimed at acquainting them "with the duties of the elective positions they are seeking."

The workshop will be held Saturday from 10 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. at the Ebenezer Baptist Church educational building, 413 Auburn Ave. The church is copastored by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., head of SCLC.

The workshop is being sponsored by SCLC's citizenship education program, headed by Dr. Robert L. Green, and its voter registration and political education department, headed by Hosea L. Williams.

DR. GREEN SAID SCLC's assumption was not that the candidates have little awareness of the duties of the offices they seek, but that the awareness should be "thorough."

"Negro candidates will not have initially the support that white candidates will have; we want to make sure they have a very adequate and precise knowledge of their duties. We want to reinforce whatever knowledge they might have," he said.

Included in the speaker's list will be two Negro county commissioners from Virginia and South Carolina, a Negro deputy sheriff from Virginia and a Negro tax collector from Virginia.

Local speakers will be State Sen. Leroy Johnson, Rev. J. D. Grier, Rev. Andrew J. Young, Dr. Vivian Henderson and Dr. King.

NYT 3/25/66

ITY EDITION

ather Bureau Report (Page 70) forecasts: ariably cloudy today; more onable tonight and tomorrow. Range: 46—33; yesterday: 58—40.

VOTING

M TEN CENTS

# HIGH COURT VOIDS VIRGINIA POLL TAX IN BROAD DECISION

## Ruling Seen Marking End of Fees as Vote Qualification —3 Other States Affected

## 14TH AMENDMENT CITED

## 6-3 Opinion Holds Wealth Is 'Capricious Factor'—Race Not an Issue in Finding

*Excerpts from court opinion are printed on Page 44.*

By FRED P. GRAHAM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 25 — The Supreme Court declared Virginia's poll tax unconstitutional today in a decision broad enough to eliminate the other existing poll taxes in Alabama, Mississippi and Texas.

Today's 6 to 3 decision brought to a successful conclusion a long campaign by civil rights advocates to abolish poll taxes as a prerequisite for voting.

Because the Court had ruled in 1937, and again in 1951, that poll taxes were constitutional, these advocates had turned to legislative activity.

This produced repeal of poll taxes by eight states, elimination of poll taxes in Federal elections through the 24th Amendment to the Constitution and a provision in the Voting Rights Act of 1965 condemning poll taxes — only to have the Supreme Court say this morning that the 14th Amendment of 1868 rendered unconstitutional all poll taxes on voting.

### Opinion by Douglas

In an opinion by Justice William O. Douglas, the Court ruled today that Virginia's $1.50 tax as a prerequisite for voting in state elections violated the equal protection of the law guaranteed by the 14th Amendment.

Leaning heavily upon the Court's "one man, one vote" doctrine for his authority, Justice Douglas overruled the unanimous 1937 decision of Breedlove v. Suttles, that had found a similar Georgia poll tax to be constitutional.

He did not mention a terse, unsigned 1951 decision in which the Court upheld the Virginia law itself over his lone dissent.

### First Amendment Linked

Although the plaintiffs in the two consolidated cases were Negroes, the Court's decision was based on economic and not racial descrimination. In both cases three-judge Federal District Courts had found that the Virginia poll tax was not used to discriminate against Negroes and had upheld the constitutionality of the law.

The Justice Department entered the case as a friend of the court and agreed that no racial discrimination was involved. Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall argued, instead,

Continued on Page 44, Column 1

(s)

# HIGH COURT VOIDS VIRGINIA POLL TAX

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

that the law violated what he termed the First Amendment's guarantee of free political expression by imposing a burden on voting that had no rational connection with voting qualifications.

Justice Douglas avoided the First Amendment issue, but agreed that a tax was not germane to voting. He said:

"To introduce wealth or payment of a fee as a measure of a voter's qualifications is to introduce a capricious or irrelevant factor. The degree of the discrimination is irrelevant. In this context — that is, as a condition to obtaining a ballot — the requirement of fee paying causes an invidious discrimination that runs afoul of the equal protection clause."

Justice Hugo L. Black charged that the Court's emphasis on "unreasonableness" under the equal protection clause gave the majority "a blank check" to write its ideas of good governmental policy into the Constitution.

### Due Process Cited

He compared this with the Court's since-abandoned practice of striking down economic regulatory legislation as "unreasonable" under the due process clause.

In a dissenting opinion joined by Justice Potter Stewart, Justice John M. Harlan pointed out that the 24th Amendment had been considered necessary to abolish the poll tax in Federal elections.

For the Supreme Court to administer the coup de grace by "judicial fiat" should be "a matter of continuing concern to all interested in maintaining the proper role of this tribunal under our scheme of Government," he said.

Justice Harlan also agreed with Justice Blacks' statement that payment of a poll tax could be a reasonable basis for determining who is competent to vote.

Justice Douglas's opinion dealt only with the poll tax provision of the Virginia Constitution of 1902. It ignored another section of that Constitution that denied the franchise to "paupers."

But this statement, that a state violates the Constitution "whenever it makes the affluence of the voter or payment of any fee an electoral

# Excerpts From Majority Opinion and Dissents in Poll Tax Decision

Special to The New York Times

*WASHINGTON, March 24—Following are excerpts from the Supreme Court opinion holding the Virginia poll tax unconstitutional, and dissents by Justice John M. Harlan, with whom Justice Potter Stewart joined, and Justice Hugo L. Black:*

## MAJORITY OPINION
### Mr. Justice Douglas

These are suits by Virginia residents to have declared unconstitutional Virginia's poll tax. The three-judge District Court, feeling bound by our decision in Breedlove v. Suttles, 302 U.S. 277, dismissed the complaint. See 240 F. Supp. 270. The cases came here on appeal and we noted probable jurisdiction.

While the right to vote in Federal elections is conferred by Art. 1, Section 2, of the Constitution, the right to vote in state elections is nowhere expressly mentioned. It is argued that the right to vote in state elections is implicit, particularly by reason of the First Amendment and that it may not constitutionally be conditioned upon the payment of a tax or fee. We do not stop to canvass the relation between voting and political expression. For it is enough to say that once the franchise is granted to the electorate, lines may not be drawn which are inconsistent with the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

That is to say, the right of suffrage "is subject to the imposition of state standards which are not discriminatory and which do not contravene any restriction that Congress, acting pursuant to its constitutional power, has imposed." Lassiter v. Northampton Education Board, 360 U.S. 45, 51.

We were speaking there of a state literacy test which we sustained, warning that the result would be different if a literacy test, fair on its face, were used to discriminate against a class. But the Lassiter case does not govern the result here, because, unlike a poll tax, the "ability to read and write . . . has some relation to standards designed to promote intelligent use of the ballot."

### 14th Amendment Held Violated

We conclude that a state violates the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment whenever it makes the affluence of the voter or payment of any fee an electoral standard. Voter qualifications

sidering charges that voters in one part of the state had greater representation per person in the state Legislature than voters in another part of the state. We concluded:

"A citizen, a qualified voter, is no more nor no less so because he lives in the city or on the farm. This is the clear and strong command of our Constitution's equal protection clause. This is an essential part of the concept of a government of laws and not men. This is at the heart of Lincoln's vision of 'government of the people, by the people, for the people.'"

### System Is Barred

We say the same whether the citizen, otherwise qualified to vote, has $1.50 in his pocket or nothing at all, pays the fee or fails to pay it. The principle that denies the state the right to dilute a citizen's vote on account of his economic status or other such factors by analogy bars a system which excludes those unable to pay a fee to vote or who fail to pay.

It is argued that a state may exact fees from citizens for many different kinds of licenses; that if it can demand from all an equal fee for a driver's license, it can demand from all an equal poll tax for voting. But we must remember that the interest of the state, when it comes to voting, is limited to the power to fix qualifications. Wealth, like race, creed or color, is not germane to one's ability to participate intelligently in electoral process. Lines drawn on the basis of wealth or property, like those of race, are traditionally disfavored. To introduce wealth or payment of a fee as a measure of a voter's qualifications is to introduce a capricious or irrelevant factor. The degree of the discrimination is irrelevant.

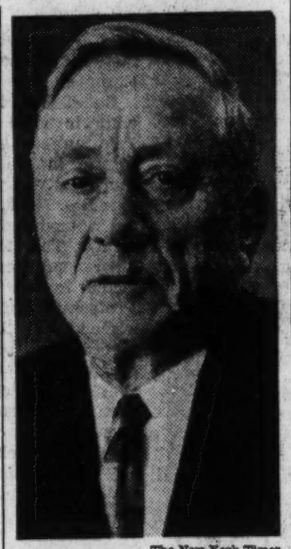
## DISSENT
### Mr. Justice Harlan
### Mr. Justice Stewart

The final demise of state poll taxes, already totally proscribed by the 24th Amendment with respect to Federal elections and abolished by the states themselves in all but four states with respect to state elections, is perhaps in itself not of great moment. But the fact that the coup de grace has been administered by this Court instead of being left to the affected states or to the Federal political process should be a matter of

its other breaks with the past, also marked a departure from these traditional and wise principles. Unless its "one man, one vote" thesis of state legislative apportionment is to be attributed to the unsupportable proposition that "equal protection" simply means indiscriminate equality, it seems inescapable that what Reynolds really reflected was but this Court's own views of how modern American representative government should be run. For it can hardly be thought that no other method of apportionment may be considered rational.

Following Reynolds the Court in Carrington v. Rash applied the traditional equal protection standard in striking down a Texas statute disqualifying as voters in state elections certain members of the armed forces of the United States. But today in holding unconstitutional state poll taxes and property qualifications for voting and pro tanto overruling Breedlove v. Suttles, and Butler v. Thompson, the Court reverts to the highly subjective judicial approach manifested by Reynolds.

In substance the Court's analysis of the equal protection issue goes no further than to say that the electoral franchise is "precious" and "fundamental," and to conclude that "to introduce wealth or payment of a fee as a measure of a voter's qualifications is to introduce a capricious or irrelevant factor." These are of course captivating phrases, but they are wholly inadequate to satisfy the standard governing adjudication of the equal pro-



The New York Times

**Justice William O. Douglas**

tection issue: Is there a rational basis for Virginia's poll tax as a voting qualification? I think the answer to that question is undoubtedly "yes."

### A Traditional Feature

Property qualifications and poll taxes have been a traditional part of our political structure. In the colonies the franchise was generally a restricted one. Over the years these and other restrictions were gradually lifted, primarily because popular theories of political representation had changed. Often restrictions were lifted only after wide public debate. The issue of woman suffrage, for example, raised questions of family relationships, of participation in public affairs, of the very nature of the type of society in which Americans wished to live; eventually a consensus was reached, which culminated in the 19th Amendment.

Similarly with property qualifications, it is only by fiat that it can be said, especially in the context of American history, that there can be no rational debate as to their advisability. For example, it is certainly a rational argument that payment of some minimal poll tax promotes civic responsibility, weeding out those who do not care enough about public affairs to pay $1.50 or thereabouts a year for the exercise of the franchise.

These viewpoints, to be sure, ring hollow on most contemporary ears. Their lack of acceptance today is evidenced by the fact that nearly all of the states, left to their own devices, have eliminated property or poll-tax qualifications; by the cognate fact that Congress and three-quarters of the states quickly ratified the 24th Amendment; and by the fact that rules such as the "pauper exclusion" in Virginia law, Va. Const., Section 23, Va. Code, Section 24-18, have never been enforced.

Property and poll-tax qualifications, very simply, are not in accord with current egalitarian notions of how a modern democracy should be organized. It is of course entirely fitting that Legislatures should modify the law to reflect such changes in popular attitudes. However, it is all wrong, in my view, for the Court to adopt the political doctrines popularly accepted at a particular moment of our history and to declare all others to be irrational and invidious, barring them from the range of choice by reasonably minded people acting through the political process.

I would affirm the decision of the district court.

## DISSENT
### Mr. Justice Black

In Breedlove v. Sutties, decided Dec. 6, 1937, a few weeks after I took my seat as a member of this Court, we unanimously upheld the right of the State of Georgia to make payment of its state tax a prerequisite to voting in state elections. We rejected at that time contentions that the state law violated the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment because it put an unequal burden on different groups of people according to their age, sex, and ability to pay. In rejecting the contention that the law violated the equal protection clause the Court noted:

"While possible by statutory declaration to levy a poll tax upon every inhabitant of whatsoever sex, age or condition, collection from all would be impossible for always there are many too poor to pay."

Believing at that time that the Court had properly respected its power under the equal protection clause and was right in rejecting the equal protection argument, I joined the Court's judgment and opinion. Later, May 28, 1951, I joined the Court's judgment in Butler v. Thompson, upholding over the dissent of Mr. Justice Douglas, the Virginia state poll tax law challenged here against the same equal protection challenges. Since the Breedlove and Butler cases were decided the Federal Constitution has not been amended in the only way it could constitutionally have been, that is as provided in Article V of the Constitution. I would adhere to the holding of those cases. The Court, however, overrules Breedlove in part, but its opinion reveals that it does so not by using its limited power to interpret the original meaning of the equal protection clause, but by giving that clause a new meaning which it believes represents a better governmental policy. From this action I dissent.

It should be pointed out at once that the Court's decision is to no extent based on a finding that the Virginia law as written or as applied is being used as a device or mechanism to deny Negro citizens of Virginia the right to vote on account of their color. Apparently the Court agrees with the District Court below and with my brothers Harlan and Stewart that this record would not support any finding that the Virginia poll tax law the Court invalidates has any such effect.

If the record could support a finding that the law as written or applied has such an effect, the law would of course be unconstitutional as a violation of the 14th and 15th Amendments and also 42 U.S.C. Section 1971 (A). What the Court does hold is that the equal protection clause necessarily bars all states from making payment of a state tax, any tax, a prerequisite to voting.

elections.

For the Supreme Court to administer the coup de grace by "judicial flat" should be "a matter of continuing concern to all interested in maintaining the proper role of this tribunal under our scheme of Government," he said.

Justice Harlan also agreed with Justice Blacks' statement that payment of a poll tax could be a reasonable basis for determining who is competent to vote.

Justice Douglas's opinion dealt only with the poll tax provision of the Virginia Constitution of 1902. It ignored another section of that Constitution that denied the franchise to "paupers."

But this statement, that a state violates the Constitution "whenever it makes the affluence of the voter or payment of any fee an electoral standard," made it clear that neither the pauper provision nor the three remaining state poll taxes could stand.

Justice Black foreshadowed this result last month when he refused to stay the enforcement of a Federal District Court decision holding Texas' poll tax unconstitutional. Alabama's law had been ruled unconstitutional in a similar action.

**Suits Were Filed**

These suits were brought by the Justice Department, together with suits challenging the Virginia and Mississippi poll tax laws, under the command of a provision of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach had persuaded Congress not to attempt to abolish the four poll taxes in the 1965 law, by suggesting that the Court might do it in the two Virginia cases, which are already in litigation.

Under this reasoning, Administration forces were able to beat down efforts by liberal Senators, led by Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, to ban the poll taxes outright in the law. Instead, the Justice Department was instructed to bring the four suits.

In his dissenting remarks from the bench today Justice Black chided Congress for passing the buck to the Supreme Court, and speculated that it would have abolished the taxes by statute, if "some great enthusiast" had not persuaded it to wait.

**Negroes Were Target**

Although today's decision did not result from racial discrimination, the poll taxes of the 11 Southern states were enacted in the post-Reconstruction period for the admitted purpose of denying the vote to Negroes.

However, seven of them were repealed in a series of legislative reforms: North Carolina, 1920; Louisiana, 1934; Florida, 1937; Georgia, 1945; South Carolina, 1951; Tennessee 1953; and Arkansas, 1964. Vermont also had a requirement that poll taxes had to be paid in order to vote, which was repealed last month.

The first bill to eliminate poll taxes in Federal elections was introduced in Congress in 1939. This was finally accomplished when the 24th Amendment was ratified in 1964.

George D. Gibson, a private attorney rom Richmond, argued for Virginia in the cases decided today. Allison W. Brown Jr. of Washington, an attorney for the American Cvil Liberties Union, argued for the Negro plaintiffs from nearby Fairfax County, Va.

Robert L. Segar of Flint, Mich., argued for the plaintiffs from Norfolk County.

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**Statement by Godwin**

RICHMOND, March 24 (AP) —Virginia's Gov. Mills E. Godwin made this brief comment:

"I have not seen the Court's opinion but as a practical matter its effect apparently will be to put elections for state and local offices on the same basis as elections for Federal offices insofar as the poll tax is concerned.

"The legal impact will be carefully examined with the Attorney General."

Governor Godwin was meeting with the Attorney General on another matter when the Court's decision was announced. He remained with him for more than an hour before issuing his statement.

acting pursuant to its constitutional power, has imposed." Lassiter v. Northampton Education Board, 360 U.S. 45, 51.

We were speaking there of a state literacy test which we sustained, warning that the result would be different if a literacy test, fair on its face, were used to discriminate against a class. But the Lassiter case does not govern the result here, because, unlike a poll tax, the "ability to read and write . . . has some relation to standards designed to promote intelligent use of the ballot."

**14th Amendment Held Violated**

We conclude that a state violates the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment whenever it makes the affluence of the voter or payment of any fee an electoral standard. Voter qualifications have no relation to wealth nor to paying or not paying this or any other tax. Our cases demonstrate that the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment restrains the states from fixing voter qualifications which invidiously discriminate. Thus without questioning the power of a state to impose reasonable residence restrictions on the availability of the ballot, we held in Carrington v. Rash, 380 U.S. 89, that a state may not deny the opportunity to vote to a bonafide resident merely because he is a member of the armed services. "By forbidding a soldier ever to controvert the presumption of nonresidence, the Texas Constitution imposes an invidious discrimination in violation of the 14th Amendment."

Previously we had said that neither homesite nor occupation "affords a permissible basis for distinguishing between qualified voters within the state." Gray v. Sanders, 372 U.S. 368, 380. We think the same must be true of requirements of wealth or affluence or payment of a fee.

Long ago in Yick Wo v. Hopkins, the Court referred to "the political franchise of voting" as a "fundamental political right, because preservative of all rights." Recently in Reynolds v. Sims, we said, "Undoubtedly, the right of suffrage is a fundamental matter in a free and democratic society. Especially since the right to exercise the franchise in a free and unimpaired manner is preservative of other basic civil and political rights, any alleged infringement of the right of citizens to vote must be carefully and meticulously scrutinized." There we were con-

To introduce [illegible] ment of a fee as a measure of a voter's qualifications is to introduce a capricious or irrelevant factor. The degree of the discrimination is irrelevant.

## DISSENT

### Mr. Justice Harlan
### Mr. Justice Stewart

The final demise of state poll taxes, already totally proscribed by the 24th Amendment with respect to Federal elections and abolished by the states themselves in all but four states with respect to state elections, is perhaps in itself not of great moment. But the fact that the coup de grace has been administered by this Court instead of being left to the affected states or to the Federal political process should be a matter of continuing concern to all interested in maintaining the proper role of this tribunal under our scheme of government.

I do not propose to retread ground covered in my dissents in Reynolds v. Sims, and Carrington v. Rash, and will proceed on the premise that the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment now reaches both state apportionment [Reynolds] and voter-qualification [Carrington] cases. My disagreement with the present decision is that in holding the Virginia poll tax violative of the equal protection clause the Court has departed from long-established standards governing the application of that clause.

The equal protection clause prevents states from arbitrarily treating people differently under their laws. Whether any such differing treatment is to be deemed arbitrary depends on whether or not it reflects an appropriate differentiating classification among those affected; the clause has never been thought to require equal treatment of all persons despite differing circumstances. The test evolved by this Court for determining whether an asserted justifying classification exists is whether such a classification can be deemed to be founded on some rational and otherwise constitutionally permissible state policy.. This standard reduces to a minimum the likelihood that the Federal judiciary will judge state policies in terms of the individual notions and predilections of its own members, and until recently it has been followed in all kinds of "equal protection" cases.

Reynolds v. Sims, among

VOTING

# Craig Wants Klan To Register Voters

AC 4/21/66

The United Klans of America plans to move into the voter registration field this summer, apparently with hopes of counteracting similar drives conducted by civil rights groups.

Calvin Craig, Georgia grand dragon, has written a letter to Fulton County Chief Registrar Leon Hay in which he asks that Klansmen be appointed deputy registrars.

The head klansman said in his letter that the klan wants to help unregistered white voters "who have been forgotten so long."

**CITES NEGROES**

Craig said in his letter that Hay had recently deputized nearly 200 Negroes to conduct a registration drive. The Negroes are members of the All-Citizens registration Commit tee. The committee hopes to register 27,000 persons by the September primaries.

Hay would not say whether he planned to grant the grand dragon's request, but he did acknowledge that he had received a letter from Craig.

**MUST QUALIFY**

However, The Constitution learned from other courthouse sources that klansmen would be allowed to serve as deputy registrars if they meet legal requirements.

One requirement is that a deputy registrar cannot have a criminal record. Before any klansmen are deputized, a record check will be made, it was learned.

# Klansmen Get Fulton Okay As Registrars

VOTING

AC 4/24/66

By The Associated Press

Fulton County's chief registrar says Ku Klux Klansmen will be allowed to apply for service as deputy voter registrars because "We're not treating them any different than anybody else."

Chief Registrar Leon G. Hay confirmed Saturday that Klansmen are welcome to apply for the volunteer posts, but like everyone else, they will have to fill out questionnaires for examination by law enforcement authorities.

Georgia Grand Dragon Calvin Craig of the United Klans of America said he expects to get 40 to 50 Klan volunteers to canvass white neighborhoods.

"Hay deputized about 181 Negroes to go out and register Negroes," Craig said, "and we thought this was discriminating against white people."

CRAIG said he received a letter from Hay which stated klansmen may apply to attend a school for volunteers May 17.

Hay said he expects members of other organizations, among the Kiwanis, the Optimist Club and the Jaycees, to attend the same school.

The chief registrar said qualifications for a volunteer deputy registrar are that he must be a registered voter in the county and must not be under suspension of civil rights because of a felony conviction.

Hay said the volunteers' terms expire Dec. 31.

966.

# U.S. TO OVERSEE ALABAMA VOTING

VOTING

## But Katzenbach Does Not Expect Trouble May 3

4/25/66

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 24—The Department of Justice intends to dispatch Federal observers to Alabama for the primary May 3 to prevent infractions against the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach said today.

In a televised interview on the Metromedia network, he said no trouble was envisioned and that he expected "local and state officials in all of these states to comply with the law."

He added:

"At the same time, there are obligations that the Federal Government has under the voting rights law and we're going to be prepared to meet them."

Mr. Katzenbach said that in addition to the United States Attorney's office, the Justice Department planned to have 33 offices open to consider complaints of noncompliance with the law. Moreover, he said that in some counties and precincts, there would be Federal observers on hand. He said that in at least one county, there had been requests for election supervision by observers.

Asked about press reports concerning threats of violence, Mr. Katzenbach replied that he had expected threats because of an extremist element in these areas.

"On the other hand," he said, "the record of the F.B.I. in terms of solutions of these crimes is very, very good indeed. I think that will serve as a deterrent to the carrying out of any serious threats of that kind."

# KATZENBACH HAILS ALABAMA VOTING

~~ALABAMA~~

## Negro Participation Lauded by Civil Rights Leaders

VOTING

By EMANUEL PERLMUTTER

NYT 4/26/66

Attorney General Nicholas B. Katzenbach and spokesmen for civil rights groups hailed yesterday the voting in Tuesday's Democratic primary in Alabama in which Negroes participated widely for the first time since Reconstruction.

Mr. Katzenbach said he was pleased that Negroes had generally been able to vote there "freely and comfortably."

Interviewed in Washington as he arrived on Capitol Hill to testify in behalf of the Civil Rights bill of 1966, Mr. Katzenbach made the following comment:

"From the information which has reached me, at least in most areas the election was conducted fairly and well and people voted freely and comfortably.

"There may have been isolated incidents we haven't heard of, but over all it seems to be all right, and this reflects great credit to all the people involved for what was done."

### Impact ISs Weighed

Civil rights spokesmen from their national headquarters in New York said that while the primary results mainly favored the segregationists, the Alabama Negroes had made their votes count.

They predicted that the Negro vote was bound to be a more important factor in the future.

The Alabama primary was the first significant election for Southern Negroes since the enactment of the Federal Voting Rights Act of 1965.

That act suspended literacy tests and other voting tests in six Southern states—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia.

It also authorized the Attorney General to dispatch Federal examiners to areas that might try to evade the law.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, noted that as a result of the election Alabama Negroes will be represented in the State Legislature.

"Incomplete returns," he added, "also indicate that they may have elected a sheriff and that some Negro candidates will be in runoffs in certain elections, and may win."

Mr. Wilkins went on to make this observation:

"The Negro voters need not be discouraged. Even though many of the candidates they supported failed in elections, these voters have already had an impact upon the conduct of elections in their state. Their influence will grow greater as their numbers increase and as they and the white voters forsake polarization at the polls."

### CORE Evaluation

A spokesman for the Congress of Racial Equality said here it was heartening that Negroes and whites had voted "side by side" in Alabama. He predicted that the result would be psychologically helpful to the Negro.

He made the following assessment:

"The significant thing about the elections in Alabama was that this was the first time since Reconstruction that Negroes and whites were able to march side by side and vote for representatives of their state.

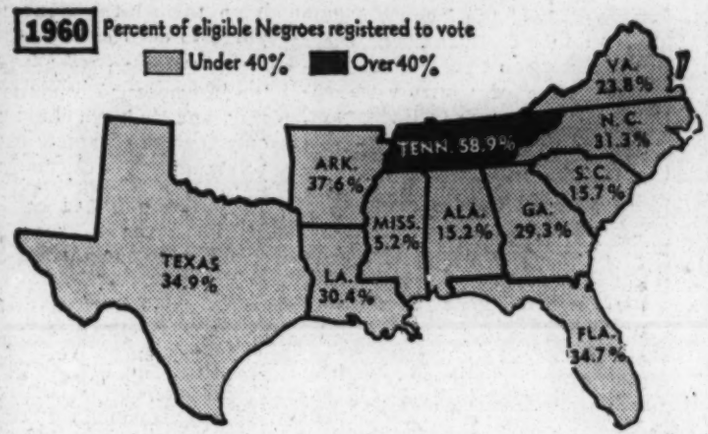
"It is estimated that 122,000 Negroes were able to vote. Whatever defeats occurred, a spirit of hope and a feeling of belonging that did not exist since Reconstruction has become a part of the ethos of the Negro drive for equality. The psychological results far outweigh any political adversities."

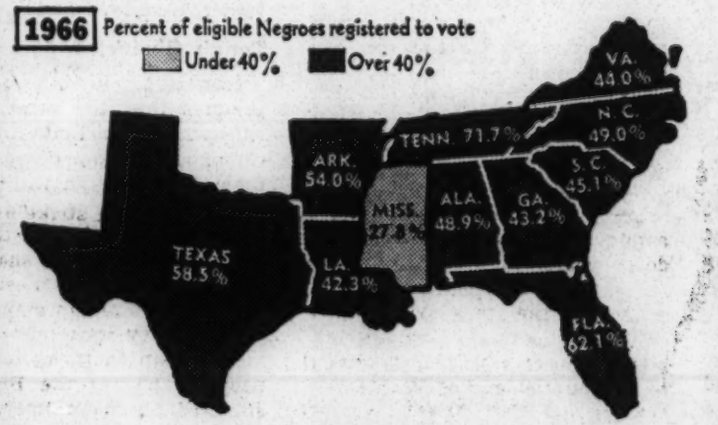
Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, called the Alabama voting a historic event.

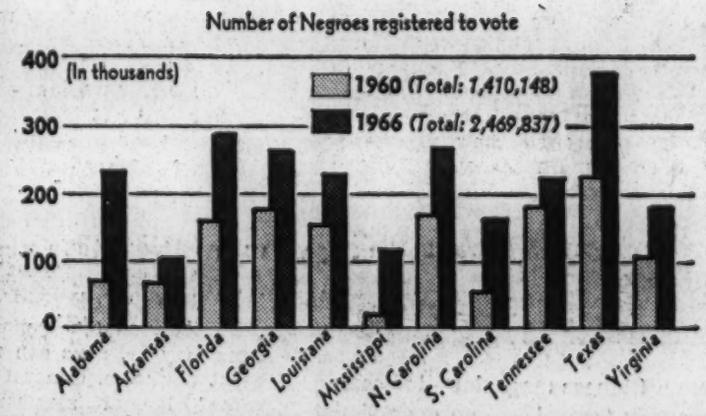
Mr. Young said:

"The National Urban League hails Alabama's Negro citizens, who, laboring still under great handicaps, discharged their responsibilities as American citizens—many of them voting for the first time in their adult lives. History is in the making in that state."

## Negro registration in the South has increased dramatically




**The proportion of voter-age Negroes who have registered has risen sharply under the impetus of Federal legislation since 1960, especially the comprehensive law adopted in 1965.**

# Negro Vote Can Be Potent, If—

VOTING NYT 5/15/66

By TOM WICKER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 14 — In Newark, N. J., this week, in the Democratic primary, Mayor Hugh Addonizio failed to win a majority. The Mayor faces a runoff against his principal opponent, Leo P. Carlin, primarily because a third candidate, Kenneth A. Gibson, polled just under 20 per cent of the total vote.

Mr. Gibson is a 33-year-old Negro, and he was running in a city where Negroes make up almost 50 per cent of the population. In a larger field, and polling a few more votes than Mr. Gibson, another Negro, Calvin West, won election as a city councilman-at-large.

These results did not attract as much national attention as the Alabama Democratic primaries last week, and Newark is not really analogous to the South because the city's Negro community is a higher proportion of its total population than Negroes ever will achieve in any Southern state.

### 'Poor' Majority

But some political analysts here believe that, as more and more Negroes vote and reach political sophistication in the South, the Southern political order will develop somewhat like Newark's. They were influenced by the following realities of Southern politics:

(1) In the South, the dominant majority in the region as a whole and in every state is white—and the Negro proportion of the population is generally declining.

(2) Another majority exists in the South that is not, so far, dominant. It is the majority of the less advantaged, of whatever race—of those from the middle income groups ranging down to the poverty-stricken.

(3) For nearly a century, the white majority of the South has dominated the "poor" majority because the issue of race has been used to unite white men of whatever economic class—all too often for the benefit of the Bourbons.

The smashing victory of Mrs. Lurleen Wallace, running as a stand-in for her husband, Gov. George Wallace of Alabama, disclosed these underlying realities once again.

### Resistance

There now are, in Alabama, 235,572 registered Negroes — and about 115,000 of these have been put on the polling books since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Yet, the total is only 16 per cent of Alabama's registered voters, and in the period since the voting act was passed, so many whites were also registered that Negroes succeeded in "closing the gap" between their vote and the white vote by a net of only 12,000.

Moreover, the whites of Alabama were sufficiently united—no matter what their other interests—by two factors. Governor Wallace had made himself a symbol of white resistance to Federally imposed Negro gains. His wife's principal opponent, Attorney General Richmond Flowers, openly campaigned for the Negro vote. The race issue, however soft pedaled in speeches, was central to the election.

Mr. Flowers got an estimated 90 per cent of the Negro vote—suggesting that only about 150,000 Negroes voted in the gubernatorial race—but even with eight other candidates in the field, Mrs. Wallace won a majority of about 52 per cent and avoided a runoff. She is estimated to have received more than 60 per cent of the white vote.

### Political Realities

Negroes did win Democratic nominations for some local offices, in electorates where their numbers were in higher proportion. In the Texas primary in the same week, three Negroes won nominations for the State Legislature.

All this suggests that astute Negro political leadership in the South will grasp two overriding facts: that the Negro in that region is a political minority and will remain so, and that when the issue of race is raised either by white bigots or by obvious Negro bloc voting, the white majority will unite at the ballot box, at least in the foreseeable future.

That is why the Newark results become relevant to the South. Newark showed that Negroes can influence important elections without trying to dominate them; that they need no longer be ignored or ridden over by white leaders. It showed that factors other than race—for instance, Mayor Addonizio's City Hall organization and powers—can influence the Negro as well as any other voter. It showed that important local offices can be won by Negroes—not only improving their present political power but building up experienced politicians (not merely Negro politicians) for the future.

### New Order

Such an approach in the South appears numerically necessary, because of the Negro's permanent minority position. And it is the only route that offers any real hope anytime soon of uniting that other majority in the South—the vast body of whites and Negroes whose economic interests are identical.

Wherever the issue of race is openly raised, by whites or by Negroes, that majority is likely to be split, as it always has been before; where the race issue can be kept in the background, a new political order might be built in the South.

Democratic analysts appear to be particularly impressed by this long-term possibility. They believe their party offers the economic and social program upon which a big majority of the less advantaged — white and black — could agree, if racial politics could be avoided on both sides.

As Alabama showed, it is a big if.

# 172,386 NEGROES VOTE IN ALABAMA

VOTING

AJ 5/23/66

By United Press International

Approximately 74 per cent of Alabama's Negro registered voters went to the polls during the May 3 primary, the Southern Regional Council said Sunday.

Returns from selected precincts showed the Negro vote could be calculated at about the total vote received by Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers, who ran second to Mrs. George Wallace with 172,386, the council said.

Lurleen Wallace's nine male opponents would have to have had 72,845 more votes, the council reported, in order to force her into a runoff.

The council said Negro registration has more than doubled in Alabama since passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, rising from 113,000 to 235,000.

Currently about 49 per cent of the Negro voting age population is registered. White registration is 87 per cent.

VOTING

# Suit in Alabama Tests Voting Act

AJ 5/23/66

By JACK NELSON

Los Angeles Times News Service

Three sections of the 1965 Voting Rights Act that have not been tested in the U.S. Supreme Court are involved in the Justice Department's court action to protect Negro voting rights in four Alabama Black Belt counties.

In Greene, Sumter and Marengo counties, the Justice Department invoked Section 8 in a suit to enjoin county Democratic officials from barring federal observers—as they did in the Democratic primary May 3—from seeing how illiterates' ballots are marked in a May 31 runoff primary.

Officials of the three counties said they got unofficial advice from a federal judge before barring the observers in the first primary. The judge was identified as George H. Grooms of Birmingham, but he said he could not recall giving such advice.

U.S. District Judge Daniel H. Thomas of Mobile is expected to rule officially that Section 8 empowers observers to watch all aspects of officials' conduct at the polls, specifically including help given illiterates in the marking of ballots. He has set a hearing for Thursday on the Justice Department suit involving this section.

SECTIONS 11 and 12, dealing with discrimination by state officials and the filing of civil suits by the attorney general as a legal remedy, are involved in the Justice Department's suit to have Wilson Baker, former Selma public safety director, declared the Dallas County sheriff nominee over Sheriff James G. Clark.

Judge Thomas is considering that case after a two-day hearing in Selma.

None of Section 8 and 11 and only one small part of Section 12 are involved in the supreme court's decision March 7 upholding major portions of the Voting Rights Act.

However, Sections 11 and 12 are similar to provisions of the 1957 Civil Rights Act that already have been held constitutional.

Section 8 goes to the heart of congressional intent to insure that Negroes are permitted to cast their ballots freely and to have them properly counted.

IT DOES not specifically mention the casting of votes by illiterates whose ballots are marked by poll officials, but says observers shall see whether votes "are being properly tabulated."

The provision for federal observers apparently is one weapon the Supreme Court had in mind when it said, in the March 7 decision: "After enduring nearly a century of widespread resistance to the 15th Amendment, Congress has marshaled an array of potent weapons against the evil, with authority and the attorney general to employ them effectively."

In a memorandum of law filed with its suit against the Democratic officials of Greene, Sumter and Marengo counties, the Justice Department declared that the legislative history of this section reflects a congressional desire to insure that all phases of activity at polling places be fully observed.

# Slum Negro Needs Close Issues in Order to Vote

VOTING 5/26/67

By TOM SEPPY

WASHINGTON (AP) — To get the Negro living in the city slums to register and vote, the League of Women Voters says, he must be hit with the issues close to him — garbage collection, police brutality charges, rats and even racial discrimination.

The Negro — as well as the Puerto Rican and the newcomer from Appalachia and other depressed rural areas living in the city's slums — is not concerned and cannot be reached by the usual get out the vote campaigns which deal in abstract values and long-range objectives, says a three-year study of elections in nine cities.

**Techniques Suggested**

The study, made public Wednesday night in the form of a manual, suggests techniques community organizations can use in reaching slum residents. It called them the eight of 10 citizens now disenfranchized by their absence from the registration lists.

Barriers to be overcome are not those presented by the normally apathetic voter, says the study. "They are those that apply specifically to this group of citizens; poor education, lack of confidence, fear, poverty, feelings of futility and lack of specific know-how.

The league says these psychological and mechanical barriers are not easy to remove. But it did learn that the combined efforts of many organizations and individuals, working together, could make a significant difference in registration and voting turnout by innercity residents.

"Once motivated, people will register — and they will vote," says the manual, entitled Voting is People Power. "Hit the nerve that makes them want the needed information; convince them that their voice is silent — silent when it comes to garbage collection, police brutality, rats, even discrimination — unless they register and vote.

**Voting Policy**

"Once they have seen that each vote is as important as any other vote, and know that voting sets the policy until the next election, they will register and vote. Education, work experience and social position do not by themselves make citizens alert and active. Wanting to vote and know-how do."

The League of Women Voters Education Fund conducted the project under a grant from the Sears-Roebuck Foundation and the Field Foundation.

The manual is based on registration drives in Bridgeport, Conn.; Cincinnati and Cleveland, Ohio; Indianapolis, Ind., Milwaukee, Wis.; Detroit, Mich.; Long Beach, Calif., New Orleans, La., and Rochester, N.Y.

Each section of the manual provides alternate techniques describing the advantages and disadvantages of each with warnings of problems that may arise and suggestions on how to meet them.

The manual warns that bipartisan organizers may not be welcomed with open arms by political parties.

"Political party officials do not generally consider registration efforts an innocuous nonpartisan activity, whatever your motives may be," says the manual. "Politicians prefer to concentrate their registration efforts on groups or on areas whose people are likely to vote for them."

# Registration Lagging, Negroes Told

VOTING AC 5/26/66

Only Mississippi has a higher percentage of unregistered Negro voters than Georgia, the director of the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project said Wednesday.

The election of nine Negroes to the state Legislature, a figure topped only by Pennsylvania, could exert a negative influence on voter registration, the official, Vernon E. Jordon Jr., told a Hungry Club luncheon meeting at the Butler Street YMCA.

Mississippi's Negro voter registration figure stands at 27.8 per cent.

Georgia, with 42 per cent of her potential Negro electorate registered, is behind Alabama, which has a 49 per cent Negro registration, Jordon reported. Fulton County, with 54.9 per cent Negro registration, falls short of the 57.6 per cent figure in Montgomery, Ala., he said.

Negroes at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder have received no benefits from civil rights legislation, Jordan stated.

"Voter education must demonstrate to the Negro the relationship between his vote and the meat and bread issues that confront him day to day," he declared.

The logical Negro leadership in voter education, he said, is "the young, educated Negro, the Negro middle class." "Where else can the Negro masses turn?" he asked.

Jordon advocated a full-time, paid staff to coordinate civil rights action in the Atlanta Negro community and a full-time paid director for the All Citizens Registration Committee. Funds for these, he said, should be provided locally by Negro businessmen, churches, civic clubs and other organizations.

VOTING

# Mississippi Negroes Go to Polls

AC 6/7/66

JACKSON, Miss. (UPI) — Thousands of Negroes vote for the first time in party primaries Tuesday but their newly won franchise was expected to have little impact on the outcome of the balloting.

Federal poll watchers will scrutinize the balloting in this state where only 35,000 Negroes were registered to vote a year ago. There are now 125,000 Negroes on the rolls, most of them registered under the 1965 Federal Voting Rights Act. There are about 475,000 White voters.

About 300,000 voters will go to the polls and the majority of white voters was expected to negate the impact of the new Negro voters.

U. S. Sen. James Eastland D-Miss., a staunch segregationist, is seeking his fifth term, and four incumbent Democratic congressmen seek renomination. Two Republican candidates are staging the state's first contest GOP primary since Reconstruction for the nomination to the seat being vacated by Rep. Prentiss Walker, who will run for the U.S. Senate in the general election. Four Democrats are in the primary for Walker's post.

# THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

*For 98 Years The South's Standard Newspaper*

RALPH McGILL, Publisher

EUGENE PATTERSON, Editor

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VOTING

# A Man, One Vote

The Southern Regional Council notes that the shooting of James Meredith was at least the 17th incident related to Negro voter registration activity since the Voting Rights Act took effect last year.

This demonstrates, said the council, "that while the Voting Rights Act guaranteed rights of registration and voting, it did not guarantee the safety of those who are trying to see that those rights are exercised."

"Largely because of threats, reprisals, intimidation and fear, Mississippi's Negro registration . . . stands at . . . less than one-third of the Negro voting age population."

Georgia's Negro voter registration is low also. Apathy and lack of organized effort have been factors in that, and these are factors that Negro leaders bear an obligation to correct in an important election year. But there has been fear on the part of Negroes in Georgia also, and instances of intimidation.

What will be the Southern Negro's reaction? Will he go on tamely forfeiting his right to vote?

Efforts to intimidate voters have a way of backfiring when the citizenry has pride. A classic example occurred in Venezuela in 1963.

The Communist party deliberately embarked on a campaign to scare Venezuelans away from the ballot box as a means of blocking a free and democratic election.

Bombings, burnings and public murders occurred in Caracas and other cities. But the calculated campaign of intimidation and terror had a reverse effect.

It so angered Venezuelans that more than 90 per cent of the electorate thronged defiantly to the polling places on election day and elected an anti-Communist government. Moreover, the public reaction against the terror tactics smashed an incipient Communist "war of liberation" and drove the remnants of the Red movement into the mountains where they have hidden in ineffectual isolation ever since.

The Southern Negro has the same recourse against the segregationist efforts to intimidate him, if he will but muster the will to use it.

## Federal Examiners

The Voting Rights Act authorizes the Attorney General to appoint Federal Examiners to list voters in those Parishes where:

1. He believes that the appointment of examiners is necessary to enforce the guarantees of the Fifteenth Amendment, or

2. He has received twenty meritorious complaints alleging voter discrimination.

At present, Federal Examiners have been assigned to the following Louisiana Parishes:

Plaquemines
East Feliciana
West Feliciana
Quachita
East Carroll

Citizens who allege that they have been denied the right to vote on account of race or color may file a written complaint with the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. (send a copy to the Commission on Civil Rights).

## Protection of Voters and Voter Registration Workers

The Voting Rights Act extends civil and criminal protection to qualified persons seeking to vote and to those who urge or aid others to vote. Public officials or private citizens who attempt to or intimidates, threatens, or coerces a person from registering or voting are subject to criminal penalties. It is also a crime to attempt to or to intimidate, threaten or coerce anyone who urges or aids any person to register or vote. Complaints of intimidation or threats should be sent in writing to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. (a copy to the Commission on Civil Rights).

## For Additional Information:

For additional information on the Voting Rights Act as it relates to Louisiana laws, or for additional copies of this memorandum and Special Publication No. 4 contact:

THE LOUISIANA STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE
c/o Mid-South Field Office
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
The Federal Building, Room 56
Memphis, Tennessee 38103

June 29, 1966

# VIRGINIA CONTESTS SPUR RECORD VOTE

7/13/66

## 3 Old Guard Democrats Are Challenged—Turnout by Negroes Is a Factor

VOTING

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

Special to The New York Times

RICHMOND, July 12—Nearly half a million Virginians, a record number, voted today in the Democratic primary.

The large turnout, including the participation of what may prove to be a record number of new Negro voters, was essential to the hopes of three moderate-to-liberal candidates who are challenging the state's best-known members of the political organization of former Senator Harry F. Byrd Sr.

The turnout was heaviest today in the Norfolk area and in some sections of the northern Virginia suburbs of Washington, where more persons had voted by midday than voted in the gubernatorial election last November. The statewide vote then was 562,789. The previous record vote in a Democratic primary here was about 353,000 in the gubernatorial race of 1961.

### Negro Vote Is Lighter

Negroes here in Richmond apparently did not vote as heavily today as in the City Council election three weeks ago when three Negroes were elected to the council.

Nomination in the Democratic primary in Virginia, despite a resurgence of Republican party activity, is still generally regarded as certain to assure election. The crucial Democratic races were the following:

¶United States Senator A. Willis Robertson of Lexington, 79 years old, faced a threat, unmatched in his 34-year career as a Representative and Senator, from William B. Spong Jr., 45, a moderate lawyer and state senator from Portsmouth, in the heavily populated Norfolk-Hampton Roads metropolitan area. The race was regarded as posing the gravest prospect of defeat for an Old Guard incumbent.

¶Harry F. Byrd Jr., 51, the former Senator's son, has been serving an interim appointment to his father's Senate seat since the 79-year-old founder of the

Continued on Page 26, Column 3

THE

# VIRGINIA CONTESTS SPUR RECORD VOTE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

Byrd organization retired last November. "Young Harry," as he is known here, faced a less troublesome challenge from Armistead L. Boothe of Alexandria, 58, a moderate, well-known former state senator and unsuccessful "antiorganization" candidate for lieutenant Governor.

¶Representative Howard W. Smith, 83, chairman of the House Rules Committee, was believed to be in the political fight of his life against a young, vigorous and liberal state assemblyman, George C. Rowlings Jr., 44, of Fredericksburg. Mr. Smith's Congressional district has undergone a major reapportionment that drastically altered its formerly rustic character by adding more than 100,000 suburban votes.

**Incumbents Are Pressed**

These contests focused national attention on the outcome here. The strong bid being made by the moderate challengers has already forced unexpected changes on the incumbent candidates.

Mr. Robertson, chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, who is an unqualified conservative on fiscal, racial and states' rights issues, has, for example, campaigned primarily on the basis that his Senate seniority would bring more Federal aid to Virginia.

The younger Byrd has publicly taken far more flexible positions on many issues than observers here believe would have been possible before his father's retirement and before Mr. Boothe's sharp challenge to his "dynastic succession."

The family has announced that the elder Byrd lapsed into a terminal coma last week and is expected to die without regaining consciousness, a development expected to generate a "sympathy vote" for the son.

Mr. Smith, who had rarely been required to mount more than a token campaign in his formerly rural district, has campaigned at suburban coffee hours, by riding in parades with pretty girls, and by issuing the first political press releases in his 36 years in Congress.

Key factors in the outcome—unmeasurable until all the returns are in—were the strange alliances formed by many "organization" campaign workers supporting both the younger Mr. Byrd and Mr. Robertson's opponent, Mr. Spong. "Byrd-Spong" campaign efforts were apparent in many areas across the state, presumably to Mr. Robertson's detriment. Mr. Byrd did nothing to dispel this belief.

Even conservative Democrats supporting Mr. Smith in the Eighth Congressional District mailed out a sample ballot that underlined the names "Smith," "Byrd" and "Spong."

# NEW LAW SPURS NEGRO VOTE BILLS

VOTING

## Registration Advances 16% in Six Southern States

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Aug. 4—Voter registration in six southern states has increased from 30 per cent of the eligible Negroes to 46 per cent in one year since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Southern Regional Council reported today.

The council, a nonprofit group seeking racial equality, said the results in the first year indicated a need for assignment of more Federal examiners to the South.

Negro registration in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia and Virginia was said to have increased from 837,000 to 1,289,000.

Under the act, Federal examiners may be sent under certain conditions into these states as well as into a part of North Carolina to supervise voter registration. The act suspends literacy tests in these areas.

### Impact of Examiners

As yet no examiners have been sent to Georgia, Virginia, or to the 26 counties in North Carolina to which the act applied.

Examiners have been certifying voters in 24 counties in Mississippi, 11 in Alabama, two in South Carolina and five in Louisiana.

Through its Voter Education Project, the council reported that the examiners had certified 64,155 persons in Alabama, 41,595 in Mississippi, 13,689 in Louisiana and 4,542 in South Carolina. Almost all of these were Negroes.

There also were substantial increases in registration in these states through local registrars.

Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the Voter Education Project, noted a substantial difference between the increases in states with Federal examiners and those without them.

In Georgia, for instance, the increase was 33,949, all through local registrars. In Alabama, Federal examiners certified 64,155 persons and 70,352 more were added by local registrars, a total increase of 134,507.

Mr. Jordan gave the council's analysis of this development: "The figures clearly demonstrate the need for more Federal examiners." This includes parts of the two states to which they have not been sent and many counties in the four states to which they have been sent. There also is a need for more concentrated private efforts to increase registration and voting in the South."

He noted that the foundation-financed Voter Education Project was backing such private efforts over a wide area of the South.

The project's figures for the six states are:

Alabama—248,000 Negroes registered, 51.5 per cent of eligible Negroes, up 134,507 in the past year, of which 64,155 was through Federal examiners.

Georgia—267,000 registered, 43.6 per cent, up 33,949.

Louisiana—243,000 registered, 47.2 per cent, up 89,219, of which 13,689 was through Federal examiners.

Mississippi—139,000 registered, 32.9 per cent, up 113,735, of which 41,595 was through Federal examiners.

South Carolina—187,000 registered, 50.4 per cent, up 44,198, of which 4,542 was through Federal examiners.

Virginia—205,000 registered, 48.7 per cent, up 36,000.

### Wilkins Lauds Result

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said yesterday that the increases in registered voters reported by the Southern Regional Council were "a source of encouragement to those of us who believe that the ballet is an essential instrument for racial advancement."

"This important gain was achieved not by speech-making, sloganeering or demonstrations," he went on, "but by hard work at the precinct level. The unglamorous day-to-day task of getting Negroes to register made this increase possible."

Mr. Wilkins said the N.A.A.C.P. had "contributed mightily to this gain through consistent and persistent work at the grass roots level in all of these states and particularly in Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina."

"We are firmly convinced," the Negro leader said, "that the continuing increase in Negro registration will bring about a wholesome regeneration and liberalization of Southern politics."

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## Radio Project to Aid Latins In Understanding the Law

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Aug. 4—O. W. Wilson, police superintendent, asked radio and television stations in the Chicago area today to use a series of announcements in Spanish and English to explain city laws against stealing and assaults, arrest procedures and traffic rules.

The announcements "were specially written for the guidance of the many Chicago area Spanish-speaking citizens, pointing out the precautions citizens should take to avoid knowingly breaking the law," Mel Lawrence, director of the Police Public Information Division, said.

There was a serious riot in a Puerto Rican neighborhood in June.

VOTING AC 8/5/66

# Negro Voter Registration Gains 34,000 in a Year in Georgia

Georgia Negro vote registration figures increased by nearly 34,000 during the first full year of the Voting Rights Act, the Southern Regional Council, Inc., reported here Thursday.

Spokesmen released figures showing that current estimated Negro registration in the state is 267,000, or 43.6 per cent of eligibles. A year ago only 38 per cent of those in the voting age population were registered.

Across the South there were "dramatic increases," Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the council's Voter Education Project, said.

Saturday will mark the first anniversary of the act, signed by President Lyndon B. Johnson on Aug. 6, 1965. At this time a year ago, Jordan said, Negro registration in the six Southern states affected by the act was just over 837,000, or less than 30 per cent of the Negro voting-age population.

Now, he said, Negro registration in these states is estimated at 1,289,000, or nearly 46 per cent of the Negro voting-age population. Increases have been most pronounced in four states to which federal examiners have been signed. Alabama registration went from 113,493 to 248,000, to bring in 51.5 per cent of Negroes eligible to vote; Louisiana, from 153,781 to 243,000, or 47.2 per cent now registered; Mississippi, from 25,265 to 139,000, or 32.9 per cent registered, and South Carolina, from 142,802 to 187,000, or 50.4 per cent registered.

No examiners have been assigned in Georgia or Virginia, or in 26 North Carolina counties to which the act applies.

The Voting Rights Act suspends literacy tests and has eliminated poll taxes and other

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IAR XP.—DINERS, CARTE BLANC
YOUR HOSTS—IVALYNE and EARL TURNER
ZEBRA LOUNGE

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WANT ADS PAY OFF

devices which had discouraged voting in states with low registration.

Figures, Jordan declared, "clearly demonstrate the need for more federal examiners." He called for "more concentrated private efforts to increase registration and voting in the South."

# Voting Aid Demanded By Council

Atlanta Constitution
Aug. 11, 1966

By JOE BROWN

The Georgia Council on Human Relations asked Gov. Carl E. Sanders Wednesday to bring federal voter registrars to the state.

Gov. Sanders

They are needed, the council said, "in the tension areas where the fear of the Negro is so intense that registration is handicapped." A spokesman said the "tension areas" are in southwest Georgia.

Sanders had no comment. He has said Georgia needs no federal registrars.

**CIVIL RIGHTS AIDES**

The council also recommended that the governor employ a special assistant concerned with civil rights, establish a civil rights division of the state attorney general's office, an end discriminatory practices of the State Patrol and Georgia Bureau of Investigation.

It also pointed out that no Negro sits on the following state boards: Education, Regents, Corrections, Pardons and Paroles, Game and Fish Commission, Veterans Service, Personnel, Industry and Trade, State Medical Examination and State Scholarship Commission.

The council asked Sanders to give special attention to the appropriations of the Welfare Department when drawing up next year's budget.

"We ask that your influence be used to see that appropriations be suggested in order to take advantage of the available federal funds, in seeing that all children of Georgia may not suffer from neglect and hunger. We ask you to use your influence to change the stringent state regulations concerning aid to dependent children," the Council said.

**HOUSING STUDY**

It also asked Sanders to appoint a bi-racial housing study committee which could bring recommendations to the next governor.

"During the last four years there has been little change in the progress of the Negro citizen of our state.

"Thanks to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the more fortunate can frequent places of public accommodations," the council said. "However, less than 3 per cent of our children are attending formerly white schools."

VOTING

# U.S. Checking For Pressure In Primary

Ac 9/11/66

By MARGARET SHANNON
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10 — A team of Justice Department attorneys is checking "in various parts of Georgia" for possible intimidation of Negro voters or other irregularities in connnection with the Democratic primary coming up Wednesday.

A Justice spokesman declined Saturday to tell where they are. But the office of a Negro Congressman here named Taliaferro county as one of the places being invesigated.

The attorneys are from the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division. The spokesman declined to name them or to say how many there are.

He said it has not been determined where they will be on duty Wednesday, but the situation is being reviewed.

**AN AIDE** of Rep. John Conyers Jr., D-Mich., said some Justice Department attorneys already have been sent to Taliaferro, according to information given to the congressman Friday in a conference with Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach.

Rep. Conyers and Robert Billingsley of Crawfordville, Ga., also a Negro, met with Mr. Katzenbach to discuss, among other things, Mr. Billingsley's charge that the names of at least three dead persons are on the absentee ballot list in Taliaferro.

Three Negroes are running for nomination for county offices in the Democratic primary there. Mr. Billingsley, president of the Taliaferro County Voters League expressed fear that they might be manipulated out of victory.

**HANCOCK COUNTY** is another place where justice Attorneys are likely at work. A Hancock Negro leader joined with Mr. Billingsley Aug. 29 in a letter to Mr. Katzenbach pleading for federal observers.

The Justice Department attorneys apparently will serve as observers Wednesday.

Under the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the attorney general can request the Civil Service Commission to appoint federal poll watchers in places where federal registrars have been assinged. But so far, no federal registrars

## In Primary

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Under the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the attorney general can request the Civil Service Commission to appoint federal poll watchers in places where federal registrars have been assinged. But so far, no federal registrars have been assigned to Georgia.

An aide of Rep. Conyers said the Justice Department is requesting Democratic party officials to appoint some Negroes as poll watchers. The Department's attorneys also will be on hand to observe the ballot-counting, the aide said.

The Detroit congressman and Mr. Billingsley met with Mr. Katzenbach Friday afternoon.

The session followed a press conference at which Mr. Billingsley charged that the names of at least three dead persons have been put on the absentee ballot list in Taliaferro.

**ONE NEGRO**, Calvin Turner, is a candidate for county commission chairman and the county Democratic Executive Committee. Two other Negroes are seeking nomination — one for the county commission and another for the executive committee.

Mr. Billingsley said 950 Negroes are registered. He charged that the number of whites registered exceeds the total white population and that many persons not legally qualified will be voted one way or another.

He said Negro leaders found the names of three dead persons among 244 names on an absentee ballot list and were denied access to a complete list. Officials told the Negroes about 500 absentee ballots would be used, he said.

Taliaferro is in east central Georgia. The county seat is Crawfordville, home of Alexander H. Stephens, vice president of the Confederacy.

VOTING AC 10/21/66

# South's Negro Voters Nearly Doubled

By RAYMOND M. LAHR

WASHINGTON (UPI)—Negro voter registration has almost doubled in five Deep South states since enactment last year of the voting right act.

The biggest gain has been in Mississippi where a fivefold increase in Negro registration was recorded.

Authoritative reports showed Thursday that total Negro registration in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and South Carolina as of Sept. 1 were 1,147,236. This compared with 687,000 when the voter bill was enacted in August, 1965.

The act banned use of literacy tests as a measure of voter qualifications and provided federal supervision in areas where there was evidence of discrimination by state or local registrars against Negroes.

Although Mississippi showed the greatest percentage increase of Negro registrants, it still lagged behind the other four states' over-all totals. Mississippi's Negro population is the largest in proportion to the white populace of any state in the nation.

The Sept. 1 figures, with August, 1965, estimates in parenthesis: Alabama 249,534 (113,000); Georgia 290,865 (233,000); Louisiana 242,391 (163,000); Mississippi 173,826 (35,000); South Carolina 190,610 (143,000).

Although the totals for the five states are almost twice as large as 1965, leaders of Negro registration drives have been disappointed at the figures. They had hoped to register many thousands more.

In spite of the new federal guarantees, some civil rights leaders insist many Negroes are afraid to vote for fear of reprisals from white employers and others.

Primary elections this year indicated the increased Negro registration had little impact on most races. In statewide races in Alabama and Georgia, in fact, a backlash from white majorities hurt Negro-supported candidates.

In Alabama, Gov. George C. Wallace's wife easily won the Democratic gubernatorial nomination over state Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers, who was backed by Negro groups.

AC 11/4/66 VOTING

# White Voters in 61 Counties Exceed Eligibles, Survey Says

By CHARLES MOORE

The Southern Regional Council, Inc. (SRC) an Atlanta-based rights organizations, has issued a voter registration survey of the South that says 61 Georgia counties have more registered white voters than the number of white persons of voting age in the county.

However, a spot check of six of the 61 counties turned up a set of registration figures differing from those published by the SRC.

Some of the contacted county registrars complained that the SRC not only was using inaccurate registration figures but was comparing them with outdated 1960 census figures.

Marvin Wall, director of research for SRC, said the figures were compiled from a variety of sources — public and private, official and unofficial. The registration figures were several months old, due to a publication cut-off date.

Wall said the purpose of the SRC survey was to get figures on Negro-white voter registration in the South for the summer of 1966, and that the fact that the percentage of white or Negro voters outnumbered those of that age in the counties was only incidental.

Asked if the apparent inaccuracies found in the six counties would cast doubt on the validity of the entire survey, Wall said it wouldn't.

The six counties checked at random by The Atlanta Constitution are Long, McDuffie, Gilmer, Jeff Davis, Walker and Wilkes. The county registrars were contacted about the number of voters registered in the county, and their answers were checked against figures at the secretary of state's office. Both sets of figures were in general agreement.

The SRC survey for Long County gave the white voting age population at 1,527 with 2,225 whites registered, and gave the Negro voting age population at 635 with 1,081 registered to vote.

Long registrar E. S. McGowan, and the secretary of state's office, gave Long County a total of 2,626 voters. "I don't know where they (SRC) got their figures but they're wrong," McGowan said. He added that the Board of Registrars tries to purge the vote list of ineligible voters "pretty often" and "tries to keep it up to date."

In Gilmer County, SRC listed 5,431 voting age whites with 7,997 registered to vote, and seven voting age Negroes and three registered to vote. Registrar L. E. Scharlach said the county had only about 4,500 registered voters, and the secretary of state's office put it at 4,759.

"We have fewer voters now than two years ago," Scharlach said, "when it was just at 5,000. We purge the list every three years, and we will purge it again after the general election this year."

In Walker County, SRC listed 26,511 voting-age whites and 31,415 registered plus 1,388 voting-age Negroes and 1,131 registered to vote. Registrar Otis Wardlaw said Walker had a total of 30,690 voters—about 2,000 less than the SRC said.

Wardlaw also said that any comparison with 1960 population figures would give a wrong result as the county had picked up at least 5,000 persons in the past six years.

In the other three counties:

SRC listed McDuffie with 4,625 voting-age whites with 8,030 registered and 2,740 voting-age Negroes and 931 registered. The secretary of state's office reports the total registration is 5,496.

SRC lists Jeff Davis County with 4,116 voting-age whites with 6,293 whites registered to vote, and 909 voting-age Negroes with 108 registered. The Secretary of State's office gives the total as 6,130.

SRC lists Wilkes County with 3,621 voting-age whites with 4,052 registered to vote, and 3,101 voting-age Negroes with 1,039 registered. Registrar John Haney says the total now is 4,737.

## More New Canadians

OTTAWA (AP) — Canada's immigration figure of 144,534 for the first nine months this year came close to the total 146,000 for all last year, officials reported.

# RURAL DEEP SOUTH ELECTS 10 NEGROES

VOTING

## U.S. Observers Give Report —Their List May Grow

11/12/66

By FRED P. GRAHAM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 11—The Justice Department reported today that at least 10 Negroes were elected to public office Tuesday in rural areas of the Deep South. With very few exceptions, egroes have not won offices there since Reconstruction.

The figure of ten may not represent al lthe Negroes elected. It was compiled from reports turned in by Federal election observers, who fanned out across rural areas of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi. No Negroes were elected in South Carolina.

Two cases of physical violence against Negroes were reported—the beating of a Negro election worker in Lowndes County, Ala., by a group of whites and an Amite County, Miss., Negro poll watcher who charged he was struck by a white person.

A department spokesman said these incidents were being investigated, along with scattered reports of irregularities in contests involving Negro candidates.

### Turnout Hailed

John Doar, head of the department's Civil Rights Division, described the participation by registered Negroes as "just great."

However, he pointed out that only 47.8 per cent of the Negroes in the Deep South were registered. In August of 1965, when the Voting Rights Act of 1965 went into effect, the figure was 28.6 per cent.

In Macon County, Ala., three Negroes were elected: Lucius Amerson, sheriff; L. A. Lockair, tax collector, and Harold Webb, member of the borad of education.

In Greene County, Ala., the Rev. Peter J. Kirksey defeated a white write-in candidate for a school board post.

A final tally of votes in Hancock County, Ga., which was not completed until last night, showed that James A. Smith had been elected county commissioner and Robert Ingram had won a school board seat. Both are Negroes.

In West Feliciana Parish, La., two Negroes, Raymond Minor and Alvin White, were elected to the school board

### Filed Complaint in 1960

Francis Joseph Atlas, who complained to the Civil Rights Commission in 1960 that he had been trying unsuccessfully to register for 10 years, was elected to the school board in East Carroll Parish. The parish has more white voters than Negroes on the rolls.

Robert Lee Williams, the first Negro to be elected to public office in Mississippi since Reconstruction, was elected to the school board in Jefferson County.

A Justice Department spokesman said an investigation was under way into the school board election in Madison Parish, La., where a white write-in candidate, J. D. Fulton, defeated Harrison Brown, a Negro, 1,892 to 1,623.

Out of 514 absentee ballots cast, Mr. Brown got 2. Mr. Fulton got the rest.

# U.S. Officials Hail Election of Negroes

VOTING

AC 11/12/66

By ART PINE
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Justice department officials Friday called the election of at least nine Negroes to county offices in the Deep South Nov. 8 "a milestone" in ending discrimination.

John Doar, assistant U.S. attorney general for civil rights, said Negro involvement in Southern elections was "just great, although we still have a lot to do in voter registration."

The department had sent 571 poll watchers to 27 Deep South counties Tuesday—including 25 ordered to Hancock County, Georgia—but officials said they only received two complaints:

**NEGRO STRUCK IN AMITY, MISSISSIPPI**

A 53-year-old Negro was assaulted in Lowndes County, Ala., as he waited to pick up an election clerk, and a Negro poll watcher was struck in Amity, Mississippi.

On the other hand, a spokesman said, Negroes won races for sheriff, school board member or county commissioner in nine local elections, and more Negroes voted in the South this year than any time since Reconstruction.

"It was a milestone on the road to putting voting discrimination behind us in this country once and for all," Doar said.

He credited the 1965 Voting Rights Act and increased voter registration drives with "opening the door" to Negro participation in southern elections.

**NOTE THESE TRENDS**

Justice officials noted these trends:

1. There are more Negro voters registered in the South than ever before—1,500,000 today compared with 687,000 before the Voting Rights Act was passed.

2. Negroes are turning out in force at the polls "where they think they have a choice" but they don't always vote for the Negro candidate if one is running.

"It's much less a racial vote than people think," a spokesman said. Black Panther candidates lost all races against white Democrats, he pointed out. The militant Black Panther party is a creation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

3. Voter, registration drives which have brought out more Negro voters, have also encouraged more whites to vote.

In figures which the department says represent many southern communities total votes cast in Dallas County, Ala., increased from 6,401 in the 1962 primary to 15,717 in Tuesday's ballot.

4. Negroes are being elected to local offices where few of them were even permitted to vote before.

"The pattern was excellent all over," Doar said.

In Hancock County, where ballots were not fully counted until late Thursday, two Negroes who earlier won the Democratic primary, beat write-in campaigns for white candidates for school board and county commissioner by votes of 1,500 to 1,100.

Justice Department observers said there were no incidents, although poll watches were apparently not able to convince local officials to use Negroes as election clerks.

"Nevertheless," said a spokesman, "We received excellent cooperation from everybody involved. There was no tension, no animosity."

Hancock was the first—and only — Georgia county to be placed under federal observaation. The county has 2,300 Negroes registered and 1,611 whites.

# 11 Negroes in Legislature, Sixth Largest Total in U.S.

VOTING

12/29/66

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Georgia has more Negroes in its state Legislature than all but five other states, according to a survey published here.

Negro representation in the Georgia Legislature totals 11, topped only by Illinois with 17, Missouri with 13 and Michigan with 12.

Two other states, Pennsylvania and Ohio, were tied with Georgia in the number of Negro legislators.

The Georgia figures represent more than one third of the number of Negro representatives in the South and half the number of Negro state senators.

In all, there are only 23 Negro representatives in the South and half the number of Negro state senators.

In all, there are only 23 Negroes serving in the lower houses of all Southern states, and only four in the Senates.

In the Georgia General Assembly, nine Negro representatives make up 4.3 per cent of the House, and two Negro senators are 3.7 per cent of the upper body.

Negroes make up 28.5 per cent of the total Georgia population.

Throughout the country there are 153 Negroes serving in 27 different state legislatures, the survey reported. In 1960, only 36 Negroes held those positions.

VOTING

NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION FOR SELECT~~IVE~~ed YEARS
AND VOTING AGE POPULATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

| STATE | 1952 | | 1956 | | 1960 | | Spring 1966 | | 1950 CENSUS | 1960 CENSUS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | # Registered | %VAP Reg. | # Registered | %VAP Reg. | # Registered | % VAP Reg. | # Reg. | % VAP Reg. | NEGRO VAP | NEGRO VAP |
| ALABAMA | 25,224 | 9.5 | 53,366 | 20.1 | 73,272 | 15.2 | 235,572 | 48.9 | ~~265,458~~ | 481,320 |
| ARKANSAS | 61,413 | 26.4 | 69,677 | 30.0 | 72,604 | 37.6 | 104,000 | 54.0 | 232,191 | 192,672 |
| FLORIDA | 120,900 | 32.9 | 148,703 | 40.5 | 163,128 | 34.7 | 288,069 | 60.2 | 366,797 | 470,306 |
| GEORGIA | 144,835 | 23.3 | 163,389 | 26.2 | 180,000 | 29.3 | 256,346 | 41.8 | 622,703 | 612,910 |
| LOUISIANA | 120,000 | 24.9 | 161,410 | 33.5 | 156,938 | 30.4 | 228,073 | 42.3 | 481,284 | 514,589 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 20,000 | 4.0 | 20,000 | 4.0 | 22,000 | 5.2 | 125,000 | 29.6 | 497,354 | 422,256 |
| N. CAROLINA | 100,000 | 18.2 | 135,000 | 24.5 | 172,166 | 31.3 | 269,328 | 48.9 | 549,741 | 550,929 |
| S. CAROLINA | 80,000 | 20,5 | 99,890 | 25.6 | 58,122 | 15.7 | 186,752 | 50.3 | 390,024 | 371,104 |
| TENNESSEE | 85,000 | 26.6 | 90,000 | 28.2 | 185,000 | 58.9 | 225,000 | 71.7 | 318,790 | 313,873 |
| TEXAS | 181,916 | 31.2 | 214,000 | 36.7 | 226,818 | 34.9 | 400,000 | 61.6 | 582,944 | 649,412 |
| VIRGINIA | 69,326 | 16.4 | 82,603 | 19.5 | 100,100 | 23.8 | 185,000 | 44.0 | 422,670 | 421,051 |
| TOTAL | 1,008,614 | 21.3 | 1,238,038 | 26.2 | 1,410,148 | 28.2 | 2,503,140 | 50.1 | 4,729,956 | 5,000,376 |

C. + d. file VOTING

# VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

**SUMMER, 1966**

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The figures presented herein were accumulated during the summer and late summer of 1966. While they do not represent the final registration figures for the November elections, the difference is not expected to be large. The figures were compiled from a variety of sources---public and private, official and unofficial.

For four states---Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia---complete or near-complete county-by-county figures showing white and Negro registration were not available. For these four states, statewide estimates have been made, based on the best information obtainable.

For two states---Florida and Mississippi---figures did not indicate the race of a sizeable number of registrants. These have been divided between the white and Negro columns on the basis of VEP estimates.

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director

Marvin Wall
Director of Research

NEGRO-WHITE VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SUMMER, 1966

| STATE | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama* | 1,353,058 | 481,320 | 1,192,075 | 246,396 | 88.1 | 51.2 |
| Arkansas | 850,643 | 192,626 | 598,000 | 115,000 | 70.3 | 59.7 |
| Florida*** | 2,617,438 | 470,261 | 2,093,274 | 286,446 | 80.0 | 60.9 |
| Georgia** | 1,797,062 | 612,910 | 1,378,005 | 289,545 | 76.7 | 47.2 |
| Louisiana | 1,289,216 | 514,589 | 1,071,573 | 242,130 | 83.1 | 47.1 |
| Mississippi*** | 748,266 | 422,256 | 470,920 | 139,099 | 62.9 | 32.9 |
| North Carolina | 2,005,955 | 550,929 | 1,653,796 | 281,134 | 82.4 | 51.0 |
| South Carolina | 895,147 | 371,104 | 718,061 | 190,609 | 80.2 | 51.4 |
| Tennessee | 1,779,018 | 313,873 | 1,375,000 | 225,000 | 77.3 | 71.7 |
| Texas | 4,884,765 | 649,512 | 2,600,000 | 400,000 | 53.3 | 61.6 |
| Virginia | 1,876,167 | 436,720 | 1,159,000 | 205,000 | 61.8 | 46.9 |
| TOTALS | 20,096,735 | 5,016,100 | 14,309,704 | 2,620,359 | 70.2 | 52.2 |

*Even division of 10,000 voters not registered by race.

**Two-thirds and one-third Negro-white division of 14,000 voters not registered by race.

***A later Mississippi figure put white registration at approximately 481,000 and Negro registration at 163,000. The October figure for Florida pushed white registration to 2,160,587 and Negro registration to 303,245.

# A L A B A M A

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Autauga | 6,353 | 3,651 | 6,932 | 2,308 | 100+ | 63.2 |
| Baldwin | 22,236 | 4,527 | 19,692 | 1,242 | 88.6 | 27.4 |
| Barbour | 7,338 | 5,787 | 9,825 | 3,666 | 100+ | 63.3 |
| Bibb | 5,807 | 1,190 | 8,087 | 933 | 100+ | 78.4 |
| Blount | 14,368 | 378 | 13,709 | 140 | 95.4 | 37.0 |
| Bullock | 2,387 | 4,450 | 3,323 | 3,197 | 100+ | 71.8 |
| Butler | 8,363 | 4,820 | 7,850 | 1,803 | 93.9 | 37.4 |
| Calhoun | 44,739 | 9,036 | 33,472 | 4,404 | 74.8 | 48.7 |
| Chambers | 15,369 | 6,497 | 11,889 | 1,439 | 77.4 | 22.1 |
| Cherokee | 8,537 | 752 | 9,651 | 482 | 100+ | 61.6 |
| Chilton | 12,861 | 1,947 | 16,006 | 747 | 100+ | 38.4 |
| Choctaw | 5,192 | 3,982 | 5,833 | 3,024 | 100+ | 75.9 |
| Clarke | 7,899 | 5,833 | 10,336 | 2,564 | 100+ | 44.0 |
| Clay | 6,470 | 926 | 8,534 | 399 | 100+ | 43.1 |
| Cleburne | 5,870 | 385 | 7,493 | 139 | 100+ | 36.1 |
| Coffee | 14,221 | 2,985 | 11,334 | 1,002 | 79.7 | 33.6 |
| Colbert | 21,680 | 4,575 | 20,569 | 2,818 | 94.9 | 61.6 |
| Conecuh | 5,907 | 3,635 | 5,559 | 2,084 | 94.1 | 57.3 |
| Coosa | 4,201 | 1,794 | 5,678 | 956 | 100+ | 53.3 |
| Covington | 18,446 | 2,876 | 16,486 | 1,010 | 89.4 | 35.1 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Crenshaw | 6,310 | 2,207 | 6,469 | 1,213 | 100+ | 55.0 |
| Cullman | 25,848 | 285 | 24,622 | 122 | 95.3 | 42.8 |
| Dale | 14,861 | 2,743 | 11,658 | 1,414 | 78.4 | 51.5 |
| Dallas | 14,400 | 15,115 | 12,787 | 10,513 | 88.8 | 69.6 |
| DeKalb | 23,878 | 441 | 26,680 | 217 | 100+ | 49.2 |
| Elmore | 12,510 | 4,808 | 15,710 | 2,813 | 100+ | 58.5 |
| Escambia | 12,779 | 5,685 | 15,631 | 1,825 | 100+ | 32.1 |
| Etowah | 48,565 | 7,661 | 41,820 | 4,120 | 86.1 | 53.8 |
| Fayette | 8,277 | 1,291 | 9,141 | 664 | 100+ | 51.4 |
| Franklin | 12,412 | 645 | 13,616 | 725 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Geneva | 11,357 | 1,606 | 10,321 | 585 | 90.9 | 36.4 |
| Greene | 1,649 | 5,001 | 2,001 | 3,927 | 100+ | 78.5 |
| Hale | 3,594 | 5,999 | 4,515 | 4,096 | 100+ | 68.3 |
| Henry | 5,165 | 3,168 | 6,629 | 1,459 | 100+ | 46.1 |
| Houston | 22,095 | 6,899 | 15,604 | 1,813 | 70.6 | 26.3 |
| Jackson | 19,298 | 1,175 | 18,526 | 629 | 96.0 | 53.5 |
| Jefferson | 256,319 | 116,160 | 175,087 | 62,992 | 68.3 | 54.2 |
| Lamar | 7,503 | 1,027 | 9,927 | 367 | 100+ | 35.7 |
| Lauderdale | 31,089 | 3,726 | 18,434 | 1,339 | 59.3 | 35.9 |
| Lawrence | 10,509 | 2,471 | 14,731 | 1,315 | 100+ | 53.2 |
| Lee | 17,547 | 8,913 | 13,470 | 2,818 | 76.8 | 31.6 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Limestone | 16,173 | 3,579 | 14,272 | 1,278 | 88.2 | 35.7 |
| Lowndes | 1,900 | 5,122 | 2,823 | 2,758 | 100+ | 53.8 |
| Macon | 2,818 | 11,886 | 4,997 | 7,130 | 100+ | 60.0 |
| Madison | 54,516 | 10,666 | 41,333* | 3,183* | 75.8 | 29.8 |
| Marengo | 6,104 | 7,791 | 7,288 | 5,799 | 100+ | 74.4 |
| Marion | 12,656 | 403 | 16,418 | 267 | 100+ | 66.3 |
| Marshall | 26,997 | 637 | 17,174 | 152 | 63.6 | 23.9 |
| Mobile | 121,589 | 50,793 | 107,455* | 24,794* | 88.4 | 48.8 |
| Monroe | 6,631 | 4,894 | 7,542 | 2,497 | 100+ | 51.0 |
| Montgomery | 62,911 | 33,056 | 43,514 | 19,268 | 69.2 | 58.3 |
| Morgan | 30,955 | 4,159 | 25,741 | 1,194 | 83.2 | 28.7 |
| Perry | 3,441 | 5,202 | 5,495 | 3,847 | 100+ | 74.0 |
| Pickens | 7,336 | 4,373 | 7,407 | 1,717 | 100+ | 39.3 |
| Pike | 9,126 | 5,259 | 11,788 | 3,180 | 100+ | 60.5 |
| Randolph | 9,196 | 2,366 | 10,230 | 1,182 | 100+ | 50.0 |
| Russell | 13,761 | 10,531 | 12,682 | 3,932 | 92.2 | 37.3 |
| St. Clair | 12,244 | 2,035 | 11,044 | 906 | 90.2 | 44.5 |
| Shelby | 14,771 | 2,889 | 13,208* | 985* | 89.4 | 34.1 |
| Sumter | 3,061 | 6,814 | 3,775 | 3,392 | 100+ | 49.8 |
| Talladega | 25,635 | 9,333 | 21,389 | 3,406 | 83.4 | 36.5 |
| Tallapoosa | 15,310 | 4,999 | 17,807 | 1,818 | 100+ | 36.4 |
| Tuscaloosa | 47,076 | 15,332 | 29,049 | 5,707 | 61.7 | 37.2 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Walker | 28,148 | 2,890 | 26,885 | 1,277 | 95.5 | 44.2 |
| Washington | 5,293 | 2,297 | 7,690 | 1,469 | 100+ | 64.0 |
| Wilcox | 2,624 | 6,085 | 3,639 | 3,765 | 100+ | 61.9 |
| Winston | 8,559 | 47 | 11,179 | 40 | 100+ | 85.1 |
| TOTALS | 1,353,058 | 481,320 | 1,187,075 | 241,396 | 87.7 | 50.2 |

*Figures do not include a total of more than 10,000 voters for whom race is not designated in Madison, Mobile, and Shelby counties.

# F L O R I D A

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alachua | 30,555 | 9,898 | 24,767 | 6,214 | 81.1 | 62.8 |
| Baker | 3,203 | 807 | 3,445 | 554 | 100+ | 68.6 |
| Bay | 31,940 | 4,964 | 23,223 | 3,330 | 72.7 | 67.1 |
| Bradford | 5,580 | 1,345 | 4,900 | 893 | 87.8 | 66.4 |
| Brevard | 58,433 | 6,494 | 63,271 | 4,147 | 100+ | 63.9 |
| Broward | 189,517 | 27,009 | 179,977 | 19,713 | 95.0 | 73.0 |
| Calhoun | 3,434 | 582 | 4,091 | 379 | 100+ | 65.1 |
| Charlotte | 8,659 | 427 | 11,588 | 346 | 100+ | 81.0 |
| Citrus | 5,174 | 829 | 6,626 | 589 | 100+ | 71.0 |
| Clay | 9,508 | 1,276 | 9,443 | 1,013 | 99.3 | 79.4 |
| Collier | 8,163 | 1,364 | 8,173 | 623 | 100+ | 45.7 |
| Columbia | 8,092 | 3,122 | 8,676 | 2,517 | 100+ | 80.6 |
| Dade | 537,448 | 75,573 | 373,413 | 50,621 | 69.5 | 67.0 |
| De Soto | 6,339 | 1,343 | 4,564 | 1,010 | 72.0 | 75.2 |
| Dixie | 2,138 | 363 | 2,775 | 371 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Duval | 203,804 | 58,430 | 134,175 | 36,691 | 65.8 | 62.8 |
| Escambia | 76,688 | 18,041 | 58,651 | 13,058 | 76.5 | 72.4 |
| Flagler | 1,789 | 846 | 1,944 | 391 | 100+ | 46.2 |
| Franklin | 3,186 | 779 | 3,428 | 537 | 100+ | 68.9 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gadsden | 11,711 | 12,261 | 6,338 | 4,237 | 54.1 | 34.6 |
| Gilchrist | 1,513 | 154 | 1,737 | 110 | 100+ | 71.4 |
| Glades | 1,061 | 741 | 1,130 | 269 | 100+ | 36.3 |
| Gulf | 4,196 | 1,138 | 3,652 | 710 | 87.0 | 62.4 |
| Hamilton | 2,486 | 1,621 | 2,683 | 1,087 | 100+ | 67.0 |
| Hardee | 6,734 | 552 | 5,475 | 354 | 81.3 | 64.1 |
| Hendry | 3,430 | 1,180 | 3,322 | 756 | 96.8 | 64.1 |
| Hernando | 5,689 | 1,151 | 5,597 | 719 | 98.4 | 62.5 |
| Highlands | 10,997 | 2,251 | 10,587 | 1,547 | 96.3 | 68.7 |
| Hillsborough | 213,950 | 31,114 | 152,995 | 19,803 | 71.5 | 63.6 |
| Holmes | 6,131 | 249 | 6,472 | 199 | 100+ | 79.9 |
| Indian River | 13,182 | 2,637 | 11,713 | 1,376 | 88.9 | 52.2 |
| Jackson | 14,087 | 5,390 | 11,370 | 3,515 | 80.7 | 65.2 |
| Jefferson | 2,383 | 2,600 | 2,470 | 1,540 | 100+ | 59.2 |
| Lafayette | 1,536 | 152 | 1,767 | 102 | 100+ | 67.1 |
| Lake | 30,535 | 6,438 | 25,241 | 2,665 | 82.7 | 41.4 |
| Lee | 30,636 | 4,677 | 31,301 | 1,668 | 100+ | 35.7 |
| Leon | 28,241 | 12,322 | 25,360 | 7,240 | 89.8 | 58.8 |
| Levy | 4,483 | 1,568 | 3,730 | 536 | 83.2 | 34.2 |
| Liberty | 1,525 | 240 | 2,073 | 155 | 100+ | 64.6 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Madison | 4,380 | 3,067 | 4,250 | 2,023 | 97.0 | 66.0 |
| Manatee | 42,291 | 5,278 | 35,354 | 3,493 | 83.6 | 66.2 |
| Marion | 21,001 | 9,283 | 22,129 | 6,006 | 100+ | 64.7 |
| Martin | 9,291 | 1,753 | 9,106 | 1,225 | 98.0 | 69.9 |
| Monroe | 25,512 | 2,919 | 16,781 | 2,077 | 65.8 | 71.1 |
| Nassau | 7,054 | 2,076 | 5,680 | 1,476 | 80.5 | 71.1 |
| Okaloosa | 30,816 | 2,097 | 23,818 | 1,289 | 77.3 | 61.5 |
| Okeechobee | 2,870 | 533 | 3,140 | 419 | 100+ | 78.6 |
| Orange | 137,780 | 21,771 | 98,598 | 10,344 | 71.6 | 47.5 |
| Osceola | 11,697 | 1,122 | 10,049 | 609 | 85.9 | 54.3 |
| Palm Beach | 119,342 | 29,541 | 104,229 | 17,204 | 87.3 | 58.2 |
| Pasco | 22,329 | 2,391 | 23,461 | 1,160 | 100+ | 48.5 |
| Pinellas | 255,369 | 18,121 | 216,174 | 11,155 | 84.6 | 61.6 |
| Polk | 97,314 | 19,224 | 73,713 | 10,045 | 75.7 | 52.2 |
| Putnam | 13,095 | 5,089 | 9,056 | 2,049 | 69.2 | 40.3 |
| St. Johns | 13,771 | 4,331 | 10,225 | 2,241 | 74.2 | 51.7 |
| St. Lucie | 17,238 | 6,527 | 14,837 | 3,933 | 86.1 | 60.3 |
| Santa Rosa | 14,710 | 1,082 | 13,043 | 740 | 88.7 | 68.4 |
| Sarasota | 49,533 | 4,125 | 42,833 | 2,100 | 86.5 | 50.9 |
| Seminole | 24,372 | 7,050 | 17,125 | 2,989 | 70.3 | 42.4 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sumter | 5,396 | 1,523 | 5,308 | 911 | 98.4 | 59.8 |
| Suwannee | 6,409 | 2,149 | 5,388 | 1,083 | 84.1 | 50.4 |
| Taylor | 5,454 | 1,724 | 5,439 | 939 | 99.7 | 54.5 |
| Union | 2,880 | 1,082 | 2,049 | 171 | 71.1 | 15.8 |
| Volusia | 74,209 | 11,615 | 63,253 | 6,881 | 85.2 | 59.2 |
| Wakulla | 2,120 | 753 | 2,681 | 602 | 100+ | 79.9 |
| Walton | 7,958 | 1,086 | 7,816 | 857 | 98.2 | 78.9 |
| Washington | 5,364 | 1,021 | 5,596 | 840 | 100+ | 82.3 |
| TOTALS | 2,617,438 | 470,261 | 2,093,274 | 286,446 | 80.0 | 60.9 |

# G E O R G I A

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Appling | 5,862 | 1,401 | 7,286 | 1,187 | 100+ | 84.7 |
| Atkinson | 2,486 | 812 | 3,202 | 800 | 100+ | 99.2 |
| Bacon | 4,203 | 536 | 4,535 | 264 | 100+ | 49.3 |
| Baker | 1,139 | 1,285 | 1,517 | 722 | 100+ | 56.2 |
| Baldwin | 16,109 | 9,235 | 6,555 | 1,871 | 40.7 | 20.3 |
| Banks | 3,850 | 213 | 3,405 | 63 | 88.4 | 29.6 |
| Barrow | 7,865 | 1,332 | 6,230 | 403 | 79.2 | 30.3 |
| Bartow | 14,942 | 2,373 | 15,594 | 1,417 | 100+ | 59.2 |
| Ben Hill | 5,931 | 2,436 | 3,607 | 977 | 60.8 | 40.1 |
| Berrien | 6,179 | 964 | 5,133 | 575 | 83.1 | 59.6 |
| Bibb | 60,429 | 26,812 | 27,084* | 5,251* | 44.8 | 19.6 |
| Bleckley | 4,508 | 1,350 | 3,613 | 172 | 79.8 | 12.5 |
| Brantley | 2,854 | 384 | 3,005 | 300 | 100+ | 78.1 |
| Brooks | 5,059 | 3,711 | 3,320 | 591 | 65.6 | 15.9 |
| Bryan | 2,289 | 1,111 | 2,335 | 1,165 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Bulloch | 10,101 | 4,337 | 8,528 | 2,196 | 84.4 | 50.6 |
| Burke | 4,358 | 6,600 | 3,835 | 1,595 | 88.0 | 24.2 |
| Butts | 3,195 | 2,099 | 4,101 | 936 | 100+ | 44.6 |
| Calhoun | 1,654 | 2,393 | 1,895 | 509 | 100+ | 21.3 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Camden | 3,447 | 2,059 | 3,140 | 1,431 | 91.1 | 69.5 |
| Candler | 2,714 | 1,200 | 2,996 | 965 | 100+ | 86.4 |
| Carroll | 19,234 | 3,595 | 13,201 | 1,965 | 68.6 | 54.7 |
| Catoosa | 12,370 | 172 | 11,231 | 75 | 90.8 | 43.6 |
| Charlton | 2,077 | 810 | 2,539 | 444 | 100+ | 54.8 |
| Chatham | 78,118 | 37,563 | 54,676 | 21,174 | 70.0 | 56.4 |
| Chattahoochee | 8,061 | 1,830 | 462 | 119 | 5.7 | 6.5 |
| Chattooga | 11,460 | 1,025 | 8,983 | 927 | 78.4 | 90.4 |
| Cherokee | 13,964 | 617 | 13,749* | 608* | 98.5 | 100+ |
| Clarke | 23,895 | 6,740 | 13,897 | 4,723 | 58.2 | 70.1 |
| Clay | 1,130 | 1,441 | 968 | 256 | 85.7 | 17.8 |
| Clayton | 23,996 | 2,456 | 17,725 | 723 | 73.9 | 29.4 |
| Clinch | 2,373 | 1,256 | 2,350 | 371 | 99.0 | 29.5 |
| Cobb | 63,291 | 4,568 | 29,680* | 1,800* | 47.0 | 39.6 |
| Coffee | 9,682 | 2,977 | 11,224 | 1,304 | 100.+ | 43.8 |
| Colquitt | 13,982 | 4,081 | 12,778* | 1,673* | 80.0 | 41.0 |
| Columbia | 5,096 | 2,364 | 4,278 | 801 | 83.9 | 33.9 |
| Cook | 5,213 | 1,755 | 5,513 | 652 | 100+ | 37.2 |
| Coweta | 11,891 | 5,579 | 11,919 | 2,352 | 100+ | 42.2 |
| Crawford | 1,596 | 1,611 | 1,468 | 354 | 92.0 | 22.0 |
| Crisp | 6,451 | 3,858 | 6,301 | 1,805 | 97.7 | 46.8 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dade | 4,803 | 70 | 4,242 | 60 | 88.3 | 85.7 |
| Dawson | 2,148 | 1 | 2,373 | 0 | 100+ | .0 |
| Decatur | 9,070 | 5,515 | 8,144 | 1,218 | 89.8 | 22.1 |
| DeKalb | 148,167 | 12,407 | 120,129 | 7,862 | 81.1 | 63.4 |
| Dodge | 7,392 | 2,328 | 7,013 | 1,871 | 94.9 | 80.4 |
| Dooly | 3,581 | 2,866 | 4,392 | 890 | 100+ | 31.1 |
| Dougherty | 29,897 | 14,163 | 13,715* | 4,800* | 45.9 | 33.9 |
| Douglas | 8,595 | 1,268 | 8,653 | 955 | 100+ | 75.3 |
| Early | 4,013 | 3,277 | 4,048 | 502 | 100+ | 15.3 |
| Echols | 832 | 246 | 838 | 19 | 100+ | 7.7 |
| Effingham | 4,008 | 1,756 | 3,974 | 569 | 99.2 | 32.4 |
| Elbert | 7,752 | 3,127 | 9,335 | 1,315 | 100+ | 42.1 |
| Emanuel | 7,627 | 3,005 | 6,318 | 2,098 | 82.8 | 69.8 |
| Evans | 2,738 | 1,308 | 2,355 | 547 | 86.0 | 41.8 |
| Fannin | 8,111 | 31 | 8,494 | 18 | 100+ | 58.1 |
| Fayette | 3,585 | 1,190 | 300 | 6 | 83.7 | 5.1 |
| Floyd | 38,230 | 5,949 | 24,932 | 2,600 | 65.2 | 43.7 |
| Forsyth | 7,328 | 4 | 6,539 | 0 | 89.2 | .0 |
| Franklin | 7,611 | 776 | 7,599 | 112 | 99.8 | 14.4 |
| Fulton | 247,892 | 117,049 | 172,112 | 69,885 | 69.4 | 59.7 |
| Gilmer | 5,431 | 7 | 7,997 | 3 | 100+ | 42.8 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Glascock | 1,281 | 351 | 1,487 | 22 | 100+ | 6.3 |
| Glynn | 18,750 | 6,762 | 8,628 | 2,715 | 46.0 | 40.0 |
| Gordon | 11,441 | 669 | 8,643 | 358 | 75.5 | 53.5 |
| Grady | 7,205 | 3,364 | 4,461 | 809 | 61.9 | 24.0 |
| Greene | 3,565 | 2,998 | 3,395 | 2,570 | 95.2 | 85.7 |
| Gwinnett | 24,299 | 1,841 | 22,633 | 1,515 | 93.1 | 82.3 |
| Habersham | 10,676 | 518 | 7,276 | 507 | 68.2 | 97.9 |
| Hall | 27,726 | 2,789 | 16,750 | 1,149 | 60.4 | 41.2 |
| Hancock | 1,727 | 3,576 | 1,661 | 1,706 | 96.2 | 47.7 |
| Haralson | 8,571 | 642 | 7,375 | 412 | 86.0 | 64.2 |
| Harris | 3,310 | 3,102 | 3,749 | 757 | 100+ | 24.4 |
| Hart | 7,382 | 1,832 | 6,481 | 425 | 87.8 | 23.2 |
| Heard | 2,661 | 590 | 3,067 | 365 | 100+ | 61.9 |
| Henry | 6,429 | 3,539 | 8,161 | 3,015 | 100+ | 85.2 |
| Houston | 17,742 | 4,228 | 13,390 | 1,976 | 75.5 | 46.7 |
| Irwin | 3,759 | 1,602 | 4,527 | 688 | 100+ | 42.9 |
| Jackson | 10,225 | 1,309 | 7,850 | 693 | 76.8 | 52.9 |
| Jasper | 1,926 | 1,705 | 2,152 | 735 | 100+ | 43.1 |
| Jeff Davis | 4,116 | 909 | 6,293 | 108 | 100+ | 11.9 |
| Jefferson | 4,937 | 4,780 | 4,524 | 4,306 | 91.6 | 90.1 |
| Jenkins | 2,985 | 2,210 | 2,764 | 652 | 92.6 | 29.5 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Johnson | 3,455 | 1,261 | 3,329 | 555 | 96.4 | 44.0 |
| Jones | 2,655 | 2,185 | 2,695 | 956 | 100+ | 43.8 |
| Lamar | 4,078 | 2,118 | 3,758 | 1,030 | 92.2 | 48.6 |
| Lanier | 2,158 | 756 | 1,807 | 364 | 83.7 | 48.1 |
| Laurens | 13,176 | 6,248 | 13,490 | 4,195 | 100+ | 67.1 |
| Lee | 1,427 | 1,795 | 1,373 | 177 | 96.2 | 9.9 |
| Liberty | 5,310 | 3,176 | 2,950 | 2,594 | 55.6 | 81.7 |
| Lincoln | 1,974 | 1,336 | 2,500 | 519 | 100+ | 38.8 |
| Long | 1,527 | 635 | 2,255 | 1,081 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Lowndes | 20,746 | 8,459 | 13,093 | 2,680 | 63.1 | 31.7 |
| Lumpkin | 4,500 | 79 | 4,413 | 105 | 98.1 | 100+ |
| McDuffie | 4,625 | 2,740 | 8,030 | 931 | 100+ | 34.0 |
| McIntosh | 1,643 | 1,823 | 1,612 | 1,935 | 98.1 | 100+ |
| Macon | 3,171 | 4,077 | 3,514 | 1,644 | 100+ | 40.3 |
| Madison | 5,962 | 989 | 4,823 | 106 | 80.9 | 10.7 |
| Marion | 1,353 | 1,609 | 1,563 | 236 | 100+ | 14.7 |
| Meriwether | 6,547 | 4,990 | 5,402 | 1,871 | 82.5 | 37.5 |
| Miller | 3,095 | 946 | 1,594 | 153 | 51.5 | 16.2 |
| Mitchell | 6,055 | 4,971 | 5,592 | 1,242 | 92.4 | 25.0 |
| Monroe | 3,607 | 2,652 | 4,077 | 809 | 100+ | 30.5 |
| Montgomery | 2,520 | 1,288 | 2,449 | 745 | 97.2 | 57.8 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Morgan | 3,415 | 2,469 | 1,667 | 993 | 48.8 | 40.2 |
| Murray | 6,209 | 51 | 6,210 | 25 | 100+ | 49.0 |
| Muscogee | 74,662 | 22,549 | 30,485 | 7,366 | 40.8 | 32.7 |
| Newton | 9,045 | 3,767 | 6,110 | 984 | 67.6 | 26.1 |
| Oconee | 3,228 | 681 | 2,554 | 120 | 79.1 | 17.6 |
| Oglethorpe | 2,964 | 1,709 | 2,873 | 328 | 96.9 | 19.2 |
| Paulding | 7,353 | 603 | 8,170 | 529 | 100+ | 87.7 |
| Peach | 3,650 | 4,562 | 2,930 | 1,011 | 80.3 | 22.2 |
| Pickens | 5,264 | 251 | 6,034 | 195 | 100+ | 77.7 |
| Pierce | 4,432 | 1,135 | 4,518 | 610 | 100+ | 53.7 |
| Pike | 2,584 | 1,643 | 2,601 | 669 | 100+ | 40.7 |
| Polk | 15,065 | 2,443 | 12,381 | 1,709 | 82.2 | 70.0 |
| Pulaski | 3,018 | 1,843 | 3,128 | 336 | 100+ | 18.2 |
| Putnam | 2,297 | 2,204 | 2,446 | 725 | 100+ | 32.9 |
| Quitman | 581 | 707 | 670 | 160 | 100+ | 22.6 |
| Rabun | 4,392 | 43 | 4,237 | 33 | 96.5 | 76.7 |
| Randolph | 2,878 | 3,663 | 2,598 | 867 | 90.3 | 23.7 |
| Richmond | 61,315 | 24,785 | 37,498 | 12,313 | 61.2 | 49.7 |
| Rockdale | 4,708 | 1,512 | 4,829 | 877 | 100+ | 58.0 |
| Schley | 961 | 903 | 1,142 | 210 | 100+ | 23.3 |
| Screven | 4,557 | 3,729 | 3,698 | 1,144 | 81.1 | 30.7 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Seminole | 2,648 | 1,255 | 3,017 | 418 | 100+ | 33.3 |
| Spalding | 16,657 | 5,252 | 11,178 | 2,872 | 67.1 | 54.7 |
| Stephens | 9,975 | 1,355 | 9,518 | 743 | 95.4 | 54.8 |
| Stewart | 1,465 | 2,681 | 1,793 | 619 | 100+ | 23.1 |
| Sumter | 7,730 | 6,710 | 8,321 | 3,040 | 100+ | 45.3 |
| Talbot | 1,437 | 2,507 | 1,406 | 661 | 97.8 | 26.4 |
| Taliaferro | 917 | 1,073 | 1,052 | 1,165 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Tattnall | 7,377 | 3,135 | 6,515 | 2,995 | 88.3 | 95.5 |
| Taylor | 2,767 | 2,004 | 3,071 | 495 | 100+ | 24.7 |
| Telfair | 4,938 | 2,087 | 4,459 | 1,622 | 90.3 | 77.7 |
| Terrell | 3,038 | 4,057 | 3,305 | 449 | 100+ | 11.1 |
| Thomas | 13,179 | 7,644 | 8,697* | 1,652* | 66.0 | 21.6 |
| Tift | 10,211 | 3,513 | 7,828 | 1,637 | 76.7 | 46.6 |
| Toombs | 7,513 | 2,444 | 7,571 | 920 | 100+ | 37.6 |
| Towns | 2,942 | 1 | 2,600 | 0 | 88.3 | .0 |
| Treutlen | 2,473 | 968 | 2,050 | 564 | 82.9 | 58.3 |
| Troup | 20,579 | 8,577 | 12,817 | 2,856 | 62.3 | 33.3 |
| Turner | 3,422 | 1,535 | 2,853 | 477 | 83.4 | 31.1 |
| Twiggs | 1,969 | 2,255 | 1,749 | 317 | 88.8 | 14.1 |
| Union | 3,457 | 1 | 3,500 | 0 | 88.4 | .0 |
| Upson | 1,159 | 3,615 | 6,675 | 888 | 59.8 | 24.6 |
| Walker | 26,511 | 1,388 | 31,415 | 1,131 | 100+ | 81.5 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Walton | 9,392 | 3,076 | 6,565 | 963 | 69.9 | 31.3 |
| Ware | 15,671 | 4,763 | 12,994 | 2,720 | 82.9 | 57.1 |
| Warren | 1,911 | 2,224 | 1,938 | 1,380 | 100+ | 62.1 |
| Washington | 5,373 | 5,451 | 5,367 | 1,672 | 99.9 | 30.7 |
| Wayne | 8,204 | 1,878 | 7,878 | 1,171 | 96.0 | 62.4 |
| Webster | 775 | 975 | 826 | 231 | 100+ | 23.7 |
| Wheeler | 2,236 | 824 | 2,172 | 682 | 97.1 | 82.8 |
| White | 4,047 | 169 | 4,631 | 230 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Whitfield | 24,437 | 1,085 | 19,767 | 991 | 80.9 | 91.3 |
| Wilcox | 3,309 | 1,282 | 3,840 | 541 | 100+ | 42.2 |
| Wilkes | 3,621 | 3,101 | 4,052 | 1,039 | 100+ | 33.5 |
| Wilkinson | 3,135 | 2,279 | 3,302 | 715 | 100+ | 31.4 |
| Worth | 6,324 | 3,776 | 6,246 | 823 | 100+ | 21.8 |
| TOTALS | 1,797,063 | 612,910 | 1,373,388 | 280,212 | 76.4 | 45.7 |

*Totals do not include more than 14,000 registered voters for whom race is not indicated. Most of these are in Bibb, Cobb, Dougherty and Thomas counties. A smaller number is found in Cherokee, Colquitt and several other counties.

# L O U I S I A N A

| Parish | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent white reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Acadia | 22,399 | 4,557 | 21,651 | 4,118 | 97 | 90 |
| Allen | 8,357 | 2,310 | 8,303 | 1,981 | 99 | 86 |
| Ascension | 10,110 | 4,171 | 9,116 | 2,688 | 90 | 64 |
| Assumption | 5,877 | 3,237 | 5,356 | 1,997 | 91 | 62 |
| Avoyelles | 15,845 | 4,717 | 13,657 | 2,396 | 86 | 51 |
| Beauregard | 8,682 | 2,145 | 9,123 | 1,182 | 100+ | 55 |
| Bienville | 5,617 | 4,077 | 5,130 | 1,693 | 91 | 42 |
| Bossier | 23,696 | 6,847 | 15,460 | 1,117 | 65 | 16 |
| Caddo | 87,774 | 41,749 | 60,494 | 10,141 | 69 | 24 |
| Calcasieu | 62,987 | 14,924 | 49,151 | 9,396 | 78 | 63 |
| Caldwell | 3,843 | 1,161 | 3,944 | 377 | 100+ | 32 |
| Cameron | 3,642 | 239 | 3,485 | 195 | 96 | 82 |
| Catahoula | 4,110 | 1,919 | 4,287 | 798 | 100+ | 42 |
| Claiborne | 6,415 | 5,032 | 5,300 | 1,345 | 83 | 27 |
| Concordia | 5,963 | 4,582 | 5,928 | 1,350 | 99 | 30 |
| DeSoto | 6,543 | 6,753 | 5,866 | 2,317 | 90 | 34 |
| E. Baton Rouge | 87,985 | 36,908 | 78,497 | 15,715 | 89 | 43 |
| E. Carroll | 2,990 | 4,183 | 2,577 | 2,735 | 86 | 65 |
| E. Feliciana | 7,043 | 6,081 | 5,378 | 2,195 | 76 | 36 |
| Evangeline | 13,652 | 3,342 | 14,869 | 3,731 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Franklin | 8,954 | 4,433 | 4,584 | 409 | 51 | 9 |

| Parish | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grant | 6,080 | 1,553 | 6,042 | 685 | 99 | 44 |
| Iberia | 20,200 | 7,165 | 18,143 | 4,854 | 90 | 68 |
| Iberville | 8,733 | 7,060 | 7,831 | 5,252 | 90 | 74 |
| Jackson | 6,607 | 2,535 | 6,274 | 1,486 | 95 | 59 |
| Jefferson | 98,103 | 14,970 | 92,549 | 9,404 | 94 | 63 |
| Jefferson Davis | 12,892 | 2,881 | 10,716 | 1,753 | 83 | 61 |
| Lafayette | 35,513 | 9,473 | 32,872 | 5,814 | 93 | 61 |
| Lafourche | 25,737 | 3,078 | 25,140 | 2,215 | 98 | 72 |
| LaSalle | 6,799 | 849 | 7,237 | 661 | 100+ | 78 |
| Lincoln | 9,611 | 5,723 | 7,480 | 1,835 | 78 | 32 |
| Livingston | 12,306 | 1,818 | 13,687 | 1,445 | 100+ | 80 |
| Madison | 3,334 | 5,181 | 2,971* | 2,734* | 89 | 53 |
| Morehouse | 10,311 | 7,208 | 8,154 | 1,158 | 79 | 16 |
| Natchitoches | 11,328 | 7,444 | 10,357 | 4,264 | 91 | 57 |
| Orleans | 257,495 | 125,752 | 162,452 | 52,336 | 63 | 42 |
| Ouachita | 40,185 | 16,377 | 31,044 | 7,596 | 77 | 46 |
| Plaquemines | 8,633 | 2,897 | 9,746 | 1,300 | 100+ | 45 |
| Pointe Coupee | 6,085 | 5,273 | 4,834 | 2,976 | 79 | 56 |
| Rapides | 44,823 | 18,141 | 33,982 | 6,870 | 76 | 38 |
| Red River | 3,294 | 2,181 | 3,627 | 969 | 100+ | 44 |

*Race is not indicated for 280 persons registered in Madison Parish.

| Parish | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Richland | 7,601 | 4,608 | 6,140 | 764 | 81 | 17 |
| Sabine | 8,251 | 2,143 | 9,047 | 1,445 | 100+ | 67 |
| St. Bernard | 15,836 | 1,105 | 18,843 | 705 | 100+ | 64 |
| St. Charles | 8,117 | 2,621 | 7,840 | 2,411 | 97 | 92 |
| St. Helena | 2,363 | 2,082 | 2,327 | 1,520 | 99 | 73 |
| St. James | 4,892 | 3,964 | 4,736 | 2,834 | 97 | 72 |
| St. John | 4,982 | 4,279 | 4,593 | 3,047 | 92 | 71 |
| St. Landry | 25,550 | 14,982 | 23,129 | 11,650 | 91 | 78 |
| St. Martin | 9,781 | 4,664 | 9,824 | 3,449 | 100+ | 74 |
| St. Mary | 17,991 | 7,176 | 15,986 | 5,179 | 89 | 72 |
| St. Tammany | 16,032 | 5,038 | 18,727 | 2,920 | 100+ | 58 |
| Tangipahoa | 22,311 | 9,401 | 20,654 | 4,323 | 93 | 46 |
| Tensas | 2,287 | 3,533 | 2,237 | 719 | 98 | 20 |
| Terrebonne | 24,393 | 5,464 | 19,646 | 1,711 | 81 | 31 |
| Union | 7,021 | 3,006 | 6,585 | 1,079 | 94 | 36 |
| Vermilion | 19,710 | 2,429 | 19,977 | 2,424 | 100+ | 100- |
| Vernon | 9,279 | 1,268 | 10,311 | 751 | 100+ | 59 |
| Washington | 16,804 | 6,821 | 16,157 | 3,330 | 96 | 49 |
| Webster | 15,713 | 7,045 | 11,008 | 3,163 | 70 | 45 |
| W. Baton Rouge | 3,974 | 3,502 | 3,791 | 1,749 | 95 | 50 |

| Parish | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| W. Carroll | 6,171 | 1,389 | 4,516 | 186 | 73 | 13 |
| W. Feliciana | 2,814 | 4,553 | 1,113 | 1,817 | 39 | 40 |
| Winn | 6,790 | 2,590 | 7,092 | 1,362 | 100+ | 53 |
| TOTALS | 1,289,216 | 514,589 | 1,071,573 | 242,130 | 83.1 | 47.1 |

# M I S S I S S I P P I

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Adams | 10,888 | 9,340 | 6,306 | 6,005 | 57.9 | 64.3 |
| Alcorn | 13,347 | 1,756 | 8,603 | 398 | 64.4 | 22.7 |
| Amite | 4,449 | 3,560 | 3,831 | 949 | 86.1 | 26.7 |
| Attala | 7,522 | 4,262 | NV | NV | | |
| Benton | 2,514 | 1,419 | 2,419 | 956 | 96.2 | 67.4 |
| Bolivar | 10,031 | 15,939 | 6,209 | 5,732 | 61.9 | 36.0 |
| Calhoun | 7,188 | 1,767 | NV | NV | | |
| Carroll | 2,969 | 2,704 | 3,077 | 1,248 | 100+ | 46.1 |
| Chickasaw | 6,388 | 3,054 | 6,620 | 535 | 100+ | 17.5 |
| Choctaw | 3,728 | 1,105 | NV | NV | | |
| Claiborne | 1,688 | 3,969 | 1,679 | 2,906 | 99.4 | 73.2 |
| Clarke | 6,072 | 2,988 | 5,211 | 1,026 | 85.8 | 34.3 |
| Clay | 5,547 | 4,444 | 3,535 | 1,695 | 63.7 | 38.1 |
| Coahoma | 8,708 | 14,604 | 7,215 | 7,761 | 82.8 | 53.1 |
| Copiah | 8,153 | 6,407 | 8,382 | 1,455 | 100+ | 22.7 |
| Covington | 5,329 | 2,032 | 4,339 | 937 | 81.4 | 46.1 |
| De Soto | 5,338 | 6,246 | 5,592 | 2,129 | 100+ | 34.1 |
| Forrest | 22,431 | 7,495 | 14,827 | 2,064 | 66.1 | 27.5 |
| Franklin | 3,403 | 1,842 | 3,919 | 358 | 100+ | 19.4 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| George | 5,276 | 580 | 4,625 | 123 | 87.7 | 21.2 |
| Greene | 3,518 | 859 | 3,147 | 264 | 89.4 | 30.7 |
| Grenada | 5,792 | 4,323 | 5,962 | 1,752 | 100+ | 40.5 |
| Hancock | 6,813 | 1,129 | 5,574 | 510 | 81.8 | 45.2 |
| Harrison | 55,094 | 9,670 | 17,450 | 3,833 | 31.7 | 39.6 |
| Hinds | 67,836 | 36,138 | 63,952 | 15,663 | 94.3 | 43.3 |
| Holmes | 4,773 | 8,757 | 5,080 | 4,655 | 100+ | 53.1 |
| Humphreys | 3,344 | 5,561 | 2,861 | 1,283 | 85.5 | 23.1 |
| Issaquena | 640 | 1,081 | 768 | 446 | 100+ | 41.3 |
| Itawamba | 8,523 | 463 | 6,258 | 66 | 73.4 | 14.2 |
| Jackson | 24,447 | 5,113 | NV | NV | | |
| Jasper | 5,327 | 3,675 | 4,643 | 976 | 87.2 | 26.6 |
| Jefferson | 1,666 | 3,540 | 1,913 | 2,049 | 100+ | 57.8 |
| Jefferson Davis | 3,629 | 3,222 | 3,443 | 1,833 | 94.8 | 56.8 |
| Jones | 25,943 | 7,427 | NV | 2,077(est.) | | 28.0 |
| Kemper | 3,113 | 3,221 | 3,342 | 369 | 100+ | 11.4 |
| Lafayette | 8,074 | 3,239 | 4,784 | 778 | 59.2 | 24.0 |
| Lamar | 6,489 | 1,071 | 6,062 | 174 | 93.4 | 16.2 |
| Lauderdale | 27,806 | 11,924 | 19,895 | 5,343 | 71.5 | 44.8 |
| Lawrence | 3,878 | 1,720 | NV | 1,074(est.) | | 62.4 |
| Leake | 6,754 | 3,397 | 6,358 | 849 | 94.1 | 24.9 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lee | 18,709 | 5,130 | 11,403 | 736 | 60.9 | 14.3 |
| Leflore | 10,274 | 13,567 | NV | 7,161(est.) | | 52.8 |
| Lincoln | 11,072 | 3,913 | NV | NV | | |
| Lowndes | 16,460 | 8,362 | 9,813 | 1,267 | 59.6 | 15.1 |
| Madison | 5,622 | 10,366 | 6,334 | 5,991 | 100+ | 57.8 |
| Marion | 8,997 | 3,630 | 10,810 | 1,227 | 100+ | 33.8 |
| Marshall | 4,342 | 7,168 | 4,741 | 2,562 | 100+ | 35.7 |
| Monroe | 13,426 | 5,610 | NV | NV | | |
| Montgomery | 4,700 | 2,627 | 4,250 | 591 | 90.4 | 22.5 |
| Neshoba | 9,143 | 2,565 | 6,783 | 953 | 74.2 | 37.1 |
| Newton | 8,014 | 3,018 | 6,198 | 1,127 | 77.3 | 37.3 |
| Noxubee | 2,997 | 5,172 | NV | NV | | |
| Oktibbeha | 8,423 | 4,952 | 8,443 | 889 | 100+ | 17.9 |
| Panola | 7,639 | 7,250 | 6,555 | 2,411 | 85.8 | 33.2 |
| Pearl River | 9,765 | 2,473 | NV | NV | | |
| Perry | 3,515 | 1,140 | NV | NV | | |
| Pike | 12,163 | 6,936 | 8,760 | 2,162 | 72.0 | 31.2 |
| Pontotoc | 8,772 | 1,519 | 6,398 | 261 | 72.9 | 17.2 |
| Prentiss | 9,535 | 1,070 | 6,810 | 112 | 71.4 | 10.5 |
| Quitman | 4,176 | 5,673 | 3,391 | 1,382 | 81.2 | 24.3 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rankin | 13,246 | 6,944 | 12,321 | 1,504 | 93.0 | 21.7 |
| Scott | 7,742 | 3,752 | 5,677 | 705 | 73.3 | 18.7 |
| Sharkey | 1,882 | 3,152 | 1,768 | 433 | 93.9 | 13.7 |
| Simpson | 8,055 | 3,186 | NV | NV | | |
| Smith | 6,597 | 1,293 | NV | NV | | |
| Stone | 2,965 | 868 | 2,473 | 114 | 83.4 | 13.1 |
| Sunflower | 8,785 | 13,524 | 8,287 | 2,325 | 94.3 | 17.1 |
| Tallahatchie | 5,099 | 6,483 | 4,913 | 1,174 | 96.3 | 18.1 |
| Tate | 4,506 | 4,326 | 3,980 | 1,429 | 88.3 | 33.0 |
| Tippah | 7,513 | 1,281 | 5,957 | 374 | 79.2 | 29.2 |
| Tishomingo | 8,068 | 359 | 5,248 | 54 | 65.0 | 15.0 |
| Tunica | 2,011 | 5,822 | 1,558 | 505 | 77.4 | 8.7 |
| Union | 9,512 | 1,626 | 7,033 | 298 | 73.9 | 18.3 |
| Walthall | 4,536 | 2,490 | 4,261 | 1,293 | 93.9 | 51.9 |
| Warren | 13,530 | 10,726 | 12,169 | 5,229 | 89.9 | 48.7 |
| Washington | 19,837 | 20,619 | 12,683 | 5,094 | 63.9 | 24.7 |
| Wayne | 5,881 | 2,556 | 4,838 | 370 | 82.2 | 14.4 |
| Webster | 4,993 | 1,174 | NV | NV | | |
| Wilkinson | 2,340 | 4,120 | 2,777 | 1,127 | 100+ | 27.3 |
| Winston | 6,808 | 3,611 | NV | NV | | |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yalobusha | 4,572 | 2,441 | 3,511 | 235 | 76.8 | 9.6 |
| Yazoo | 7,598 | 8,719 | 7,580 | 1,050 | 99.7 | 11.9 |
| TOTALS | 748,266 | 422,256 | 470,920 | 139,099 | 62.9 | 32.9 |

Note: Race is not indicated for many recent registrants in a number of Mississippi counties. Where these figures occurred, they have been divided between the races in the totals above. Most are counted as Negro registration, since it is thought that most of these recent registrants are Negroes. NV indicates statistics not available when these figures were assembled.

# NORTH CAROLINA

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alamance | 42,755 | 7,429 | 47,604 | 4,801 | 100+ | 64.6 |
| Alexander | 8,370 | 506 | 10,478 | 460 | 100+ | 90.9 |
| Alleghany | 4,588 | 119 | 6,899 | 83 | 100+ | 69.7 |
| Anson | 7,847 | 5,218 | 6,800 | 1,700 | 86.7 | 32.6 |
| Ashe | 11,276 | 115 | 13,038 | 110 | 100+ | 95.6 |
| Avery | 6,507 | 124 | 6,081 | 41 | 93.4 | 33.1 |
| Beaufort | 13,737 | 6,196 | 10,144 | 1,114 | 73.8 | 18.0 |
| Bertie | 6,156 | 6,261 | 5,925 | 3,879 | 96.2 | 61.9 |
| Bladen | 9,173 | 5,147 | 10,109 | 2,721 | 100+ | 52.9 |
| Brunswick | 7,602 | 3,170 | 10,298 | 2,588 | 100+ | 81.6 |
| Buncombe | 72,249 | 8,510 | 67,653 | 6,565 | 93.6 | 77.1 |
| Burke | 29,506 | 1,921 | 34,657 | 2,247 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Cabarrus | 35,165 | 5,380 | 31,463 | 2,899 | 89.5 | 53.9 |
| Caldwell | 25,520 | 1,723 | 22,486 | 1,938 | 88.1 | 100+ |
| Camden | 1,988 | 1,054 | 1,923 | 417 | 96.7 | 39.6 |
| Carteret | 16,030 | 1,932 | 12,087 | 1,065 | 75.4 | 55.1 |
| Caswell | 6,026 | 4,129 | 5,200 | 1,600 | 86.3 | 38.7 |
| Catawba | 38,542 | 3,296 | 22,068 | 1,557 | 57.3 | 47.2 |
| Chatham | 11,227 | 4,026 | 13,722 | 900 | 100+ | 22.3 |
| Cherokee | 9,102 | 226 | 9,055 | 152 | 99.5 | 67.3 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chowan | 3,825 | 2,507 | 3,424 | 822 | 89.5 | 32.8 |
| Clay | 3,112 | 37 | 2,454 | 25 | 78.9 | 67.6 |
| Cleveland | 30,356 | 6,474 | 19,883 | 2,490 | 65.5 | 38.5 |
| Columbus | 17,830 | 7,382 | 16,458 | 5,459 | 92.3 | 73.9 |
| Craven | 22,994 | 8,242 | 12,001 | 3,473 | 52.2 | 42.1 |
| Cumberland | 58,279 | 18,789 | 25,794 | 7,461 | 44.3 | 39.7 |
| Currituck | 2,845 | 1,076 | 2,574 | 378 | 90.5 | 35.1 |
| Dare | 3,467 | 237 | NV | NV | | |
| Davidson | 41,462 | 4,491 | 31,839 | 2,404 | 76.8 | 53.5 |
| Davie | 8,898 | 1,080 | 9,967 | 966 | 100+ | 89.4 |
| Duplin | 14,477 | 6,955 | 15,812 | 3,185 | 100+ | 45.8 |
| Durham | 47,098 | 19,475 | 37,022 | 16,389 | 78.6 | 84.1 |
| Edgecombe | 15,515 | 12,330 | 12,247 | 3,624 | 78.9 | 29.4 |
| Forsyth | 87,219 | 24,952 | 68,221 | 17,028 | 78.2 | 68.2 |
| Franklin | 9,842 | 5,554 | 10,642 | 1,853 | 100+ | 33.4 |
| Gaston | 64,154 | 8,365 | 43,288 | 4,185 | 67.5 | 50.0 |
| Gates | 2,714 | 2,344 | 3,061 | 1,289 | 100+ | 55.0 |
| Graham | 3,324 | 125 | NV | NV | | |
| Granville | 11,584 | 6,996 | 10,022 | 2,475 | 86.5 | 35.4 |
| Greene | 4,793 | 3,268 | 4,257 | 777 | 88.8 | 23.8 |
| Guilford | 116,748 | 27,292 | 84,838 | 16,711 | 72.7 | 61.2 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Halifax | 16,496 | 13,766 | 17,529 | 4,821 | 100+ | 35.0 |
| Harnett | 20,061 | 6,150 | 15,326 | 3,799 | 76.4 | 61.8 |
| Haywood | 23,055 | 500 | 22,182 | 393 | 96.2 | 78.6 |
| Henderson | 21,062 | 1,170 | 17,419 | 651 | 82.7 | 55.6 |
| Hertford | 5,606 | 6,102 | 4,605 | 3,025 | 82.1 | 49.6 |
| Hoke | 3,998 | 3,747 | 2,984 | 1,375 | 74.6 | 36.7 |
| Hyde | 2,201 | 1,100 | 1,970 | 399 | 89.5 | 36.3 |
| Iredell | 31,094 | 5,517 | 23,338 | 2,958 | 75.1 | 53.6 |
| Jackson | 9,227 | 841 | 7,234 | 148 | 78.4 | 17.6 |
| Johnston | 28,259 | 6,395 | 22,188 | 2,550 | 78.5 | 39.9 |
| Jones | 3,248 | 2,251 | 4,508 | 1,571 | 100+ | 69.8 |
| Lee | 12,041 | 2,803 | 11,537 | 1,882 | 95.8 | 67.1 |
| Lenoir | 19,260 | 10,293 | 15,448 | 3,670 | 80.2 | 35.6 |
| Lincoln | 14,893 | 1,546 | 16,591 | 1,491 | 100+ | 96.4 |
| McDowell | 14,693 | 755 | 14,232 | 626 | 96.9 | 82.9 |
| Macon | 8,573 | 180 | 8,168 | 67 | 95.3 | 37.2 |
| Madison | 9,574 | 75 | 8,098 | 42 | 84.6 | 56.0 |
| Martin | 8,052 | 5,683 | 7,706 | 2,027 | 95.7 | 35.7 |
| Mecklenburg | 123,787 | 34,150 | 98,779 | 18,087 | 79.8 | 53.0 |
| Mitchell | 7,977 | 29 | 7,083 | 8 | 88.8 | 27.6 |
| Montgomery | 8,119 | 2,075 | 7,855 | 1,387 | 96.7 | 66.8 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Moore | 15,733 | 4,803 | 12,821 | 2,136 | 81.5 | 44.5 |
| Nash | 21,761 | 10,573 | 14,837 | 2,655 | 68.2 | 25.1 |
| New Hanover | 31,641 | 10,569 | 22,241 | 6,788 | 70.3 | 64.2 |
| Northampton | 6,178 | 7,304 | 6,062 | 4,016 | 98.1 | 55.0 |
| Onslow | 33,988 | 5,015 | 14,995 | 2,694 | 44.1 | 53.7 |
| Orange | 19,385 | 4,978 | 16,619 | 3,265 | 85.8 | 65.6 |
| Pamlico | 3,708 | 1,593 | 3,207 | 807 | 86.5 | 50.7 |
| Pasquotank | 9,409 | 4,936 | 6,079 | 2,127 | 64.6 | 43.1 |
| Pender | 5,631 | 4,085 | 5,486 | 1,672 | 97.4 | 40.9 |
| Perquimans | 3,083 | 2,027 | 2,291 | 985 | 74.3 | 48.6 |
| Person | 9,994 | 4,227 | 9,664 | 2,070 | 96.7 | 49.0 |
| Pitt | 22,621 | 13,575 | 27,039 | 4,449 | 100+ | 32.8 |
| Polk | 6,104 | 766 | 8,408 | 683 | 100+ | 89.2 |
| Randolph | 33,477 | 2,591 | 23,421 | 1,245 | 70.0 | 48.0 |
| Richmond | 16,019 | 5,514 | 13,985 | 3,515 | 87.3 | 63.7 |
| Robeson | 20,851 | 21,424 | 12,904 | 9,401 | 61.9 | 43.9 |
| Rockingham | 33,438 | 7,398 | 26,419 | 4,289 | 79.0 | 58.0 |
| Rowan | 42,866 | 7,209 | 32,219 | 4,332 | 75.2 | 60.0 |
| Rutherford | 24,020 | 2,572 | 23,986 | 1,515 | 99.9 | 58.9 |
| Sampson | 17,378 | 8,203 | 22,491 | 7,510 | 100+ | 91.5 |
| Scotland | 7,812 | 4,686 | 4,913 | 1,644 | 62.9 | 35.1 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stanly | 22,056 | 2,164 | 19,136 | 1,322 | 86.8 | 61.1 |
| Stokes | 11,786 | 1,025 | 7,500 | 1,500 | 63.6 | 100+ |
| Surry | 26,796 | 1,423 | 37,075 | 955 | 100+ | 67.1 |
| Swain | 3,878 | 756 | 6,547 | 81 | 100+ | 10.7 |
| Transylvania | 8,687 | 405 | 8,509 | 398 | 97.9 | 98.3 |
| Tyrrell | 1,597 | 849 | 1,089 | 422 | 68.2 | 49.7 |
| Union | 20,044 | 4,423 | 13,209 | 1,428 | 65.9 | 32.3 |
| Vance | 11,005 | 6,520 | 8,145 | 2,507 | 74.0 | 38.4 |
| Wake | 76,799 | 22,856 | 62,912 | 12,022 | 81.9 | 52.6 |
| Warren | 4,439 | 5,490 | 5,207 | 2,562 | 100+ | 46.7 |
| Washington | 4,365 | 2,643 | 3,855 | 1,308 | 88.3 | 49.5 |
| Watauga | 9,639 | 126 | 10,927 | 94 | 100+ | 74.6 |
| Wayne | 29,349 | 15,754 | 17,527 | 4,939 | 59.7 | 31.3 |
| Wilkes | 23,779 | 1,444 | 24,440 | 1,826 | 100+ | 100+ |
| Wilson | 20,566 | 10,770 | 12,503 | 3,096 | 60.8 | 28.7 |
| Yadkin | 13,039 | 576 | NV | NV | | |
| Yancey | 7,856 | 76 | 8,917 | 68 | 100+ | 89.5 |
| TOTALS | 2,005,955 | 550,929 | 1,653,796 | 281,134 | 82.4 | 51.0 |

NOTE: Non-white figures include Indians, but these are not a major portion of the statewide total. NV indicates statistics not available at the time the figures were assembled.

# S O U T H  C A R O L I N A

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abbeville | 8,733 | 3,215 | 7,113 | 1,099 | 81.4 | 34.2 |
| Aiken | 33,646 | 10,040 | 32,958 | 8,585 | 97.9 | 85.5 |
| Allendale | 2,531 | 3,205 | 3,018 | 1,626 | 100+ | 50.8 |
| Anderson | 47,542 | 9,598 | 31,718 | 2,924 | 66.7 | 30.5 |
| Bamberg | 4,371 | 3,807 | 4,485 | 1,407 | 100+ | 37.0 |
| Barnwell | 5,652 | 3,242 | 7,029 | 1,759 | 100+ | 54.3 |
| Beaufort | 12,098 | 7,247 | 6,378 | 3,999 | 52.7 | 55.2 |
| Berkeley | 10,122 | 7,619 | 10,649 | 4,717 | 100+ | 61.9 |
| Calhoun | 2,623 | 3,318 | 2,663 | 1,621 | 100+ | 48.9 |
| Charleston | 77,909 | 35,499 | 52,815 | 17,422 | 67.7 | 49.1 |
| Cherokee | 16,037 | 3,360 | 14,824 | 1,757 | 92.4 | 52.3 |
| Chester | 11,172 | 5,664 | 11,123 | 2,558 | 99.6 | 45.2 |
| Chesterfield | 12,099 | 5,219 | 10,597 | 3,965 | 87.6 | 76.0 |
| Clarendon | 5,223 | 7,735 | 5,436 | 5,339 | 100+ | 69.0 |
| Colleton | 8,203 | 6,180 | 8,527 | 2,705 | 100+ | 43.8 |
| Darlington | 16,706 | 9,900 | 14,940 | 4,364 | 89.4 | 44.1 |
| Dillon | 8,725 | 5,529 | 7,593 | 2,840 | 87.0 | 51.4 |
| Dorchester | 7,121 | 5,370 | 8,624 | 3,941 | 100+ | 73.3 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Edgefield | 4,103 | 3,764 | 4,128 | 1,022 | 100+ | 27.2 |
| Fairfield | 4,975 | 5,536 | 4,894 | 2,227 | 98.4 | 40.2 |
| Florence | 27,047 | 15,951 | 24,770 | 7,759 | 91.6 | 48.6 |
| Georgetown | 8,855 | 7,173 | 8,418 | 4,189 | 95.1 | 58.4 |
| Greenville | 102,365 | 18,605 | 67,538 | 8,700 | 66.0 | 46.8 |
| Greenwood | 19,218 | 6,764 | 15,977 | 2,914 | 83.1 | 43.1 |
| Hampton | 4,711 | 4,052 | 4,889 | 2,355 | 100+ | 58.1 |
| Horry | 27,518 | 7,429 | 20,132 | 2,889 | 73.2 | 38.9 |
| Jasper | 2,689 | 3,333 | 2,879 | 2,079 | 100+ | 62.4 |
| Kershaw | 11,258 | 5,903 | 11,434 | 3,034 | 100+ | 51.4 |
| Lancaster | 16,213 | 4,762 | 17,465 | 1,944 | 100+ | 40.8 |
| Laurens | 19,775 | 6,818 | 11,149 | 6,222 | 56.4 | 91.3 |
| Lee | 4,394 | 5,446 | 4,616 | 2,564 | 100+ | 47.1 |
| Lexington | 28,774 | 4,782 | 25,002 | 2,519 | 86.9 | 52.7 |
| McCormick | 1,915 | 2,248 | 2,153 | 972 | 100+ | 43.2 |
| Marion | 8,103 | 7,684 | 7,204 | 3,047 | 88.9 | 39.7 |
| Marlboro | 8,230 | 5,932 | 8,462 | 1,514 | 100+ | 25.5 |
| Newberry | 12,204 | 4,954 | 10,833 | 1,884 | 88.8 | 38.0 |
| Oconee | 19,762 | 2,230 | 13,761 | 1,226 | 69.6 | 54.9 |
| Orangeburg | 16,381 | 17,355 | 16,039 | 8,397 | 97.9 | 48.4 |

| County | White Voting-age pop. | Negro Voting-age pop. | White reg. | Negro reg. | Per Cent White reg. | Per Cent Negro reg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pickens | 24,015 | 2,356 | 17,339 | 1,077 | 72.2 | 46.1 |
| Richland | 79,050 | 32,670 | 55,509 | 19,265 | 70.2 | 59.0 |
| Saluda | 5,573 | 2,327 | 5,583 | 1,104 | 100+ | 47.4 |
| Spartanburg | 73,317 | 17,047 | 58,200 | 7,782 | 79.4 | 45.7 |
| Sumter | 22,004 | 15,380 | 13,849 | 9,238 | 63.0 | 60.1 |
| Union | 12,826 | 4,125 | 12,969 | 1,715 | 100+ | 41.6 |
| Williamsburg | 7,560 | 10,535 | 9,285 | 5,810 | 100+ | 55.1 |
| York | 31,799 | 10,196 | 23,094 | 4,516 | 72.6 | 44.3 |
| TOTALS | 895,147 | 371,104 | 718,061 | 190,609 | 80.2 | 51.4 |

VOTING

RALPH

# McGILL

## *Votes And Rights*

Estimates by the Southern Regional Council and the Department of Justice indicate that in five deep - South states Negro registration is up about 50 per cent since c o ngressional enactment of the voter registration act of last summer.

This is almost certainly an accurate figure.

It does not reflect any miracle. But it does remind us of the path that must be taken to bring about what is necessary —planning a n d educational training for adults and children alike who are really poor and deprived. It means, too, acceptance of the fact that the segregated system of the past, operating in the face of events and need that long ago revealed the system's moral and human injustices, has created the beginning of what is, economically and socially, a kind of human scrapheap. We must do what we can to make good uses of this "scrap" in restoring it to usefulness rather than leaving it on the heap for further corr sion.

### *Environment*

Voters, aware of the deadening effect of their environment and past, will almost certainly vote for progressive, enlightened government. There are varied and desperate h u m a n problems that can be met only by forthright, costly programs. T h a t some will be wasteful is inevitable. There are, and will be, new plans. There is not an adequate body of trained administrators of necessary innovations in programs. But there will be successes and progress.

Voting increases have not been large. There is an apathy in some areas. This is not unexpected. Persons who do not read and write well, who have never been allowed to participate in the ballot or community discussions of citizenship and

**Continued on Page 17, Column 1**

**Ralph McGill**

# Votes And Rights

Continued From Page 1

community projects, do not readily rush to what is unknown and unfamiliar. This is especially true in those Southern rural areas where coercion and intimidation still exist.

But the ballot is the surest way to reform. Many a tough sheriff and his crew of deputies develop golden hearts in the face of a substantial increase in voters. Many city services, withheld, suddenly become available when the votes are there.

## *Future Changes*

That is why the reported increases are valuable indicators of future changes in Southern attitudes in the area of civil rights. Mississippi shows the largest percentage increase in registrations. In numbers Alabama is highest. (Nowhere is the need for the leavening influence of new Negro voters more critically needed than in Alabama.) The estimates for the five states are as follows:

Alabama — Negro voting registration now estimated at about 228,000, up 116,000 since last August.

Georgia — 248,000, up 17,000.

Mississippi — 122,000, up 87,000.

Louisiana—231,000, up 68,000.

South Carolina — 174,000, up 35,000.

There is need for understanding of the present dilemma in racial planning. The civil rights acts have just begun to produce results. But they will not, and cannot, yet be of any substantial, immediate help to the more deprived rural and slum residents. Statistics of income show us that only about 45,000 nonwhites, for example, last year earned $10,000 and over. This is less than 1 per cent. Statistically, a majority of the nonwhite persons are well below the poverty-line of income—a family income of at least $3,000 per year. (Children, of course, would mean at least $3,500.)

There are the really poor and the really deprived. They are not all Negro, but a heavy majority is. Civil rights laws cannot quickly alleviate their critical needs. Opportunity in jobs, scholarships, education, and other normal objectives presently are largely confined to a rather small — but growing — Negro middle class.

Voting helps accelerate what needs to be done.

VOTING

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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

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MRS. LONG

MR. STANFIELD

MR. ULMER

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MR. ANDERSON

MISS COLLINS

MR. MOORE

MR. CLEGHORN

I THOUGHT THIS SAMPLING OF OPINION MIGHT BE OF INTEREST TO YOU.

MW

VEP 6-46

REASONS FOR REFUSING TO REGISTER
AND OTHER PERTINENT COMMENTS

Wont do any good, the white man will do what he wants to.

Uncle Sam takes care of me, I ain't signing and voting for nothing.

Why should I register and vote? I don't have anything to vote for.

You say putting Negroes in office of government? Ha! They are crooked too.

Negroes get in office, feed their pockets, forget about us that don't have nothing.

They had some Negroes in office, see what they did, all get find jobs, we still have nothing.

I'am not going to register and vote, white man always find a way to get around us Negroes.

Good you think you can help by registering and voting. Let me tell you something, white man don't intend for Negroes to get anything.

Well find you explaining we can help ourselvies by registering and voting, get some of things needed by electing right people. I've been here thirty years (30) and hadn't. Who you say takes us all? Guess I'll go down and register. Way you explain it I feel kinda shame.

You go believing child, won't do any good.

Ha! These people won't stick together. I go register and vote, you you know what, some old Uncle Tom go down there and get that white man to change.

Look, we doing fine in Hampton, we get along with white folks, got a place to stay and good jobs, what you want more than that? Ah, I agree we need better housing and sheets. White man give it to us in time.

? streets?

I sure need to register if it helps get higher wages.

Look, white man owns most all these houses if he fix them up, go up on rent, not even fit to live in now. Need to do something about it. You say we can ok, I go register then I'am going to vote. Tired of these old shacks.

You know even that Hampton Institute over there just like all of Hampton, before you get any place you have to have someone higher up. I know for I couldn't get a job, and I know some don't know much as I do got good jobs over there. They know Mr. so and so. And their mother or father went there You can't tell me nothing what can be don in Hampton, nothing I tell you. They put people in good jobs don't even know what they are doing. (You say if we register and vote will change it. Ha! ha! haven't changed all these years and won't. People don't wont it to change)

I'm not registered because something might happen to me and if it does you're not going to take care of my children! — (Mei)

LOUISIANA STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE
U. S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

# YOUR RIGHT TO REGISTER AND VOTE UNDER FEDERAL LAW

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 establishes new protections of the right of registration and voting. In connection with its clearinghouse responsibilities, the Louisiana Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights is circulating this memorandum and the enclosed CCR Special Publication No. 4 to provide citizens of Louisiana with a fuller understanding of the new Federal legislation as it relates to state laws covering registration and voting.

## The Voting Rights Act

"No voting qualification or prerequisite to voting . . . shall be imposed or applied by any state or political subdivision to deny or abridge the right of any citizen . . . to vote on account of race or color." The following voter requirements are outlawed by the Act:

1. A demonstration of the ability to read, write, understand or interpret any given material.

2. A demonstration of any educational achievement or knowledge of any particular subject.

3. Proof of good moral character.

4. Proof of qualifications through a procedure in which another person (such as an individual already registered) must vouch for the prospective voter.

## Requirements of the State of Louisiana

The following state requirements for registration are unchanged by the Federal Voting Rights Act:

1. An Applicant must appear in person before the Registrar of Voters of the Parish and must be 21 years old or older by the time of the next election.

2. He must establish proof of identity and residence (rent receipt or other receipt, charge account, driver's license, etc.--identification must include signature).

3. He must have been a resident of Louisiana for one year, of the Parish for six months, and of the precinct for three months (or of the municipality for four months for municipal elections) by the time of the next election.

4. He must be a citizen of the United States and have not been convicted of a disqualifying crime (unless full pardon and restoration of franchise has been granted).

# Key to Ky-Buddhist row: Everybody wants some pie

## INSIDE REPORT

*. . . by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

WASHINGTON

THE CURRENT turmoil which has brought South Viet Nam to the brink of civil war and endangered the war against the Communists is, ironically, the result of a mad rush by Vietnamese politicians to position themselves for free elections.

Indeed, secret information available to U. S. officials shows that the origin of the turmoil can be traced with precision to Jan. 5, 1966 when Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky first began to talk seriously about a constitutional assembly and eventual elections.

Thus, the root cause of the growing choas in South Viet Nam is not — as the U. S. peace bloc would have it — rising neutralism and a desire to make peace with the Communists. What is happening today can be traced back to Air Marshal Ky's Jan. 15 statement. It is a story worth telling.

Less than a month after Ky's statement pointed the way toward genuine political and governmental changes within South Viet Nam, the militant Buddhists headed by mystical, enigmatic Thich Tri Quang began secretly to plan for future elections.

Tri Quang's plan was somewhat similar to the political organizing of, say, a Democratic big-city boss in preparation for a presidential elecion in the U.S.A. If an election were really going to be held in South Viet Nam, the agile, ambitious Tri Quang wanted his agents to be ready for it.

### *Things to do*

THIS MEANT many things had to be done. It was necessary, for example, to set up an organization — nothing so precise as the political organization in the precincts of an American city, but a political organization in rudientary form.

Militant Buddhists who follow Tri Quang had to be assigned specific political chores, taught how to promote candidates and conduct a campaign.

A blueprint complete to the last detail, drawn up in January, has been studied by U. S. officials and conclusively demonstrates that Tri Quang's political agitation pre-dated President Johnson's celebrated meeting with Ky at Honolulu Feb. 6.

This should partially lay to rest the myth that President Johnson is personally responsible for the political crisis because he put his arm around Ky at Honolulu.

But if Tri Quang was organizing a disciplined core of student-politicians as long ago as January, Ky's conduct after the Honolulu conference unquestionably added fuel to the political agitation.

The Johnson administraton had hoped that, when Ky returned to Saigon after Honolulu, and later pushed by the Buddhists, announced a specific date for the election

*Trich Tri Quang*

of a constitutional assembly, he would close his eyes to pressure tactics by the Buddhist militants in central Viet Nam, centered in Da Nang and Hue.

The hope was that Gen. Ky could concentrate on the war, and most important, on talking up the election—and let the militant Buddhists stir up a little trouble without retaliation.

INSTEAD, buoyed by his meeting with the President and alarmed at Buddhist agitation in the northern First Corps area, Ky fired Buddhist-backed Gen. Thi, First Corps commander. Ever since, the political battle has steadily escalated.

The discovery of electioneering plans drawn up in January illustrates one hard fact: feuding political forces in South Viet Nam are preparing in dead seriousness for an election this September. The activities of Tri Quang should be judged more in that light than as an effort either to bring down the Ky government or undermine the U. S. military effort.

This political zeal, despite its hazards, poses opportunities for the long-term U. S. interest. Each of the hostile, feuding factions in South Viet Nam — the Buddhists, split into many groupings, the Catholics, the religious sects, the military — are worried about getting left at the gate when the election is held. They all want a piece of the political pie that will result from that election.

It was an understanding of this fact that led President Johnson to murmur to Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, just before Lodge returned to Saigon: the proper role of politics is to include and not exclude."

The basic reason for all the agitation in South Viet Nam is that everyone wants to be included. — (c)

# Johnson Cautious On Hanoi Response

By RICHARD EDER

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WASHINGTON—President Lyndon B. Johnson said Thursday that Ambassador Arthur Goldberg's Viet Nam peace proposals to the U.N. General Assembly had been made with his "full approval," but the administration appeared cautious about expecting any favorable response from North Viet Nam.

Senatorial critics of the administration's Viet Nam policy, however, were enthusiastic in their praise of the speech.

Asked by a newsman whether Goldberg's speech was "an important new initiative," Johnson avoided any such description. He said only that he had read the speech and approved of it.

"I think it is good for him to say it," the President said, adding:

"We are very anxious, as you well know, to do anything and everything we can through every forum we can, to try to promote peace in the world. I think that is what he is trying to do. He has my full approval and the secretary of State's approval."

The President's reaction was reflected in the public statements of other officials here.

Sen. J. W. Fulbright, D-Ark., chairman of the Foreign Relations committee, said that "this approach is in the right direction" and "in the spirit of compromise."

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, D-Mont., who has urged more active administration efforts for peace, called it "a good first step on the part of this county." He said he hoped North Viet Nam would see in it evidence "that this government is flexible regarding any basis for talk leading to a settlement."

Presidential assistant Walt W. Rostow contributed to the White House's cautious tone by saying that there was no evidence that Hanoi would accept the proposal for military de-escalation made by Goldberg.

# Troops Take Control Over Leopoldville

LEOPOLDVILLE, The Congo (AP)—Congolese troops took over strategic points in Leopoldville Sunday under a military plan to prevent unrest.

Radio Leopoldville announced authorities had decided to enforce the plan after an explosion late Saturday of three small charges of plastic explosives in public places.

One charge caused a minor explosion in front of a restaurant in Kalina. The second shook the city's deserted central market. The third was on Cabu Bridge, near where four alleged plotters against the government were hanged Thursday.

WELFARE



YOUR MONEY'S WORTH

# Facts Help to Explain Medicare Misunderstanding

By SYLVIA PORTER
New York Financial Columnist

A majority of U.S. citizens aged 65 or over today are functionally illiterate. English is a second language for nearly one in four of our elderly. Of citizens 65 or older, one in three has a yearly income of less than $1,500. For three out of four, Social Security benefits—averaging less than $1,000 a year for a retired individual—are the key sources of income.

Sylvia Porter

These chilling facts help explain why there is such gross misunderstanding and ignorance of how Medicare's $3 a month voluntary doctor insurance plan will work—and why so many millions of Social Security beneficiaries have failed to sign up for the plan.

Of 16 million doctor insurance application cards mailed by the Social Security Administration last September and October, only about 11 million have been returned and only about 10.1 million of those who returned the application signed up. Social Security is now in the midst of a second mass mailing to those who haven't responded or who turned down the offer. It also has appealed to 1.2 million others not now receiving Social Security benefits who are eligible to sign up for the doctor insurance.

In addition, Social Security offices throughout the nation are holding intensive neighborhood meetings in schools, churches, community centers to explain the program and to sign up the elderly.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has launched a $2 million 80-city "Operation Medicare Alert," employing more than 5,000 elderly citizens to promote attendance at educational meetings and personally to track down hundreds of thousands of shut-ins.

The U.S. Agriculture Dept. is staging a similar hunt in rural areas, using extension agents, home economists, forest rangers.

Explanations of the plan have been translated into 12 foreign languages and are now being distributed at local meetings and to foreign language newspapers and radio stations.

U.S. corporations and unions are getting in touch with employes and pensioners now 65 or over, to give details of Medicare benefits and to urge enrollment in the voluntary insurance plan.

The Internal Revenue Service has dug through tax records to find others who may be eligible — and welfare offices the nation over are explaining details to the elderly [illegible]elief.

Physicians from coast to coast, at the request of their medical societies, are urging elderly patients to sign up for the voluntary Medicare insurance.

It's the most massive "sales drive" for Social Security since the original act went on the books a generation ago, but the fact is that the Medicare doctor insurance plan is a bargain to the elderly. It's estimated that the entire Medicare package of hospital and voluntary doctor insurance is worth $216 a year to the individual. Yet he pays nothing for the hospital part of the plan and just $36 a year for the doctor insurance. The federal government is contributing a matching $36 a year.

In instances where even the $3 a month is prohibitively expensive to the eligible recipient, a growing number of local welfare offices and private employers are offering to take over the cost.

For the elderly who today cannot afford major medical insurance coverage, Medicare's combined free hospital insurance and low-cost doctor insurance will provide key financial protection against the terror of astronomical illness expenses.

For those who today have inadequate health insurance, the package will be a substantial help.

For all, it can — and many private insurers are certain it will—become a foundation on which we'll build further health protection through private insurance.—(c1966.)

WELFARE

# Conference

on

Leadership Development

and

Federal Education Programs

Held At

Allen University, Columbia, South Carolina

February 10-11, 1966

U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

Office of the Disadvantaged and Handicapped

Washington, D. C.

## Foreword

One of the major functions of the Office of Education's Office of the Disadvantaged and Handicapped is to coordinate and foster cooperative activities with public and private agencies dealing with the educatinn of the disadvantaged and handicapped. Since the conference is a dynamic and vital mechanism facilitating this objective, the Office has been staging a series of regional conferences throughout the nation which bring together Office of Education specialists and government officials with community leaders.

The first conference on "Leadership Development and Federal Educational Programs" occurred in Washington, D. C., December 1-2, 1965. The second, the subject of this report, was held February 10-11, 1966, at Allen University in Columbia, South Carolina.

Allen University's magnaminous assistance enabled the Office of the Disadvantaged and Handicapped to gather twenty-nine conferees -- community leaders from seven southern States (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee), for a searching appraisal of ways community resources could be blended with Federal programs to improve the educational position of the disadvantaged and handicapped.

Considered in the simplest terms, the objective of the conference in creatively relating Federal educational programs to community activities was staged in two phases. In the first phase of the conference, Government specialists described the legislative framework directing the various programs with educational policies and procedures. The second part of the conference began when the participants divided themselves into three committees to consider ways local groups could relate specific Federal programs to community activities.

Recommendations that would facilitate closer cooperation were then drawn up. The structure of this report reflects these two phases of the conference. Part I of this report focuses upon the addresses delivered by Government officials, and Part II consists of the conference recommendations. It is hoped that this report captures the scope and tone of the Allen University meeting even though the flavor of vital individual exchanges may not appear.

William Johnson
Conference Coordinator
Office of the Disadvantaged
and Handicapped

TABLE OF CONTENTS

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### PART I

### ADDRESSES TO THE CONFERENCE ON FEDERAL LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE EDUCATION OF THE DISADVANTAGED


| | | | PAGE |
|---|---|---|---|
| A. | WELCOME TO THE CONFERENCE..... | Dr. Regina Goff<br>Assistant Commissioner<br>Office of the Disadvantaged and Handicapped | 1 |
| B. | WELCOME TO ALLEN UNIVERSITY..... | Dr. B. J. Glover<br>President<br>Allen University<br>Columbia, South Carolina | 2 |
| C. | VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION OF THE DISADVANTAGED..... | Mr. R. D. Anderson<br>State Director of Vocational Education<br>State Department of Education<br>Columbia, South Carolina | 3 |
| D. | THE EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964 ..... | Mr. Emanual Reiser<br>Education Specialist<br>Office of the Disadvantaged and Handicapped | 5 |
| E. | HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965..... | Dr. A. W. Boldt<br>Bureau of Higher Education, Region IV<br>Office of Education<br>Atlanta, Georgia | 9 |
| F. | THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT AND PUBLIC EDUCATION..... | Mr. Stanley Kruger<br>Office of Equal Educational Opportunity<br>U.S.Office of Education<br>Washington,D.C. | 12 |

TABLE OF CONTENDS--CONTINUED


| PART II | PAGE |
|---|---|
| CONFERENCE COMMITTEES AND RECOMMENDATIONS | 19 |
| WORKSHOP A: Committee on OEO Community Action Programs and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 | 20 |
| Discussion Leader.....Mr. Edward Vaughn, Director, Community Action Program, Savannah, Georgia | |
| WORKSHOP B: Committee on Vocational Education Act and Manpower Development and Training Act | 21 |
| Discussion Leader..... Mr. M. C. Gaar, U.S.Office of Education, Region IV Office, Atlanta, Georgia | |
| WORKSHOP C: Committee on Civil Rights Act and the Higher Education Act of 1965 | 22 |
| Discussion Leader..... Dr. A. W. Boldt, Acting Head, Bureau of Higher Education Region IV, Atlanta, Georgia | |
| LIST OF PARTICIPANTS ..... | 23 |


* * * * * * * * * *

# PART I

WELCOME TO THE CONFERENCE By Dr. Regina Goff

Today, national and local educational concerns converge on Allen University, Columbia, South Carolina, as we meet to focus on "Leadership Development and Federal Educational Programs." This magnificent opportunity for government educational specialists to discuss recent Federal legislation affecting the schools of our nation with community leaders drawn from many cities and towns throughout the south, was graciously extended to us by President B. J. Glover, the faculty staff, and students of Allen University. In the hospitable climate of this University, government officials will describe educational programs established by recent legislation.

The novel and creative features of these programs are apparent. Less apparent, however, are the unfinished tasks which led to the convening of this conference. The ample promises of Federal education programs still remain unfulfilled. Thus, the objectives we set for ourselves in the days to come are the development of realistic approaches to meeting the educational needs which stirred a nation into remedial action. In doing so, we will enhance the personal quality and meaning of our own lives and the lives of children throughout the nation.

The more immediate objectives of this conference are to present information and relevant interpretation of legislation in education enacted by the 88th and 89th Congresses, to invite support of Federal programs currently in operation, and to elicit your creative thinking with reference to programs which you consider consistent with the needs of your local community.

To these ends we shall direct our efforts anticipatory of fruitful returns.



A

WELCOME TO ALLEN UNIVERSITY By Dr. B. J. Glover

Dr.Goff, Educational Specialists, Government officials, and community leaders - on behalf of the faculty staff and student body, it is a pleasure to welcome you to Allen University. The holding of this conference on "Leadership Development and Federal Educational Programs" once again reaffirms this University's openness to today's educational currents. With great appropriateness, the thrust of two main currents of Federal activity -- the War on Poverty and the Great Society -- rest on the keystone of educational programs and policies. The impact of recent legislation upon the schools, colleges, and universities throughout the nation has been prodigious; thus, it is fitting for us to consider today the meaning and purposes of this dynamic activity.

In doing so, we will refresh and rededicate ourselves to the completion of our yet unfinished task -- the building of a society sensitively responsive to the human needs of its people.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND
THE EDUCATION OF THE DISADVANTAGED

By Mr. R. D. Anderson

It is fitting and timely that the Office of the Disadvantaged and Handicapped sponsor this conference for community leaders who are interested in the affairs and education of economically disadvantaged children. For far too long, educators in South Carolina and throughout the nation have been deeply concerned with the difficulties this easily identifiable group of children has met in school, and the often dismal occupational future that awaited them. The lack of local financial resources, combined with flaws in the educational structure, perpetuated their desperate plight in the past. Today, however, the injection of new Federal economic resources, and a reordering of the school system offer new hope to the educationally disadvantaged. In the past, educational opportunities extended to the disadvantaged were directly tied to local resources and for the most part, local resources were not enough to contend with the particular needs of this group of young people.

The approach of schools to future occupational placement, too, was impeded by the chasm between formal and vocational education, which functioned largely as two self-contained systems. Of these built-in inadequacies were, of course, the culturally deprived. The hardline States' rights position vis-a-vis Federal aid to education began to give way when financial strains became apparent, and the



C.

public recognized that children with potential and undeveloped careers were the chief sufferers.

The passage of the Vocational Education Act of 1963 with the resulting success of the program, and the creative possibilities open to the schools under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 demonstrated the feasibility of State-Federal cooperation. The Vocational Education and the Elementary and Secondary Education Acts also enable the local school system to foster new opp ortunities for developing cooperative academic and vocational programs that when synchronized, articulated, and blended will show promise of bridging the gulf between formal and vocational programs that will redound to the benefit of all children, especially the disadvantaged.

These few observations barely scratch the surface of the schools' relation to the education of the disadvantaged and the role recent legislation can play in removing inequities in our school systems today. You are presented with the challenge of introducing new insights and approaches for establishing programs that will benefit under current legislation disadvantaged children and improve the educational opportunities of all young people.

THE EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE
ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

By Mr. Emanual Reiser

It is a pleasure to meet and discuss with you various Federal programs of assistance to the poor in your local areas. The primary concern of the Office of the Disadvantaged and Handicapped is the coordination of all educational programs, and eventually all Federal programs that relate to education for the disadvantaged and handicapped.

The proliferation of Federal legislation over the past few years has made it extremely difficult for large cities to keep attuned to the various programs. In fact many communities now have representatives in Washington whose sole purpose is to advise the local authorities on current programs and those under consideration by the Congress of the United States.

This conference has two primary purposes: One, to inform you about the various programs available for possible use in your communities; two, to learn of your problems and to devise solutions and ideas that can be forwarded through our Assistant Commissioner, Dr. Regina Goff, to the Commissioner of Education for possible future legislative action to meet the educational needs of the poor.

The packets of materials you received in advance of this meeting include explanations of Federal Legislation in the field of education, welfare, and manpower training which can be read over the next few weeks.

I am going to review the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, not so much in terms of the actual legislation (copy in your folder) but in terms of impressions I have gathered the past two years while reviewing educational components of Community Action Programs, and both giving and receiving advice and counsel from interested citizens at all levels of government, religious organizations and non-profit institutions.

My primary aim is to evoke discussion, so I am hopeful that much of what is said will stimulate you to think about solutions to problems.

Title I, Part A of the Economic Opportunity Act provides for the Job Corps camps and training centers for young men and women, age 16-21. The purpose is to give youth an opportunity to learn work skills and motivation to become productive citizens.

D

Title I, Part B, the Work Training Program, provides useful work experience opportunities for in- and out-of-school youth. This is the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Title I, Part C, the Work Study Program, recently transferred to OE, provides part-time employment for students in institutions of higher education in need of earnings to pursue their education. Originally, this legislation gave preference to students who would work in the Community Action Program. As of last year, however, there were too few nearby community action programs, thus many of the students worked in college campus programs to earn the additional sums of money that would enable them to continue their college education.

Title II-A, the heart of the Economic Opportunity Act, sponsors community action programs, which some of you represent. It is my conviction that unless the total community is organized to focus upon the total problems of families, none of the problems of poverty will be solved, and billions of dollars will be wasted. For example, an ADC mother who has five children, whose husband is absent or works part-time, with children in need of medical attention and with insufficent funds to meet rental payments, cannot be concerned about one of her children who is dropping out of school. OEO funded over a million dollar research project with the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration through the Georgia State Department of Education, specifically to concentrate on a thousand poor families, taking all members through a pre-guidance and evaluation program, funneling them out over a three-year period to the appropriate local agencies and government programs.

Title II-B, The Adult Basic Education Program which also has been delegated to the Office of Education by OEO, has a two-fold purpose, that of teaching people to read and write, and informing them of their rights, so that they can obtain necessities due them as human beings in a community.

Adult basic education has been funded under four different Federal programs. Some programs are funded under Title II-B through the State departments of education but to date, funds have not been sufficient in many instances to reach the target populations.

Under Title V, delegated to the Welfare Administration, there are both work experience training, and adult literacy training programs, for people who are on, or about to go on relief. Approximately $111 million was spent last year on 88,000 people for vocational training in the school systems, or on-the-job training, or basic literacy training.

There is also the possibility of literacy training under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA). Under this act, there is a maximum two-year training program which includes literacy training. In addition, some programs have been funded under Title II-A of the Community Action Program, when funds under Title II-B were not sufficient to train all program applicants.

Now, I would like to talk about a special OEO program to combat poverty in rural areas. This is the program of the migrant workers who move from farm to farm, in towns and cities, and bring with them their limited educational skills. The Office of Economic Opportunity under the Migrant Branch, has funded at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama one of the first Adult Education Programs with stipends for seasonally employed workers to attend classes. Among the poor in the south in many farm areas, almost everybody is under-employed. Working is a 40-50-60-day-per-year proposition. The Migrant Branch is looking for programs for the hard-core unemployed, or under-employed farm worker. An educational program will be entertained in the field of educational literacy, language arts, home economics, consumer education, vocational preparation, vocational training, etc. "The Migrant Farm Workers and the Economic Opportunity Act" explains the kind of programs eligible for funding and who to contact.

I suggest you apply through the Atlanta Regional Office to the Migrant Branch of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington. The fine part of this program is that stipends are provided to people to attend school to learn how to read and write, so that they may leave the unemployed stream.

The President had a committee that reported on the whole question of poverty. One of the items that the Committee advocated was the negative income tax for the poor. It has been a debatable issue for a long time; the committee was of the opinion that poor people cannot be motivated until their basic needs for food, shelter, and clothing are satisfied. Milton Freedman, who was the Economic Advisor of the Goldwater campaign, a conservative economist, recommended the negative income tax during the 1964 campaign. There are recommendations of this sort all the time, and the pressure is strong from big business, from labor unions, from school organizations, to place a floor beneath poor people for food, shelter, and clothing.

Today, welfare programs do this in a limited, haphazard way. Within the next five years perhaps a program will provide each family a minimum allowance so that fundamental needs are met, and then children can be motivated to begin to look beyond their basic needs to education.

Last July, the Joint OE-OEO Unit approved an educational program for Texas where 1,000 migrant workers were removed from the migrant stream and given stipends for vocational training. It was a three million dollar program approved in cooperation with the State of Texas.

Last January, the Unit recommended to the Commissioner of Education that at age 16 when dropouts occur most frequently, $40 a month be given to children from impoverished families to meet hidden school costs. The average poor family does not recognize the hidden school costs. But clothes, class dues, college application fees, etc. escalate hidden school costs to $400-$500 per year. An amazing number of promising students drop out because of these expenses. These are the kind of fundamental human issues that are involved in education and poverty that I hope will be discussed during later conference sessions.

HIGHER EDUCATION

By Dr. A. W. Boldt

I am Ben Boldt with the Bureau of Higher Education in the Atlanta Regional Office of the U. S. Office of Education. Our office covers the six southeastern States. I am to speak to you on the Higher Education Programs and I will add some of the problems in relation to implementing the program. The Dean of this college and the President have written me on many occasions saying that Allen University, in the midst of a great southern State, has historically taken interest in and done much good for disadvantaged youth. However, they say "we can't get funds to build it up and therefore, we cannot get accredited. Here are all of these programs. Why can't Allen University become a part of the great movement?" We at the Office of Education or I should say, those who write legislation sometimes write imponderables and impossibilities into a bill. For example, legislation requires the college must be accredited for five years in order to get certain kinds of funds. Well, how do you get accredited? Title III which refers to emerging colleges and universities, is going to be our answer for schools of the type of Allen, schools which are struggling toward accreditation. We have a lot of them in the United States. I think sometimes we get a little hep, if I may use the slang expression, on accreditation rather than on human beings.

Let's look at another example. The boys and girls who take work-study money and loan money which gives them a chance for college do not understand after going to school why they find themselves with only a second-rate diploma from a non-accredited college. I think it is incumbent upon the people to make known situations and incumbent upon the writers of legislation to be realistic in terms of conditions.

We are today a great nation but a good many years ago when we had a population of 76 million, only four per cent of college-age students were in college. Today, we are at a point where we have 40 per cent of students in college and 71 per cent getting their high school diplomas. We have 125 thousand schools, 100,000 administrators, two million teachers, and spend 42 billion dollars a year. When the President asked for billions of dollars for education he was not asking the impossible. Now, I was reading the Wall Street Journal in which it stated that General Motors made millions of dollars in profit after all of the costs were paid.

If General Motors can do this in selling cars, I think it is important that we invest in what is really basic in any country and that is its people. Looking again at the legislation you may not always agree with what is written but those who write the regulations do so with you in mind. However, your own ideas can help write regulations. I think that is one fine thing about this meeting, and what you're going to get out of a meeting such as this. That is, you can say to me, "look Dr. Boldt, we just don't like that provision because you're not reaching our people," and Dr. Goff, "your program ought to take the message back to Washington."

A lot of questions come up especially questions on State plans. A big problem is a lot of States are slow in acting, then the people get impatient and they want the Federal Government to dip in and do something. I was talking to some people the other day and I said, "well, the Federal Government can't do this." You're talking about State plans you have to move State people. Now the Bill says that public and private non-profit schools should benefit from education funds. Some parochial schools are getting impatient. They say they're discriminated against in their rights to the advantages of this law, and they say this because the States are so slow in acting or do not act at all in getting programs going. I can't give them all the answers, but I do know that in all my six States this problem exists. In other words the problem is, disadvantaged youth cannot take advantage of funds available because States refuse to act, or in some cases even if the State does act, local community option in communities prevents programs from getting started. What I'm saying to you is, you will have to go to your communities, start at the grass roots, get public opinion aroused to the point that progress will be made in programs for the disadvantaged.

Now we come to OEO. It seems the Community Action Programs are impotent. The law of the Community Action Programs are impotent. They are not producing anything. They are not developing. In Alabama and Mississippi the Governors have a right to veto Community Action Programs. To get a Community Action Program in the States its just impossible. We have the opportunity now to stand up, say something, to suggest changes in the Act.

But let me say this, the Higher Education Act in my opinion is one of the greatest advances in opportunities for education in this country, and I think the heart of the Higher Education program is Title IV, Student Assistance. Office of Education grants will be

distributed to the States on the basis of high school senior and college population. These grants are for needy students who have college potential. If a student needs $400.00 he may get it but the college must match it. If he gets $600.00 the college has to match that $600.00 with its own money either of the scholarship money, a National Defense Loan, or a guaranteed loan money. This is where we are running into trouble in South Carolina. Dr. Whitman, Dean of Students at the University of South Carolina has been going over to the Governors because he can't get South Carolina moving on an agency to handle guaranteed loans. In Tennessee, Florida, and Georgia, they've already acted and they have the agency set up, and are ready to go. As a Federal agent I can't say too much about loans from the National Defense Education Act. However, I am glad that the Senator raised the question. President Johnson said that with guaranteed loans, there wouldn't be need for National Defense Loans. The guaranteed loan is something a student goes out to a bank for and need doesn't enter into a guaranteed loan program.

If you're over 15, if your parents income is over $15,000, they get the insurance discount. The bank, of course, has the right to inquire into the credit risk of anybody it makes a loan to. So, I'm somewhat puzzled as to how our needy students are going to be aided unless we have the National Defense Loan money.

Now, here is something you can do in your communities. Inform high school students. There are a lot of students in high schools who don't even know how you go to college, how you get this money to go to college. They write to me in Atlanta. But then I can't help but think where are these high school counselors who are supposed to tell these students about opportunities to go to college and how you get into college and how you finance the college? In spite of all of our training and all of our money spent, we don't have enough direction. This guidance program has done good, but it hasn't done really good enough in the area that we really need it. Basically, guidance doesn't mean agriculture guidance, it doesn't mean pre-medical science, pre-nursing science. It means you're guiding a youth, you're guiding a person, a human being, a part of our great American Society.

Now I think that and I told them that there is no reason at all why a boy or girl in this country can't go to college. Now I'm not saying college is for everybody. I wouldn't be an honest member of this profession if I felt that way, but those who can succeed and become self-sufficient, should be given the opportunity for advanced schooling.

The film on Higher Education was furnished by the Office of Information and covered the following material:

## TITLE I
## COMMUNITY SERVICE AND CONTINUING EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Title I authorizes $25 million for fiscal year 1966 and $50 million for each of the fiscal years 1967 and 1968, to assist in the solution of community problems in such areas as housing, poverty, government, recreation, employment, youth opportunities, transportation, health, and land use. States must designate a State agency or institution broadly representative of higher education in the State to administer community service programs developed under this title.

## TITLE II
## COLLEGE LIBRARY ASSISTANCE AND LIBRARY TRAINING AND RESEARCH

Title II initiates a program to help institutions of higher education acquire library materials needed for their expanded responsibilities in research, teaching, and student use; to encourage new and enlarged college and university training programs to prepare individuals for service in the information sciences and in libraries; to promote research and demonstration projects relating to the improvement of libraries and library and information sciences; and to expand and improve the centralized cataloging service in the Library of Congress. The title is divided into three parts each of which is designed to meet a special need for assistance.

Part A of Title II authorizes $50 million for each of fiscal years 1966-68 for the purchase of library resources.

Part B authorizes $15 million for each of fiscal years 1966-68 for grants to institutions of higher education for training students in librarianship, including the training of communications specialists in the physical and social sciences.

Part C of Title II authorizes $5 million for fiscal 1965, $6,315,000 for fiscal 1966, and $7,700,000 for fiscal 1968 to be used by the Library of Congress for two purposes: (1) to expand and improve the centralized cataloguing service which is already in operation, and (2) to purchase library material from all over the world which would not otherwise be included in the Library of Congress collection and, therefore, not catalogued.

Enclosure to E.

## TITLE III

## STRENGTHENING DEVELOPING INSTITUTIONS

Title III authorizes $55 million for fiscal year 1966 to assist in raising the academic quality of colleges which have the desire and potential to make a substantial contribution to the higher education resources of the Nation but which for financial and other reasons are struggling for survival and are isolated from the main currents of academic life.

## TITLE IV

## STUDENT ASSISTANCE

Title IV establishes a program of student financial assistance to make the benefits of higher education available to academically qualified students in need of financial assistance. The title provides four types of assistance:

(1) undergraduate educational opportunity grants;
(2) reduced-interest loans to both undergraduate and graduate students through private lenders, insured by State and nonprofit private loan insurance programs;
(3) an expanded work-study program to provide part-time employment for students, and
(4) improvements in the National Defense Student Loan Program.

## TITLE V

## TEACHER PROGRAMS

### National Teacher Corps

This part of Title V establishes in the Office of Education a National Teacher Corps with an authorization of $36,100,000 for fiscal year 1966, and $64,715,000 for fiscal year 1967. Experienced teachers and teacher-interns who have a bachelor's degree would be enrolled in the Teacher Corps for periods of up to two years.

### Fellowships for Teachers

This part of Title V authorizes the Commissioner to award 4,500 fellowships in fiscal year 1966 and 10,000 fellowships in each of fiscal years 1967 and 1968. These fellowships will enable persons pursuing or planning to pursue a career in elementary or secondary education to undertake 2 years of graduate study leading to a master's degree or its equivalent.

## TITLE VI

## FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR ACQUISITION OF LABORATORY AND SPECIAL EQUIPMENT AND MATERIALS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF UNDERGRADUATE INSTRUCTION

Part A of Title VI makes available to institutions of higher education $35 million for fiscal year 1966, $40 million for fiscal year 1967, and $50 million for fiscal year 1968, for the acquisition of laboratory and other special equipment, including audiovisual materials and equipment and printed materials (other than textbooks) suitable for use in undergraduate instruction in science, mathematics, foreign languages, history, geography, arts, humanities, government, English, or education.

This part also authorizes $2.5 million for fiscal year 1966 and $10 million each for fiscal year 1967 and 1968 to be used by institutions of higher education for the acquisition of television equipment and materials for instruction in the above fields and for minor remodeling necessary for the use of such equipment. An additional $1 million is set aside for administration of the State plans approved under this part.

Part B authorizes $5 million for fiscal year 1966 and for each of the two succeeding fiscal years for the operation of short-term workshops or short-term or regular session institutes for individuals preparing to use educational media equipment in teaching in institutions of higher education or individuals preparing to become specialists in educational media or librarians or other specialists using such media.

## TITLE VII

## AMENDMENTS TO THE HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITIES ACT OF 1963 (P.L. 88-204)

## TITLE VIII--GENERAL PROVISIONS

### Federal Control of Education Prohibited

# THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

By Mr. Stanley Kruger

One of the most challenging and potentially creative activities in the field of education today is the desegregation of American educational institutions. The Office of Equal Educational Opportunity, under the U.S. Office of Education, deriving its responsibilities from Titles IV and VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, is deeply engaged in assisting educational institutions accomplish this difficult and often dangerous objective.

The two main tools at the office's disposal for the accomplishment of this task are well-developed compliance procedures and the sponsoring of a variety of consultative programs. A discussion of the source and application of these limited instruments will suggest the magnitude of the problem pointing to past successes and future objectives.

The Office of Equal Educational Opportunity has been delegated the responsibility for Title VI compliance activities by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare for Office of Education programs. We have just entered a new period beginning with a new Secretary of Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and a new commissioner in the Office of Education. Thus, there was a restudy of how Title VI and Title IV functions should be administered, and consideration was given to a central staff unit in the department that would administer Title VI with the related plan, review and compliance activities for all HEW programs.

What does Title VI require? Basically, it says that Federal funds are not to be used in any programs where there is discrimination. And for institutions of higher education as of January 1964, the requirement was absolute. Agencies either submitted to us or to the Commissioner a form certifying that there would be no discrimination in any program involving federal funds. Obviously, the submission of a statement of compliance, Form 441, does not necessarily guarantee that there is no discrimination, but at least the initial statement of assurance by the college or university places the office in a position to proceed from there in terms of an investigation of complaints, and if necessary, negotiations or hearings to resolve any difficulties in the matter. Form 441 is essentially an assurance by the institution that it will not use Federal monies in programs where there is discrimination.



F.

For public elementary and secondary education schools there was a realization that to impose this kind of immediate absolute compliance would probably result in one or two extreme alternatives: either the massive termination of Federal funds to public school systems, or coercion and disruptive measures be adopted in the educational activities of public school institutions. Thus, the public school system in the regulations adopted by the Department, and authorized by the President, were given through basically three options for compliance for this current school year.

The school system can comply by Form 441 which essentially states they will not discriminate in the use of Federal funds for public schools. This is sufficient to say that discrimination will not be in programs where these Federal monies are used. But since the operation of various aspects of school programs are so inter-related the prohibition against discrimination is essentially in all phases of school operation whether Federal monies are directly involved or not. Form 441 submission was one possible means of compliance.

For the most part, the majority of the 25,000 school districts in the United States have complied by submitting or filing Form 441. For example, there are many small school districts where all the children in the district attend the same school. The programs may be inadequate, but at least there is no discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin. There are other school systems where there are no identifiable minority groups and no discrimination practiced. Most of the school systems in the north and west and in some parts of some States in the south, and in border States, filed these statements of assurance, as a means of complying with Title VI. Those school districts that had a history of dual school systems, where separate schools for Negroes, and Whites, or Indians, existed, were not permitted to merely file the assurance of compliance, but either had to file a court order showing that they were under a final order of a district court of the United States to desegregate their schools, or they had to file what is referred to as a voluntary desegregation plan.

There were a few districts that had a history of dual school systems that had moved so far in eliminating the dual system that they were allowed to submit information showing that this indeed had been done and they were permitted to file a Form 441.

The filing of Form 441 with the Commissioner is an affirmation on the part of the school district that it either does not discriminate or if it still has traces of a segregated school system, that it will take certain steps to eliminate these traces. In many cases there has been little or no desegregation to date. In any case, the plan for desegregation and the court order to desegregate the school system obviously are first steps toward the elimination of discriminatory practices in the operation of these schools. There are many ways in which discrimination may occur aside from merely the assignment of pupils or faculty to one school or another on the basis of race, color or national origin. But at least this is for many southern districts the most open, most apparent, most blatent form of discrimination, and it is the one on which there is an initial attack being made at this time.

The ultimate weapon of the Office of Education in the application of Title VI is the termination of Federal money under any OE program (Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Higher Education Act, Vocational Education Act, impacted area monies, and anything else that we might administer).

There is a prescribed series of steps that must be taken before this termination can come about. Basically, there must be some evidence that discrimination in the case of Form 441 districts is being practiced, or in the case of plan district or court order districts there must be some evidence that they are not complying with the plan or with a court order.

The second step in the case of violations is a phase in which we must try by negotiation to resolve whatever conflict between practice and plan may exist. And if this fails, and only then, we must present the evidence we've obtained to a hearing examiner. The hearing examination in a sense is a kind of legal court action, except it is within the department, and it is more of an administrative action than a judicial one. The findings of the hearing examiner then are reviewed by the commissioner and by the secretary, and if they approve termination of Federal funds then the appropriate committees in the House and Senate are notified.

The Office of Education must wait 30 days before termination of funds occurs. This is a long process but I think it is designed so that administrators in the office or other Federal agencies cannot precipitously terminate money, using their own administrative power to turn off and on the faucet of Federal funds. At this point, the Office of Education and the inter-department has held hearings on approximately 80 or 85 school systems.

Basically, these are school districts that have not submitted any form or any assurance of compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. The next group of schools for which hearings have already been recommended are districts that submitted assurances, but are obviously not living up to them.

There is a parallel action related to Title VI that I would like to discuss. In addition to the termination of Federal funds by the Office of Education, there is also the possibility of Justice Department action (under the later sections in Title IV of the Civil Rights Act) to enter into suit as a party to a suit already begun, or enter into suit upon receipt of complaint, and through the judiciary to bring pressure to force desegregational schools.

There are these two major channels of remedial action toward public school desegregation: Justice Department action , and Office of Education action on terminating funds. In addition to these procedures, of course, any citizen or anyone who has legal standing can bring suit, as has been done in the past -- with or without the support of Civil Rights groups to force school desegregation.

In the administration of Title VI, major complaints stem from two directions. Civil Rights groups and related interested citizens, many of whom are educators and feel that Title VI activities move much too slow and that the office has not been forceful enough in the administration of its obligations and duties under Title VI. On the other hand, local school administrators and school boards usually complain that we move too rapidly and are requiring too much, and that the office may upset the educational system, and that people's attitudes must be changed gradually.

The office functions some place between these two extremes, I am sure, and satisfies neither, I suspect.

It is presumed by the Civil Rights Act that schools will be desegregated. We have no problem with this point of view. And I think that we have no disagreement between ourselves or those who would urge us toward greater action or those who would urge us to go slowly. Neither of these groups are arguing that there should be no school desegregation. There may be isolated individuals who still hold this viewpoint but the combination of the Supreme Court decision of 1954 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 pretty well remove any argument from rational people anywhere, that it is not the will and intent of the American people to let schools be segregated.

The question now is more one of pace than of 'to be' or 'not to be.' In Title VI the Congress said that there should be no discrimination. When regulations were issued, however, in respect to public schools, forms of gradualism were permitted. Congress recognized that there would be difficulties when public schools desegregated. These difficulties are referred to in Title IV as special educational problems incident to desegregation, or special educational problems occasioned by desegregation.

We have generally taken a very broad interpretation, saying that an impingement upon any phase of the operation of the public school system, or if there are implications in desegregation for any phase of operation in public schools, then this is a special educational problem occasioned by desegregation. For example, the redesign of bus routes to eliminate separated routes for Negro children and White children, is an educational problem related to desegregation.

The use of school buildings, the elimination of substandard buildings, particularly where these have been assigned to children of one race, is an educational problem related to desegregation.

The modification of curriculum so that social study courses include to a much greater extent some topics that provide children with an awareness of contribution to the American system of various minority groups is an educational problem related to desegregation.

The use of different kinds and different approaches in instructional methodology so that children who have been denied adequate educational experiences because of segregated school facilities and programs, enabling these children to catch up, is an educational problem related to desegregation.

Beyond these considerations we also are concerned with community problems, particularly an understanding in the community of the need for and the benefit of what some people refer to as quality integrated education.

Through Title IV, Congress has provided assistance, and basically, there are two forms of assistance that we administer. Under Title IV we can provide consultant help from our own staff, or from a roster of consultants that we have employed to school systems. These are specialists in various fields of endeavor from colleges and universities and social agencies who are available without cost to the districts to provide consultant advice in the solution of any of the broad range of educational problems related to desegregation.

Secondly, we sponsor institutes for teacher training at colleges and universities on problems of desegregation. Some of these institutes are almost strictly concerned with the curriculum and instructional adductations that have to be made in what is referred to as the multi-cultural school. Other institutes deal very directly with questions of bias and prejudice in human relations. Still other institutes deal with management aspects for school administrators in dealing with problems of newly desegregated schools. For example, handling possible extra curricular activities in the initial phases of desegregation.

Some institutes are almost strictly informational. They provide data to superintendents and board members and attorneys concerning what is required to obtain compliance. In addition to the act and the regulations of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare there is also a set of what is referred to as the Commissioner's Guidelines, which must be used to develop the voluntary desegregation plans. When these were issued it was necessary for us to hold regional meetings to inform school administrators the requirements under these various documents.

The Commissioner's guidelines are now being revised and will be reissued shortly and will indicate the requirements necessary for operating public school systems for the next year. We are already planning regional meetings as soon as these regulations are printed and issued so that school administrators can be aware of what they must do for the next school year in terms of further desegregation.

In some cases this means an initial desegregation in order to continue to receive federal funds under an acceptable plan for desegregation.

We have also established what we think is a significant deviation from the usual institute concept. We have some institutes funded in our first year in operation. Our first institute under this program was held at the University of Miami in February of last Year. Since that time we have funded 80 institute programs. The first grant to school boards was also funded a year ago in February and this went to Chattanooga, Tennessee, for a program there. Since that time we have had 57 grants to local school boards under another section of Title IV.

Some of the institutes are summer institutes six to eight weeks in length similar to National Defense Education Act (NDEA) institutes. There were 40 last summer.

There are a few institutes which are academic year institutes where participants study full time. In addition, there are about 33 institutes now being conducted on an academic part-time basis. One at the University of Florida is held Monday and Tuesday of each week. There was one at Florida State University for elementary and secondary principals, held on Tuesdays and Wednesdays for one group of principals, and Wednesdays and Thursdays for the other group. Again, there are some that operate every Saturday. We also have two- and three-day short-term conferences. In all of these we have tried to emphasize the need for strengthening and building a continuing relationship between the public school systems and the universities and colleges that held the institutes.

This is done in several ways. We required that there be joint planning in the development of institutes and we have also required what we refer to as follow-up activity. For example, after a summer session institute, the staff of that institute must continue to work in the following school year with the participants of the institute in their school districts so that continuing support for the participants is provided as they try out some of the ideas they gained in the institutes.

A little realism is brought to the ivory tower of the campus by getting the professors out in the classroom situation where participants have a chance to air the actual problems that are involved.

# PART II

## PART II

## CONFERENCE COMMITTEES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### Committees

WORKSHOP A: Committee on OEO Community Action Programs and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

Discussion Leader: ..... Mr. Edward Vaughn
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WORKSHOP B: Committee on Vocational Education Act and Manpower Development and Training Act

Discussion Leader: Mr. M. C. Gaar
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WORKSHOP C: Committee on Civil Rights Act and Higher Education Act of 1965

Discussion Leader: Dr. A. W. Boldt
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## Committees' Recommendations

WORKSHOP A: Committee on OEO Community Action Programs and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

Recommendations:

1. That stronger emphasis should be placed on selecting staff to be involved in the successful operation of any OEO program. In too many instances wherever Federal programs are in operation, reasons for doubting competence have been much in evidence.

2. That successful poverty programs under Federal sponsorship should require the involvement of:

   a. Organizations that have a history of concern for students with special needs.

   b. Representatives from target areas having a role in the development of local programs.

   c. Leaders from civil rights organizations taking a vital part.

3. That a period of orientation should be provided for all staff personnel prior to job assignment. In too many instances OEO staff members seemingly are not well acquainted with the responsibilities of the job.

4. That in the event it is impossible to interest an establishment in organizing community programs, then segments of, rather than entire cities, should be funded.

5. That the availability of Federal programs should be made known in all forms of media. This function cannot be left to newspapers and a few publications alone.

6. That greater assistance to communities should be given by the regional offices. For example, the regional offices could extend their services to include aiding communities in filling out the many project forms necessary for Federal funding. This could be referred to as a technical advisory team.

7. That a Family Corps should be established and expanded as rapidly as possible since many basic problems related to school and community result from disorganized family patterns.

WORKSHOP B: Committee on Vocational Education Act and the Manpower Development and Training Act

Recommendations:

1. Since the families of young people and schools are often unaware of the effect that preparation for the world of work has on young people, the above committee recommends that there be established a comprehensive and pervasive vocational program with ancillary services for disorganized families in any Federal assistance programs to schools.

2. Vocational education programs are skill-oriented, but fail to emphasize honesty, dependability and traits related to leadership. As a result, many people coming out of training programs are good only for temporary work. Programs should include motivation techniques and involve parents in some manner.

WORKSHOP C: Committee on Civil Rights Act and the Higher Education Act of 1965

Recommendations:

1. That more voluntary assistance should be given to subprofessional groups.

2. That financial aid officers in colleges should work more directly with poor students. (These students have a tendency to over- or understate their financial needs.)

3. That the channeling of displaced teachers into retraining programs should be emphasized and implemented through use of Federal funds.

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February 10-11, 1966

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# Welfare in South Found Still Biased

WELFARE

AC 2/24/66

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—The U.S. Civil Rights Commission said Wednesday that segregation remains widespread in Southern health and welfare programs assisted by federal funds, and called Project Head Start a "lost opportunity."

The commission report said "most overt forms of segregation such as separate hospital wings and segregated waiting rooms" have been eliminated in the South, but Negroes still face discrimination in many services on the local level.

A few instances of "rapid and complete hospital desegregation" were cited by the commission. One of them was Milledgeville State Hospital in Georgia.

**MILLEDGEVILLE PLAN**

The report included a copy of the desegregation plan for Georgia's mental institution at Milledgeville.

A majority of children enrolled in Head Start, an Office of Economic Opportunity project to give needy youngsters pre-school training, were found to be in segregated schools with teachers of their own race.

"To the extent that Head Start was a new program in the field of education with an opportunity to demonstrate the possibility of integrated learning situations, its segregated structure in communities visited by the commission staff resulted in lost opportunity," said the report.

In Georgia, the commission found only 21 of 93 Head Start projects integrated—23 per cent.

**ASSURANCES FILED**

Most local governing agencies had filed assurances of compliance, said the report, but the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) had no means of knowing whether pledges had been kept.

An assessment by the commission staff revealed wide violation of HEW regulations, said the report.

The commission recommended that HEW proceed immediately to "apply sanctions" under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Law where programs fail to comply with regulations.

This title authorizes cutting off funds to violators.

Here are some of the findings in Georgia:

1. Milledgeville State Hospital desegregated accommodations and services for 12,000 mental patients and staff assignments and living quarters for 3,000 employes between March and April, 1965.

2. The 484-bed Macon hospital converted its formerly all-Negro building into a facility for welfare patients. Negroes account for 60 to 70 per cent of the welfare patients. No Negro and white patients occupied the same room or ward. In the formerly all-white section of the hospital, there were 56 non-welfare Negro patients, none of whom occupied rooms with whites.

**WARDS OPENED UP**

3. Laurens County Hospital at Dublin desegregated wards housing welfare patients but had not assigned a Negro and a white patient to the same semi-private room.

4. Laurens County Clinic in Dublin provides service without regard to race. The clinic was desegregated two years before passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act by a health officer who had been administrative head of the Veterans Administration Hospital in Dublin.

5. At the Bibb County Clinic in Macon white women waited for prenatal care in the hallway while Negro women were in the waiting room. Staff desegregation was achieved by alphabetical assignment of desks. Women were served by doctors of their own race, except a Negro physician for the first time examined a white baby last summer.

6. The Baldwin County Health Department at Milledgeville removed the segregation sign from the Negro entrance to its clinic, but Negroes continued to enter through that door only.

Eugene Patterson, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, is vice chairman of the Civil Rights Commission.

# Johnson Also Wins On Policy

AC 3/2/66

~~HEALTH~~ WELFARE

## Senate Rejects Repeal of Powers

WASHINGTON (AP)—A multi-billion dollar health-education program aimed at the age-old problems of "pain and ignorance" was sent to Congress Tuesday by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

The emphasis was on such things as modernizing obsolete hospitals, providing balanced luncheons for poor school children, a start on serving meals to needy aged, liberalized financial aid to college students, facilities for the group practice of medicine, and an attack on the disease of alcoholism.

**FIRST REACTION**

First reaction on Capitol Hill included several approving comments, and some critical questions.

Rep. Carl Albert of Oklahoma, House Democratic leader, commended the President for what

*Reds must realize negotiated settlement is only answer in Viet Nam, Johnson says.* *Page 36.*

he called "the next logical step toward our goal of the best possible health and medical care for every man, woman and child in the United States."

Sen. George D. Aiken, R-Vt., called the message "worthy of intensive study" but questioned the making of new recommendations "when the administration is cutting down on the school lunch and school milk programs which have proven to be of such tremendous benefit to national health."

**HOSPITALS OBSOLETE**

No cost total was placed on the program, but officials said the hospital modernization alone would run into billions of dollars over the years.

Johnson said one-third of the

**Continued on Page 10, Column 5**

# Johnson Asks Huge Health, School Aid

Continued From Page 1

country's general hospitals, with 260,000 beds, are obsolete, and noted that the need for beds will grow as medical care for the aged begins operating July 1.

He called for a loan-grant program to revitalize such hospitals. High officials said this would involve costs of $6 to $8 billion over 20 years, about 40 per cent of which would be federal money.

On school meals, Johnson stuck to his proposal to cut milk subsidies 79 per cent, on the ground that those who can pay should do so.

Officials said the revamped program would help provide balanced lunches, and in some cases breakfasts, to 1½ million pupils who cannot buy them now. They said some of the emphasis is being shifted away from milk to other foods.

The President had asked $329 million in cash and commodities in his budget for the next fiscal year starting July 1. Tuesday he requested that this be increased by $50 million.

"No child in an affluent America should be without an adequate diet. The new program will move us far toward that goal," he said.

On food for the aged, the President said:

"We now know that among elderly Americans, a poor diet is a root cause of poor health. . . .

"I have directed the secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to initiate a special food service program at multi-purpose centers authorized by the Older Americans Act of 1965.

"Local organizations will be able to offer balanced, nutritious meals to the elderly — without charge or at reduced prices to those who are in need."

To offset the decline in the number of general practitioners, or family doctors, the President urged consideration for a pending bill to provide mortgage insurance for building group practice facilities, such as clinics.

This bill ran into critical questioning at a House hearing Tuesday. It would authorize direct federal loans, where private loan funds are unavailable. Even some legislators who indicated they backed the measure in principle questioned the necessity of direct government loans.

Rep. Thomas L. Ashley, D-Ohio, remarked: "I have never found a situation in which doctors are not regarded as the best possible credit risks." He asked Wilbur J. Cohen, undersecretary of Health, Education and Welfare, whether the average income of U.S. doctors is not about $20,000.

Cohen replied it is probably higher. But he said young doctors trying to get a start, and often in debt for their education, do have trouble borrowing.

Among other things in the lengthy message the President proposed grants to train health workers, more loans for college and university facilities, and an extension of government subsidies of loans to college students.

The President followed the lead of the American Medical Association and other authorities in classifying alcoholism as a disease.

Saying it causes "untold suffering and uncounted waste," he announced that a Federal Advisory Committee on Alcoholism is being created, and a center for research is being set up in the Public Health Service.

WELFARE

# The Medicare Plan—I

NYT 3/13/66

## Hospital Bills Covered Without Charge—Doctors' Fees to Cost Extra $3 Monthly

By HOWARD A. RUSK, M.D.

Tuesday, March 31, is an all-important day for Americans who are 65 years of age or over. It is the last day on which they can enroll under the voluntary medical insurance program in Medicare without otherwise facing a long delay. If they become ill in the interim they are out of luck.

The Blue Cross and other private plans now held by Medicare beneficiaries are being changed drastically to accommodate the new program.

Medicare is divided into two parts. The first part pays hospital bills and is available without charge starting July 1 of this year to persons over 65 who have applied for Social Security benefits. The applicant is automatically enrolled in the hospital insurance plan.

Virtually all the complementary programs offered by local nonprofit Blue Cross plans include:

¶Provision to pay the $40 deductible required of Medicare beneficiaries who are hospitalized.

¶Provision to pay the $10 a day required of Medicare beneficiaries between the 61st and 90th day of hospitalization.

¶Outpatient benefits beyond the limited diagnostic benefits provided under the hospital benefit section of Medicare.

¶Provision to pay the $20 deductible and 20 per cent of costs incurred by Medicare patients for outpatient diagnostic care.

In addition, many plans are also offering other benefits in their carefully tailored complementary coverage programs. Most significant is the provision for additional days of hospital coverage beyond the 90 days provided by Medicare. Some companion programs also offer coverage for extended care facilities, prescription drugs and hospitalization outside the United States.

### Doctors' Services Paid

The second part of Medicare covers the services of physicians and surgeons, up to 100 home health service visits a year even if the patient has not been in the hospital, and sonable" charge. This will mean consideration of customary charges made by physicians and the prevailing rates in the area for similar services.

While a patient is in a hospital or nursing home on physician's orders, drugs furnished by the institution are covered under the hospital insurance part of Medicare. They are not covered, however, when the physician prescribes them and the patient uses them outside the hospital or nursing home.

Everyone who qualifies for the hospital program will receive a health insurance card similar to a department store or other charge plate. Those who sign up for voluntary medical insurance will have a card showing they are participating in both plans.

### Certain Fees Excluded

Among the medical bills that the voluntary medical insurance will not pay are fees for routine physical check-ups, routine eye examinatins for glasses, immunization shots and dental care unless bone surgery is involved. It also will not cover the cost of hearing aids, glasses and orthopedic shoes.

Blue Shield plans and other private insurers are adjusting their policies for persons 65 or older so that after July 1 they will pay only for what Medicare does not cover.

Potentially, there are 19 million persons eligible for Medicare. The Social Security Administrator hopes that 80 per cent of those eligible will enroll for medical insurance. By mid-February, more than 13.5 million persons had enrolled.

Approximately 1.1 million persons rejected enrollment initially, but upon second contact approximately half of these had decided to enroll.

In an all-out effort to enroll eligible citizens, the Office of Economic Opportunity has awarded more than $6.8-million in antipoverty funds to finance Operation Medicare Alert in 460 communities. Under these projects, teams of older persons are engaged in door-to-door canvasses to urge eligible per-

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### Doctors' Services Paid

The second part of Medicare covers the services of physicians and surgeons, up to 100 home health service visits a year even if the patient has not been in the hospital, and a number of other medical and health services such as diagnostic tests, surgical dressings and splints and the rental of medical equipment.

This program, known as the Supplemental Medical Insurance Program, allows those over age 65 the option of joining by paying a premium of $3 a month. The Federal matching $3 comes from general taxes. This program also becomes effective July 1.

If eligible persons do not sign for medical care benefits by March 31, they will not have the opportunity of doing so until between Oct. 1 and Dec. 31, 1967.

If they wait until then, they will have to pay a higher premium and protection will not begin until six to nine months after enrollment. If they become ill in the meantime, they will have to pay their own bills.

Persons who will reach 65 this year can apply for the medical insurance anytime within three months before their 65th birthday or for three months after their birthday month.

### An Automatic Deduction

The $3 monthly premium for the insurance will be deducted automatically from Social Security or railroad retirement checks.

Eligible persons who are not receiving such payments will be notified of their manner of payment.

Like most health insurance policies, the Supplemental Medical Insurance Program has a deductible clause of $50. An individual covered by the plan will pay the first $50 of his medical bills in any calendar year. He must also pay 20 per cent of his total annual medical expenses above the first $50.

Payments for physicians and other services under the program will be carried out by Blue Shield plans and private insurance underwriters under contract with the Social Security Administration.

The 32 Blue Shield plans in the nation will certify 59 per cent of the nation's medical beneficiaries. The rest of the beneficiaries will be certified by private insurance companies.

### One-Year Contracts

These designated contractors will be receiving and paying the bills under one-year contracts subject to renewal on satisfactory performance. The contractors will be responsible for determining what is a "reasonable" charge. This will mean consideration of customary charges made by physicians and the prevailing rates in the area for similar services.

While a patient is in a hospital or nursing home on physician's orders, drugs furnished by the institution are covered under the hospital insurance part of Medicare. They are not covered, however, when the physician prescribes them and the patient uses them outside the hospital or nursing home.

Everyone who qualifies for the hospital program will receive a health insurance card similar to a department store or other charge plate. Those who sign up for voluntary medical insurance will have a card showing they are participating in both plans.

### Certain Fees Excluded

Among the medical bills that the voluntary medical insurance will not pay are fees for routine physical check-ups, routine eye examinatins for glasses, immunization shots and dental care unless bone surgery is involved. It also will not cover the cost of hearing aids, glasses and orthopedic shoes.

Blue Shield plans and other private insurers are adjusting their policies for persons 65 or older so that after July 1 they will pay only for what Medicare does not cover.

Potentially, there are 19 million persons eligible for Medicare. The Social Security Administrator hopes that 80 per cent of those eligible will enroll for medical insurance. By mid-February, more than 13.5 million persons had enrolled.

Approximately 1.1 million persons rejected enrollment initially, but upon second contact approximately half of these had decided to enroll.

In an all-out effort to enroll eligible citizens, the Office of Economic Opportunity has awarded more than $6.8-million in antipoverty funds to finance Operation Medicare Alert in 460 communities. Under these projects, teams of older persons are engaged in door-to-door canvasses to urge eligible persons to enroll.

It is interesting and heartening that although the American Medical Association doggedly opposed Medicare, it is now cooperating fully in its administration. Most state and county medical society journals are carrying editorials urging physicians over 65 to enroll in the voluntary medical insurance plan.

*This is the first of a series of two articles. Next Sunday, Dr. Rusk will discuss new programs of medical assistance for the indigent.*

WELFARE

1966

E NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, AUGUST 9,

# WELFARE GROUPS TO ORGANIZE POOR

## Nationwide Drive Designed to Insure Recipients' Rights

By M. S. HANDLER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8—A movement to organize the nation's poor into a cohesive social-action force against Federal, state and municipal bureaucracies will be started next month, according to Dr. George A. Wiley, director of the Poverty Action Center in Washington.

Reporting today on the first national meeting held in Chicago over the weekend by more than 100 representatives from 23 cities, Dr. Wiley said the drive would culminate with a nationwide demonstration in January to dramatize the presence of the organized poor as a new force in American public life.

According to official reports there are almost eight million Americans living on public assistance—an increase of 42 per cent since 1950. However, only one out of five Americans classified as poor by the Federal Government receive public assistance.

One of the demands of the new organization, Dr. Wiley said, will be the recognition of the right to represent welfare recipients in dealings with public officials and at hearings as well as recognition of the right to bargain collectively on behalf of recipients.

Dr. Wiley said that one success had already been registered in Chicago's West Side, where the local welfare recipients organization has been recognized by municipal authorities as spokesman for the poor in that neighborhood.

### Union Methods Sought

One of the targets of the new movement, according to Dr. Wiley, will be the application of trade union methods, including the payment of dues and the "check-off" system. A legal study, he contended, showed that there was nothing in existing welfare legislation that placed a limitation on how a welfare recipient spent his money.

The organizers of the movement, Dr. Wiley continued, maintain that welfare recipients are denied their right to special allotments, such as clothing and food allowances for children, that they are arbitrarily removed from the relief rolls, and that they are not informed of their full rights under the law.

One principal complaint of welfare recipients, according to Dr. Wiley, is the alleged intrusion on their privacy by welfare case investigators who carry out midnight "raids" to ascertain whether recipients have truthfully reported their condition of life to authorities. The organizers of the movement contend that these searches are a serious violation of a citizen's civil rights.

### Costs Are Scored

Dr. Wiley declared that the cost of administering welfare programs through a bureacratic structure far exceeded the money saved through the discovery of persons on the rolls not entitled to welfare payments. He asserted that 20 cents of each welfare dollars went for administering the programs.

Before joining the Poverty Action Center, Dr. Wiley was Associate National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality under James Farmer. Earlier this year, he worked with the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty. Before joining CORE, Dr. Wiley was associate professor of chemistry at Syracuse University, and before that taught at the University of California at Berkeley.

Demonstrations of welfare recipients in 23 cities last June 30 provided the impetus for the movement to organize the poor.

Prof. Richard A. Cloward of Columbia University has become the leading exponent of the idea that the welfare system should be replaced by a guaranteed income for the poor. Such an income would, in his opinion, restore the dignity of poor, remove the stigma of charity, and prevent the demoralization of recipients.

He told the recent conference of the National Urban League in Philadelphia that the welfare system constituted one of the most "brutal and tyrannical aspects of American life" and should be abolished.

Dr. Cloward attended the Chicago meeting but did not press for adoption of his views. Dr. Wiley said the representatives had agreed to limit the movement's first demands to the enforcement of rights of welfare recipients under existing laws.

## Beatniks Unwanted in Greece

ATHENS (AP)—The Athens City Council has proposed that the Greek Government require all foreign visitors to Greece to have at least $200 on arrival. The proposal was made in an attempt to curb the recent influx of beatniks and cashless undesirables.

## A-Bomb Ruin May Be Rebuilt

TOKYO (AP)—The Hiroshima Municipal Government will begin a drive to raise $11,000 to repair the "A-Bomb Dome," a roofless, gutted building which stands as it was after the explosion of the United States atomic bomb on Aug. 6, 1945.

WELFARE

# $144 Welfare Is Enough, Most Board Members Say

A C 9/23/66

By BILL SHIPP

More than half of the county welfare board members in Georgia think $144 a month in aid to families with dependent children is enough, "regardless to the number of children."

More than half also believe that "if a woman with children and no husband" becomes pregnant, she and her children should be cut off the welfare rolls.

And nearly 30 per cent of the board members think that if a woman receiving aid for her children dates she should not continue to get welfare money.

These attitudes were expressed in a survey released Thursday of more than 500 welfare board members in Georgia. The survey was made by the children and youth research department of the state Department of Family and Children Services.

The survey team asked: "In a home where there is no husband, is it wrong for the woman to entertain her date in the home?"

A total of 37.2 per cent of the board members answered "Yes." The rest said "No."

Much of the questionnaire was concerned with "AFDC." This a welfare program which stands for aid to families with dependent children. Under AFDC the state makes cash payments to certain families which include needy children who have only one parent, or have no parent at all, living with them.

Some of the other questions and answers went like this:

"Q. The maximum grant in AFDC is $144 a month regardless of the number of children. Do you think this is enough?"

Fifty-five per cent said yes; the rest no.

"Q. Should AFDC include a policy that allows it to supplement wages of a fulltime working mother with children, who receives a salary that according to Department standards does not meet the family needs and who has no child-care expense?"

Eighty-two per cent said yes.

"Q. Should AFDC grants be pro-rated on the number of children in the family with no set maximum?"

Fifty-four per cent said no.

"Q. If a woman with children and no husband is receiving AFDC and becomes pregnant, should the Welfare department continue to support the children?"

Fifty-three per cent said no.

Five per cent of the board members thought it was all right to hold "children . . . in common jails."

But 98 per cent thought it was a good idea for the Department of Family and Children Services to carry on its program of "supporting children who are needy because of the illness or absence of one or both parents."

The survey team made no comment on its findings.

## Judge Directs Negroes Quit Idled School

NEW ORLEANS (AP) — U.S. Dist. Judge Herbert W. Christenberry ordered the Plaquemines Parish school board Thursday to assign 30 Negro children enrolled in the white boycotted Woodlawn School to other parish schools.

No classes have been held at the Woodlawn School since desegregation began in Plaquemines under federal court order two weeks ago.

Every white teacher at Woodlawn resigned when the 30 Negroes enrolled. No replacements have been found.

Judge Christenberry ruled that a choice of schools may be exercised by a parent or guardian.

WELFARE

What you should know about

## MEDICARE INSURANCE FOR PEOPLE OVER 65

The new MEDICARE program for persons 65 or over begins July 1, 1966. The Hospital Care program will provide almost free care in the hospital and after you leave the hospital. The kinds of care and the costs that are covered are described more fully below. In addition, there is a Medical Insurance program that will help pay your doctor's bills. (Doctor's bills are a separate cost to you, even while you are in a hospital.) If you want to get this Medical Insurance coverage, you must register by March 31, 1966.

Who must register:

1. For Hospital Care. If you are over 65 and you are not getting Social Security or railroad retirement benefits, register at your nearest Social Security Office. (A list of addresses is enclosed.) If you are 65 or over and you are receiving Social Security or railroad retirement benefits, you will automatically be covered under the Hospital Care program, and you do not need to register. If you are younger than 65 years old, register with your district office as soon as you reach 65.

2. For Medical Insurance. EVERYONE must register separately for this program. You must register for Medical Insurance even if you are covered under the Hospital Care program, and you must register by March 31, 1966.

How to register for Medical Insurance: If you have not yet filled out an application form for Medical Insurance, you should write immediately, before March 31, to the Social Security office nearest you. Say that you want to apply for MEDICARE. Your letter is not the same as the application form, but it lets the Social Security office know that you want to apply for Medical Insurance. They will send you an application form, and you must fill it out and send it back. Even if you cannot send back the application form before March 31, you will still qualify for Medical Insurance if you have sent in your short letter before March 31, 1966. If you do not do this by March 31, you will have to wait a year and a half for another chance to register. You will have to pay a higher premium, and you will have to wait longer before you are actually covered under the Medical Insurance.

In order to qualify for MEDICARE benefits, you do not need to have ever been covered before under Social Security, and you do not have to stop working. But you do need to be registered.

Here is a short description of the two MEDICARE programs:

### 1. Hospital Care Program

Hospital Care in the Hospital: You pay the first $40 of hospital bills, and the program will pay the rest for 60 days. If you need to be in the hospital more than 60 days, you will then pay $10 a day, and the program will pay the rest for another 30 days. If you leave the hospital and find later that you must return, you will still be covered. If you return to the hospital within 60 days from the time you left, you can receive hospital care up to the full 90 days. If you return to the hospital after 60 days from the time you left, you will again have to pay the first $40 of hospital bills.

Home Health Care after You Have Been in a Hospital: If you have been in a hospital (or a nursing home) for 3 or more days, you may receive 100 free home

health care visits any time within one year after you have left the hospital. These visits could provide certain kinds of nursing care, therapy, and other services that will help you recover from your illness.

Outpatient Hospital Services: You are called an "outpatient" when you go to a hospital for certain kinds of services but you do not stay there, just as you might visit a doctor's office. For these outpatient services such as medical examinations and tests, you pay the first $20, and the program pays all other costs for a period of 20 days. After 20 days, you can still receive services but you must pay $20 again.

Extended Care after You Have Been in a Hospital: This part of the program begins on January 1, 1967. If you have been in a hospital for at least 3 days, you may receive 20 days of extended care at a skilled nursing home after you leave the hospital. This service is available to you within 14 days after you leave the hospital. The first 20 days are free. If you need additional care, you will then pay $5 a day and the program will pay the rest for another 80 days.

Services Covered in a Hospital or in a Facility for Extended Care

You do not have to pay anything to register for the Hospital Care program, but you must register if you are not going to be automatically covered (see other side, under "Who must register"). When you become sick and need hospital care, you must pay only the small amounts listed after each type of service (see other side), and the program will pay the rest of the costs for the number of days listed. The program's payments will cover the following kinds of expenses: the cost of your room and board in a semi-private room, ordinary nursing services, the cost of drugs, supplies, and most other kinds of service that hospitals usually provide. The Hospital Care program does not cover the cost of doctor's bills. The Medical Insurance program described below will help you pay for these bills and some other services.

## 2. Medical Insurance Program

This Medical Insurance program costs you only $3 a month. You must register for this program (see other side).

This program covers 80% of the costs of the three services listed below, but in any year from January 1 to December 31, you must pay the first $50. This $50 may go for any combination of the three services.

Physicians' and Surgeons' Services: Coverage is for all physicians' and surgeons' services that you receive at home, in a hospital or clinic, or at the doctor's office.

Home Health Visits: You may receive up to 100 home health visits each year, under an approved plan. In this part of the program, you do not need to have been in a hospital, and these visits are in addition to the 100 visits you get under the Hospital Care program.

Other Medical and Health Services: The following services are covered, no matter where you receive them: diagnostic tests (X-rays, laboratory services), X-ray or radium treatments, surgical dressings, splints or casts, certain ambulance services, braces, artificial legs, arms, or eyes, rental of medical equipment such as iron lungs, and many other medical items and services.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

## SOCIAL SECURITY

## DISTRICT OFFICES FOR MEDICARE APPLICATIONS

### GEORGIA

**Albany**
P. O. Box 1088
500 Pine Avenue
Albany, Georgia 31702

**Athens**
P. O. Box 191
794 Prince Avenue
Athens, Georgia 30601

**Atlanta**
Federal Building
Main Floor
275 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

**Augusta**
700 Telfair Street
Augusta, Georgia 30902

**Brunswick**
(Branch Office of Waycross)
Federal Building, Room 229
Brunswick, Georgia 31521

**Columbus**
P. O. Box 1888
301-05 15th Street
Columbus, Georgia 31902

**Dalton**
(Branch Office of Chattanooga, Tenn.)
P. O. Box 908
Dalton, Georgia 30702

**Dublin**
(Branch Office of Macon)
P. O. Box 670, Room 1318
U.S. Post Office & Court House Bldg.
Dublin, Georgia 31021

**Gainesville**
P. O. Drawer 682
425 Bradford Street, N.W.
Gainesville, Georgia 30501

**Griffin**
(Branch Office of Macon)
435 West Solomon Street
Griffin, Georgia 30223

**La Grange**
P. O. Box 1089
314 North Lewis Street
La Grange, Georgia 30240

**Macon**
P. O. Box 4128
New Federal Building
451 College Street
Macon, Georgia 31208

**Savannah**
P. O. Box 2407
Kay Building
101 East Liberty Street
Savannah, Georgia 31402

**Thomasville**
P. O. Box 770
Federal Building, Room 204
North Broad Street
Thomasville, Georgia 31792

**Valdosta**
P. O. Box 1122
122 N. Oak Street
Valdosta, Georgia 31602

**Waycross**
P. O. Box 756
Ferrell Building, Room 1
704 Jane Street
Waycross, Georgia 31501

**Rome**
P. O. Box 231
308 Glen Milner Boulevard
Rome, Georgia 30162

# Unnoted Victims: Vietnam Peasants

WORLD POVERTY NYT 2/15/66 ~~VIETNAM~~

By NEIL SHEEHAN

Special to The New York Times

GIAHUU, South Vietnam, Feb. 14—A massive allied offensive in this area has dramatized one of the major problems of the war—the high price the South Vietnamese peasants are being forced to pay for the death of a few hundred enemy troops and the capture of a few score weapons.

United States and South Vietnamese military spokesmen assert that the three-week-old offensive, aimed at crushing four enemy regiments operating here in Binhdinh Province and the adjacent northern Province of Quangngai, has resulted so far in the killing of 986 Vietcong guerrillas and North Vietnamese regulars and the seizing of 161 weapons.

Some high-ranking American military officials privately expressed doubt over the accuracy of the casualty figures, but it is believed that a few hundred enemy soldiers have been killed

The Saigon military communiqués have failed to mention what is apparent to a visitor to the battlefield—the appalling destruction wrought in Giahuu and about 15 other peasant hamlets on the central coast by artillery barrages and aerial bombardments.

Giahuu and two adjacent hamlets along Highway 1 about 310 miles north of Saigon are a frightening example of this destruction.

South Vietnamese officials estimate that, within the three hamlets, about a thousand mud-and-thatch or brick-and-tile peasant homes have been blasted apart by bombs and shells or incinerated by napalm. Bomb caters, some as large as 10 feet deep and 20 feet across, pockmark rounding rice paddies and hillsides.

This region is noted for its coconut-tree groves, whose coconuts and coconut oil have provided a living for many of the peasants. Now hundreds of coconut trees in Giahuu alone have been snapped in half by high-velocity naval shells from the guns of Seventh Fleet warships.

Although most of the old men, women and children appear to have escaped death or injury by hiding in underground bomb shelters or fleeing to the hills and rice fields,

Continued on Page 2, Column 5

# UNNOTED VICTIM: VIETNAM PEASANT

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

civilian casualties have still been considerable.

Only two civilians are known to have died in Giahuu, but in the village of Tamquan, two and a half miles south of here, at least a hundred civilians are estimated to have been killed during the fighting late last month.

United States and South Vietnamese military authorities have evacuated 90 seriously wounded civilians from hamlets in the area to the provincial hospital in Quinhon and have treated hundreds of others with light wounds.

Most of the wounds were inflicted by shell and bomb fragments or bullets.

One distraught woman appeared at a field medical station holding a child whose legs had been horribly burned by napalm. The child is not expected to live.

Thousands of refugees—some officials estimate as many as 5,000 — have also flocked to Highway 1 along which many of the South Vietnamese and American troops are concentrated, or to the Government-held district town of Bongson, 15 miles south of here, seeking safety from bombs and shells and emergency provisions of wheat and cooking oil. These have been supplied by the United States aid mission to sustain them until they can return to their wrecked homes and attempt to rebuild.

### Toll Perhaps Inevitable

No one here, however, really knows how many homes or coconut groves have been wrecked or how many civilians have been killed, injured or displaced throughout this region. The are has been under enemy control for more than a year now.

Government administration is virtually nonexistent. The primitive communications are either in disrepair or have been destroyed by the enemy.

South Vietnamese and American military and civilian officials have neither the time nor the inclination to make an accurate assessment of the damage.

Most of the destruction a the killing and wounding civilians were, perhaps inev able under the circumstanc The Vietcong and the Nor Vietnamese fought from elaborate system of fortifi bunkers and trenches bu around and within the hamle

Headlong assaults across t open rice paddies would ha inflicted prohibitive casualt on the advancing South Vi namese and American troo so the Communists had to forced to abandon the haml by shellfire and air strikes.

The troops will not rem once the operation ends in few weeks, and local So Vietnamese officials conc that they cannot hope to ma tain control over these haml once the troops are gone.

High-ranking American m tary officials say they cannot afford to commit the limited number of American fighting units to long-range pacification projects because of growing Vietcong strength and the increasing infiltration of North Vietnamese regulars into the the South.

These officials say the best they can do is to attempt to find and maul hard-core Communist units in an effort to relieve some of the pressure on the islands of Government control that remain in the enemy-dominated countryside.

The South Vietnamese Army has adopted a similar strategy. Military officials intend to leave behind only one regiment when the operation ends to reinforce the troops normally stationed in this region.

Qualified military observers believe this regiment will be able to hold only a fraction of the territory that has been fought over.

Thus, when the South Vietnamese paratroopers and the men of the United States First Cavalry Division (Airmobile) depart for some other battlefield in Vietnam, the Vietcong guerrillas and their North Vietnamese allies are expected to return to these hamlets.

They are expected to regain control of the rice fields to sustain tnemselves. They are expected to replace their dead and wounded with young peasants recruited or forcibly conscripted and they will again tax the population to support their military and administrative machine.

### 'Imperialists' Denounced

Once this is accomplished, they will undoubtedly tell the peasants, as they have already told them in propaganda slogans boldly painted on the walls of the houses here before they departed, that the "American imperialists" murder innocent women and children and wantonly destroy homes and that the South Vietnamese troops are hired mercenaries of the foreigners.

This time, though, returning Communists will be able to point to the ruined houses and to cite the names of the peasant dead and of the injured relatives.

After more than a year of Communist indoctrination, the peasants in this area are already very fearful and suspicious of the American and South Vietnamese troops.

Vietnamese children in friendly villages usually smile and wave at the Americans. But in Tamquan, just south of here, which was the former Communist district headquarters, many of the children do not smile, and they stare silently if questioned.

When an American official attempted to photograph two little girls standing beside the highway, the children began to wail and quiver with fear as he raised the camera. They apparently thought they were going to be killed.

Some of the elderly men and women turn their heads and look away if an American or a South Vietnamese soldier passes nearby. The young men are not in evidence, and they are apparently either hiding or have fled with the Communists.

An American walking through the side streets of Tamquan experiences an eerie feeling.

United States and South Vietnamese aircraft have been dropping leaflets telling the people that the Vietcong are responsible for the destruction because they built their trenches and bunkers within the hamlets.

Government loudspeaker trucks have repeated this message. Government officials are distributing other leaflets praising the Saigon regime and neatly printed brochures complete with photographs of enemy bomb atrocities in the capital.

Such propaganda, in the opinion of some experienced observers, is of questionable influnce in these circumstances unless followed up by long-range indoctrination and concrete deeds to win the peasants support.

Most of these peasants have never been to Saigon. They do not know exactly where it is or who is in power there.

American intelligence officers discovered that the peasants in one village alongside the highway believed Ngo Dinh Diem, who was assassinated in November, 1963, was still the President of South Vietnam.

Except for emergecy rations of wheat and cooking oil and a few hundred bolts of cloth and sewing kits along with rudimentary medical treatment, these peasants have also experienced little from the United States and the Saigon Government except bombs and bullets.

Some Americans here wondered whether the resentment and anger caused by the destruction might not thus create as many new Vietcong as the troops have managed to kill.

"What's the point of telling somebody who has just lost his relatives about a bomb atrocity in Saigon?" one American asked while watching a crowd of peasants assemble in a hamlet for food handouts.

"And how do you explain the unfortunate side effects of war to a peasant whose just seen his house blown up?"

An American visitor asked an old woman in the crowd through an interpreter what had happened to her.

"The planes destroyed my house, and the big guns cut down my coconut trees," she said.

Her mouth, stained reddish brown with the betel nut she chews, twisted as she spoke, and her voice rose into the wail Vietnamese peasant women use when they are describing personal sorrow.

"How many coconut trees did you have?" she was asked.

"Fifty," she replied, "and now 47 of them are gone."

"How will you earn your living now?"

"I don't know," she said.

## Finn's Criminal Gains Untaxed

HELSINKI, Finland (UPI) — A citizen filing his tax declaration meticulously filled in everything except the spaces for his income. In a note he wrote, "No taxable income. Have been living on smuggling." Tax experts checked and found that the man had been convicted of smuggling last year. He will not have to pay any taxes because criminally obtained money is not taxable under Finnish law.

**RALPH**

WORLD POVERTY

# McGILL

AC 2/23/66

## *Visible Travail Of a New Birth*

It is a trite thing to say that a new world is being born. But, however commonplace the comment, the travail of birth goes on.

Viet Nam (Southeast Asia), Africa, Central and South America, China and Russia daily remind us that Europe, for many centuries the cockpit of war, the core of international politics and power, and of cultural and scientific forces, no longer fits these roles. Were it not for the dangerous division of Germany and the seeds of war therein, Europe would be even more separated from the unavoidable clash between the world's three major powers.

But this important and ominous struggle is by no means the only visible sign of a new world being born. In addition to the shift in the world's balance of power, the appearance of communism as a world force, and the rift between Russia and China, there is the literal fact of world birth rates.

### *Problem of People*

Dr. Roger Revelle, director of the Center for Population Studies at Harvard University, puts this problem in foreboding perspective in an article, "The Problem of People: Can Man Domesticate Himself." (Autumn issue of "Harvard Today.")

"Hundreds of thousands of years were required to produce, by 1850 A.D., a living population of one billion people," he wrote. "The second billion took 75 years more, from 1850 to 1925, but only another 35 years until 1960 were needed for the third billion. The fourth billion will be here by 1980, and the fifth 10 years later, by 1990.

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Dr. Revelle's introductory paragraph is, quite literally, evidence of a new world being born. That the rate is much higher in the less developed areas of the world is a fact of ominous foreboding. "In the world as a whole," said Dr. Revelle, "unless a drastic change occurs, people who live in desperate misery and poverty will constitute the overwhelming fraction of the human race."

## *Explosive Effect*

Even we, the richest and most productive nation in the world, cannot escape the pressures of our own increases. We assuredly cannot escape, as we now begin to see, the explosive effect of the pressure-cooker condition of the rest of the world. Our cities, too, keep growing. We have waited much too long to tear down slums and replace them with bold planning of housing and "parks" complexes of schools.

In 1850 we had fewer than 30 million inhabitants. Today we are near 200 million. Our population increases at about 1½ per cent a year. (It slowed a bit in 1965.) Yet, pollution abatement, city water supplies, urban transportation, and slums are desperate, costly problems. There is "a serious decline in the quality of life. Our water no longer tastes as well as it once did. Many of the people in every city waste from one to two hours each day driving to and from work under miserable conditions."

Compared with 1935, food production in many countries has barely kept up with population growths and in many cases has fallen behind. Were it not for food purchases from Western countries, China, India, Pakistan and even Russia would have seriously deficient diets.

The problem of agricultural inefficiency is one which cannot be cured in the brief time of a few years. It will require considerable help from this country and others which, across a long span of years, have developed successful cooperation between science and agriculture production.

A new world is being born. To turn our eyes from it is an act of costly folly.

WORLD POVERTY

IN INDIA

# No Food, Children's Hope Dim

AJ 3/16/66

By CONRAD FINK

NEW DELHI, March 16 (AP)—The tired tip-tap of their hammers sounds through rock quarries. Their quick eyes flit watchfully over herds of cows. Their gay laughter blends with the roar of coastal surf.

These are the children of India, and in their faces is the story of this impoverished nation's cruel economic troubles and its hope of a better tomorrow.

Nowhere is the gulf between reality and dream as clearly portrayed as in young faces.

It is the children among India's 480 millions who show the pinch of malnourishment. Some have scab-covered legs and gummy eyes that betray rampant disease.

But in their laughter lies the hope.

In the state of Kerala, a 7-year-old girl sits under the blazing sun, chipping small rocks into smaller pieces.

Her future is 100 yards away, where old women chip big rocks into small rocks. Her little brother's future is farther up the rock face, where men drill all day, shrouded in choking dust.

**A CHILD CHIPS** for eight hours like this and still doesn't earn enough to eat as humans should.

In the rock quarries, the young faces don't smile. The eyes don't twinkle. The run slows to a walk. There is no time for fun and games.

But farther north, along the Arabian Sea coast, not even the filth, disease and hunger of a backward fishing village can still the laughter.

Little brown packages of mobile dynamite, bare as the day they were born, charge into the surf, are bowled over and rise laughing to help father land a net.

Here the future looks brighter. It is to ride out to sea alongside the men in narrow, roughhewn fishing boats, learn to placate the storm gods and outwit the devils of the sea.

Children are everywhere in India — on mother's hip, under her feet, crawling in the crude hut's dooryard, scampering down the village pathways.

No one knows for sure how many children are born in India every year. Best estimates are that the population increases 12 million annually.

**IN A COUNTRY** deficient in almost every necessity of life, how can 12 million new mouths be filled every year? How can enough doctors be trained to care for them? How can schools be constructed?

Education Minister M. C. Chagla announced in Parliament recently that 50 million Indian children are in primary schools.

A fine accomplishment, he said—except that many millions more never have seen the inside of a classroom and never will.

Despite all-out efforts to feed, clothe and educate, the Indian government is falling behind the population growth.

There are more illiterates over the age of 10 in India today than there were a decade ago. American experts put the number at 260 million and say the ranks of the unread are increasing by four million annually.

Thousands of open-air schools have been established in an attempt to give the increasing swarm of children at least the rudiments of an education.

**FROM THE MOUNTAINS** of Kashmir in the north to the jungles of Kerala State in the south, children can be seen squatting under a shade tree or in a sunny courtyard patiently listening to poorly paid schoolmasters whose "establishment" consists of one portable blackboard.

Even this is beyond the reach of the hundreds of thousands who lead a nomadic existence in desert areas or in the vast slums of India's huge cities.

Many of these children are put to work at an early age, laboring alongside their parents on road projects or in dam construction.

International relief organizations and foreign governments are trying to help India give these children a better start in life.

The children of an open-air school of Mohri village, 100 miles north of New Delhi, proudly show off their "Care" schoolbags.

Increasingly, however, village life is looking second-best to many Indians. City slums are spreading rapidly, luring hundreds of thousands of families away from the villages to a new, but drab, life of rootless street wandering.

Associated Press Wirephoto

**OLD MAN HOLDS CHILD WHOSE GUMMY EYES ARE ATTACKED BY FLIES IN WESTERN INDIA**
**Children in Rajasthan State Have Bleary Eyes, Skinny Frames Typical of Those Without Sufficient Food**

WORLD POVERTY



# Hunger's Shape Is Weird

By CYRIL DUNN
London Observer News Service

NEW DELHI, May 21—Government officials in areas of the Indian state of Orissa, where last year's drought completely destroyed the rice crop, are being accused of neglecting the people put in their care.

Having just motored across the state, I can report that for months now the people have been living on a bare minimum of food and with very little water in a region where thirst rages. Some have died of these hardships; the survival of many more is a miracle of human endurance.

Orissa is and perhaps always has been the land of the thin people. Even in the developed coastal region, from which the Congress party governs the state, more often than not you can see the voters' bones.

The Orissan officials in the state capitol have just been taken sharply to task by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Indian prime minister, for doing little or nothing to help their countrymen in the direct need.

**IT IS WHEN** you have driven westward across the state and then turned south into the wild border regions that you begin to see the weird shapes of hunger.

There are women of no great age, whose skin is drawn so taughtly about their skulls that they wear a constant look of haughty surprise. There are men in their prime, whose visible bone-structure makes it seem as if they have a complete suits of embossed brown armour. And there are children whose bulging and paper-thin stomachs hang from the fragile cage of their ribs and who are apt to cry if you touch them.

Along the line of the road the number of such sights is disturbing, but not appalling. Even in areas marked red for disaster on the drought map of the state, the road is still a strip of relative well-being. But those who should know say the jungle hides the real hunger.

I spoke to an Indian, who is not a government servant, but whose duty takes him along the jungle tracks. He says that some villages up there have been totally deserted by their people. In flight from famine, they crossed the border into the neighboring state of Madhya Pradesh looking for work — but were driven back by state authorities with famine problems of their own.

**SOME OF** these desperate migrants have tried to leave their children at an American mission hospital in the area. But the hospital, struggling to keep going with barely enough water for its present needs, cannot cope.

The irony is that Orissa has enough food to feed everyone, though not lavishly. There are vast stocks of imported foreign food on which she could have drawn. So why was nothing swift and adequate done to save the people of the red areas from such suffering?

It is conceivable that news of what was happening in the interior was slow to come out. It is generally supposed here that the chief sufferers have been the aboriginal tribesmen up on their high conical hills and the untouchables. But this does not seem to be the whole truth.

Among the worst afflicted are many small farmers and simply to see them is to recognize that even in this present penury they have not lost their dignity. They tried to take care of themselves and did not appeal to government officials.

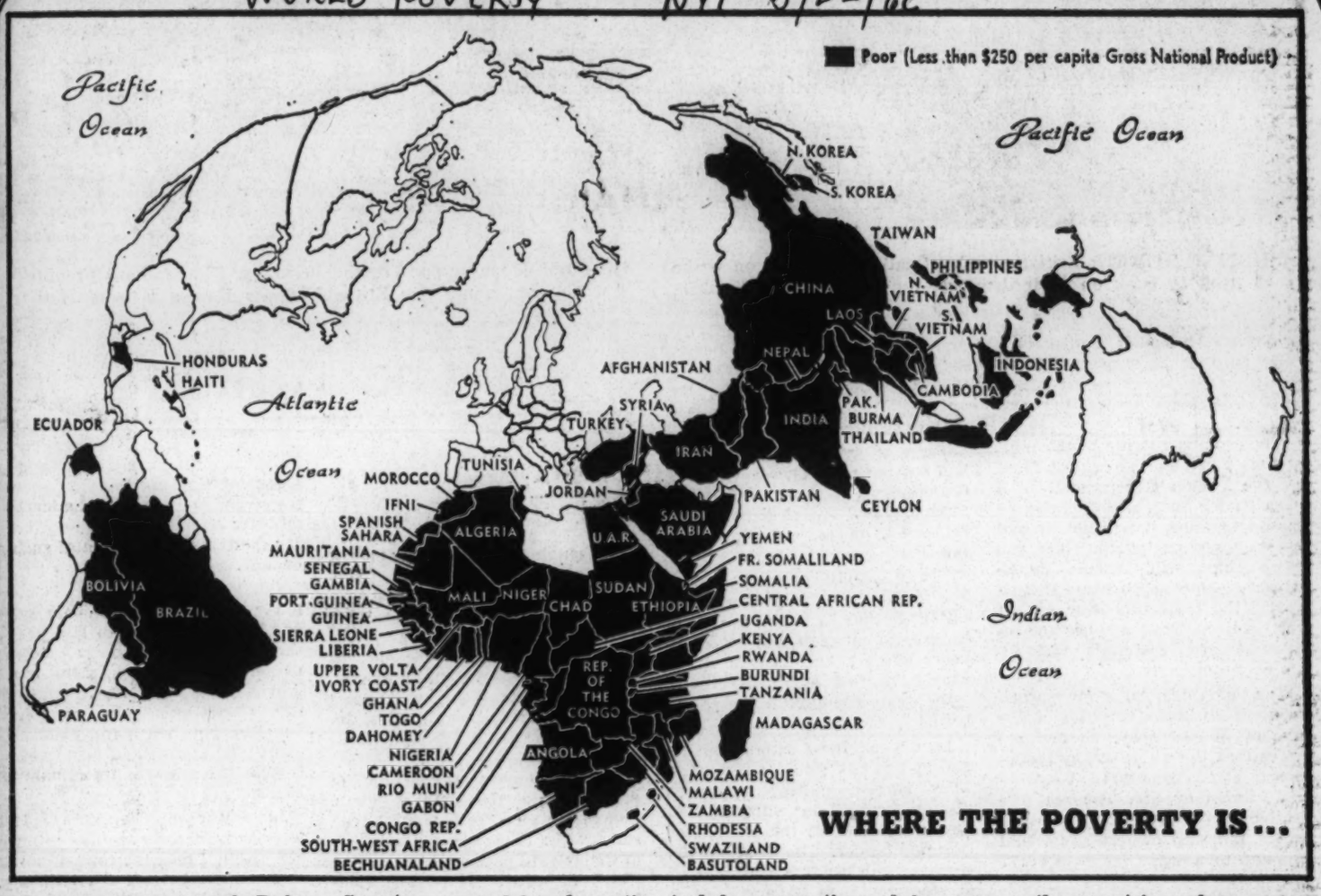
**IT MIGHT** be thought that district officials, by constantly touring the villages in their charge, would themselves have found out what was going on. But those I spoke to left me with the dismal impression that touring was not much in their line.

But impending disaster was also made manifest in the townships, within sight of government offices. There were people standing in long lines outside grain shops to buy "broken rice" — the husks with tiny fragments of rice lodged inside them. Then the village women started selling those small gold ornaments which are their whole treasure. Then the farmers sold the livestock and the tools without which they cannot farm.

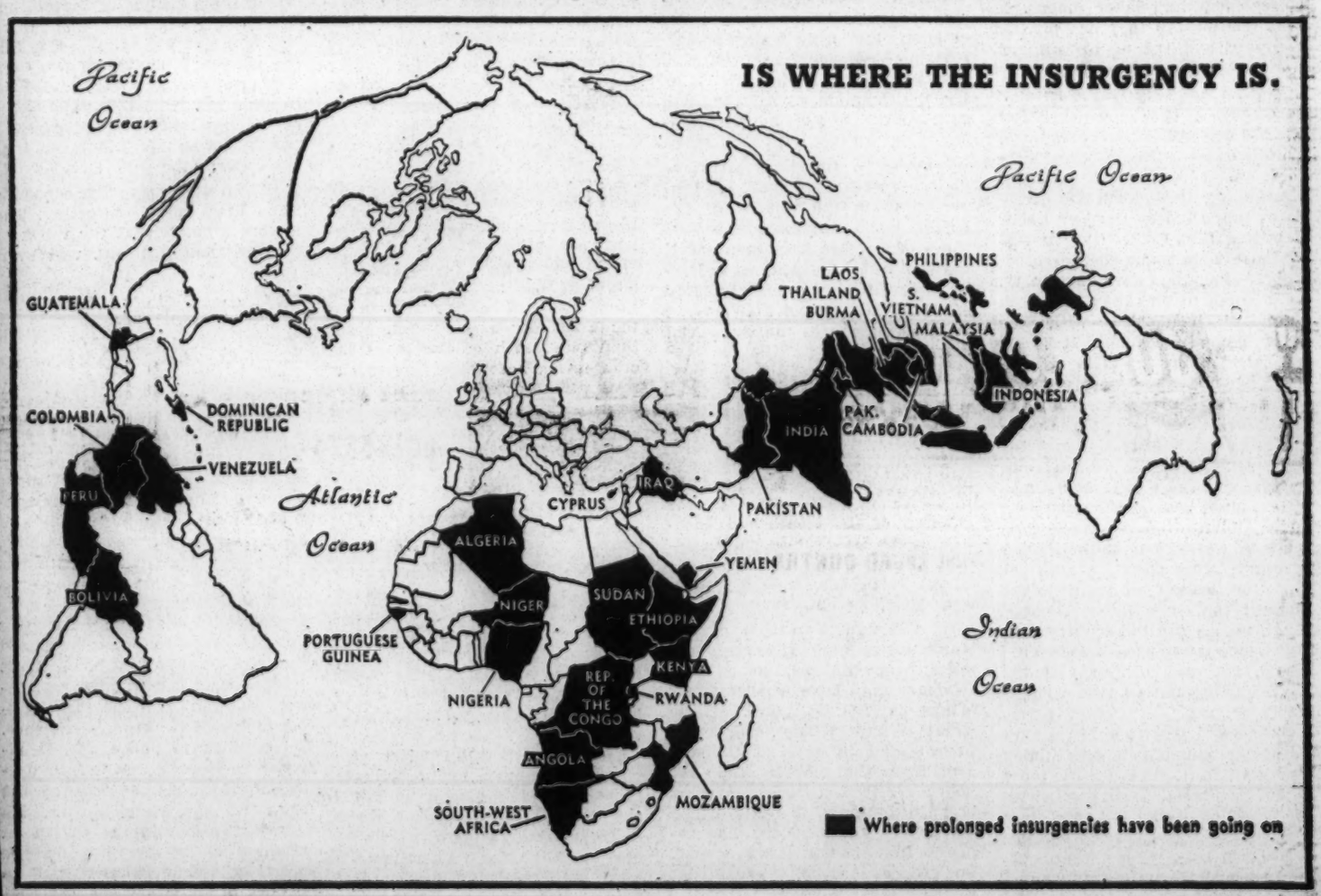
It is difficult to think rational, these proceedings must have been observed or about the rapacity of those who did the buying at marvellously reduced prices.

But now Mrs. Gandhi herself has been to some of these red areas of Orissa. It is to be assumed that henceforth the big rescue operation will proceed with unresting zeal, that those ill-frequented roads will fill up with food trucks.

WORLD POVERTY NYT 5/22/66




**In a speech last week Defense Secretary McNamara identified poverty as the basic cause of violence around the world and urged broader action to help poor nations develop. Map above shows the nations classified as poor by the World Bank. Map below names the countries where some form of forceful resistance to central government was under way last February.**



# Millions May Starve In India Despite Aid, House Panel Hears

WORLD POVE RTY

By FELIX BELAIR

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14 — A grim picture of mass starvation on the Indian subcontinent was painted before the House Committee on Agriculture today at the opening of hearings on President Johnson's Food for Freedom program.

Dr. Roger Revelle, director of the Harvard Center for Population Studies, told the panel that "it is almost certain that tens of millions of people will starve" in India's famine "and there will be millions of deaths that would otherwise not occur."

"The saddest part of the story is that it may be too late for us and the other rich countries to help very much," Dr. Revelle said. "My recent experiences in India have filled me with a great personal concern about the desperate conditions that our fellow human beings face today in that deeply impoverished country."

**Conference Considered**

As the House committee hearings got under way, President Johnson told the Dutch Foreign Minister, Joseph Luns, that he was considering calling an international conference to develop and coordinate greater famine relief efforts for India.

The Foreign Minister said the conference idea was put forward by the President in view of what Mr. Luns termed "the frightful situation" in India.

Several times in the past the President has stressed the need for a joint effort by many nations to combat starvation in India. He said recently that he was considering special emergency legislation, presumably to help India pay some $150-million in shipping costs for United States wheat aid.

However, Mr. Luns's mention of an international meeting was

Continued on Page 12, Column 1

NYT 2/5/66



# MASS STARVATION IS FEARED IN INDIA

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

the first such suggestion attributed to President Johnson. The Foreign Minister said that if the conference was called it would probably consider the economic needs of Pakistan as well. There was no indication of when or where the meeting would be held or of who would attend.

Dr. Revelle, a member of India's International Advisory Commission on Education, told the House panel that "the futu of mankind is being ground out on the anvil of India and the other impoverished countries."

He said that unless rich and poor countries together solved the problem of development, "the fate of all men in times to come will be the fate of India today."

"A livable world cannot long exist in which two-thirds of human beings never get enough to eat, and the remaining third are overfed," he said.

He urged an "all-out attack" on poverty and hunger through such measures as expanded food aid, United States financial support of population control programs, and technical and financial support for food-deficit countries trying to increase farm production and to provide protein supplements to fight malnutrition.

### Must Rise 300 Million Tons

"If the underdeveloped countries are to reach self-sufficiency in food production by 1980, even at present low levels of nutrition," Dr. Revelle said, "production must rise by about 300 million tons, or about 50 per cent above the 1965 production level of 650 millions."

To reach this high level of production an increase in the land area under cultivation as well as in yield per acre would be required, he said.

In addition, a capital investment of about $80-billion would be needed over the next 15 years, he said. About $20-billion of that amount would be needed to purchase trucks and

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In explanation of his statement that it "may already be too late" for donor countries to do much about preventing starvation in India, Dr. Revelle said that the distribution of famine relief supplies there after arrival in India was a major problem.

He said that some areas were without roads, and that port facilities were inadequate for the sudden influx of relief supplies required to prevent widespread starvation.

Dr. Irene B. Taeuber, Princeton University population specialist, joined Dr. Revelle in urging that United States aid funds be made available to provide birth-control assistance.

**Sees Population of 7.5 Billion**

Dr. Taeuber said that if present population growth rates continued the world's total population of three billion would increase to about 7.5 billion by the year 2000. But she said the question was not whether but how the population growth rate could be slowed.

The only choice was between reducing birth rates or acquiescing in "the rising death rates of hunger and disease, famine and epidemic, internal instability and international conflict," she said.

In an opening statement on the projected month-long hearing, the committee chairman, Representative Harold D. Cooley, Democrat of North Carolina, said that the inquiry would not be limited to any particular bill.

At the same time, Mr. Cooley criticized Administration plans to take 40 million more acres of American farm land out of cultivation while farmers are paid not to plant 60 million acres.

He said that under the Administration plan, whole farms could be taken out of cultivation at an added cost of about $9-billion or $10-billion.

"Then the farmers could retire to Florida," he said. "But other tens of thousands would be driven to the cities looking for jobs that are not there and would take their place on the relief rolls."

SCIENTIST PESSIMISTIC (WORLD POVERTY)

# Population, Man's Works Threaten Survival of Race

By GEORGE GETZE
Los Angeles Times News Service

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 23—Life on earth probably will persist for millions of years, but there is little chance man will be among the surviving species, a Harvard zoologist said here.

Ernst Mayr, director of the Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology, said in an interview that we may soon know whether man will survive. Either some cataclysmic event, such as a nuclear war, will end man's tenure on earth, or through a tremendous effort of self-control he will make a new start, Mayr believes.

One or the other probably will take place in the lifetimes of people now living, he said.

Describing himself as pessimistic of man's chances for survival, Mayr pointed out that 99 per cent of all life-forms which have existed have become extinct.

IF MAN IS to persist on earth there are two things he must do, and do at once, according to the Harvard scientist. He must quickly learn to control the increasing human population, and he must learn to stop destroying the environment.

"Man's ability to control the environment was said to be his biggest advantage over other species," Mayr said.

"In the beginning this was true, as he invented shelters and clothing to protect him from the weather, and weapons and tools to help him harness the productivity of nature."

Mayr said the contrast of those ancient times with these modern times is dismal.

"Now almost everything we do is harmful to the species and works against its survival. We make the air unfit to breathe, the water unfit to drink, we seed the atmosphere with radioactivity, erode the soil, clear the land and plaster it with asphalt and concrete," he said. "Our destruction of our environment seems endless."

The popular concern with birth control is felt by some optimists to be a sign that man is at last becoming aware of his peril, but Mayr doesn't think the necessary mass realization will come in time to avoid a catastrophe.

"AN UNDERSTANDING of evolutionary biology would help control the population, and also could help improve it," Mayr said.

He said the only practical way to improve the human race is to use "positive eugenics"—to see to it that those with superior genes have more children and that those with inferior genes have fewer.

But Mayr said this is now considered immoral and unacceptable, and he conceded there are cogent objections:

How would it be decided which inherited characteristics were the best for the human race in the long run? Some things we now consider good are probably bad for the species.

Who would decide which men and women would be permitted to have children?

Mayr said many people also objected to eugenics because it interferes with individual freedom.

He said the study of evolution shows that man must make an effort to improve himself as well as to limit his numbers.

February 18, 1966

Mr. Tony Mason
YWCA Human Relations Committee
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Mason:

In reply to your letter of February 7, permission to use the list of desegregated colleges contained in our "L" report L-23D is granted.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

# YOUNG MEN'S AND YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA • CHAPEL HILL

Rec'd 2/9/66

Monday, February 7, 1966

ES - please give

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

The Human Relations Committee and the Scholarship Information Sub-committe e have compiled a booklet this year entitled Financial Aid for Southern Negroes. At the present time, we are also isuing from time to time bulletins which we feel wil be of interes t to Negro students in high school or in college. We are planning a leaflet on the advantages of going to an interracial school and would like to append the list of desegregated colleges contained in your L report number L-23D. May we have your permission to use the information therein?

Sincerely yours,

Tony Mason

Tony Mason
YMCA Human Relations Committee

# YWCA

National Student Young Women's Christian Association of the U. S. A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

Southern Region
Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: Jackson 5-2372



*Chairman*
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Pennsylvania State University

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ANNIE-KATE GILBERT
National Support

*Consultant in Human Relations*
CELESTINE L. SMITH, ED. D.

*Administrative Assistant*
HELEN BAIRD

*President, National Board*
MRS. ARCHIE D. MARVEL

*General Secretary*
EDITH M. LERRIGO


February 25, 1966
(dictated: February 24, 1966)

MR. EDWIN STANFIELD
Director of Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

I shall be happy to accept your invitation to attend the luncheon on February 28, 1966, at which Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach will be your guest.

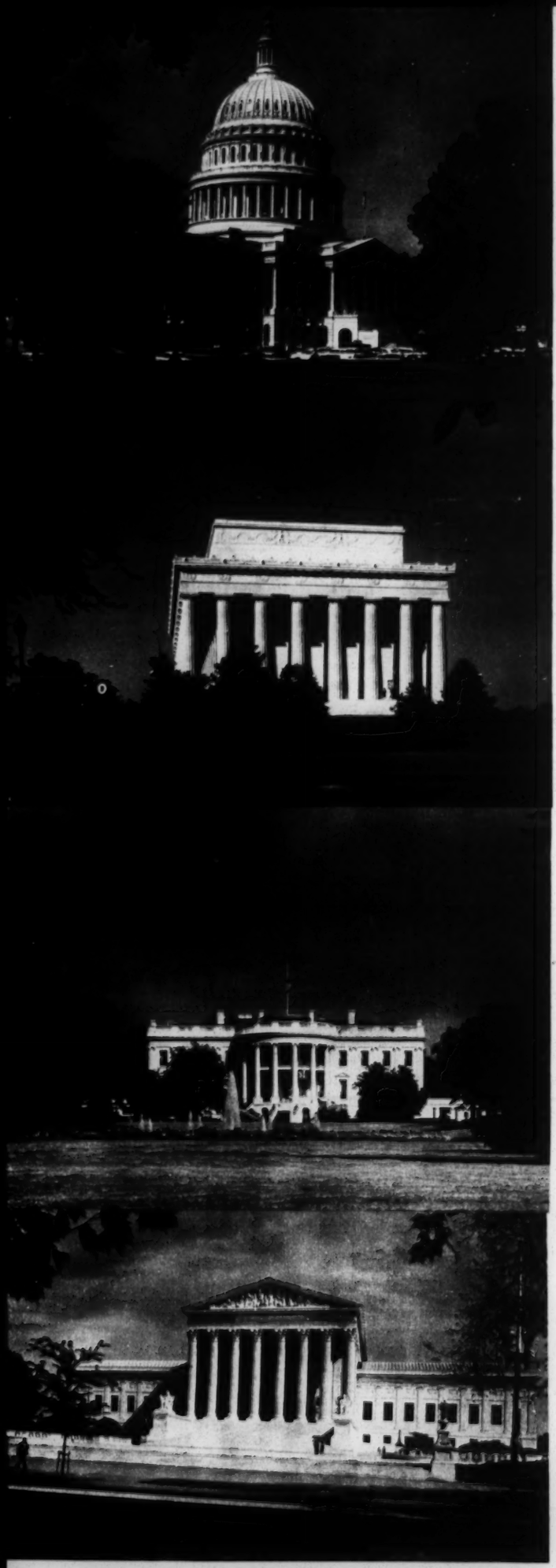
Cordially yours,

Rosetta E. Gardner

ROSETTA E. GARDNER U.S.
Regional Director
Southern Region

REG/vs

T. D. ✓



(Photos courtesy American Airlines)

PLEASE POST

A PLACE FOR YOU IN YWCA

# WASHINGTON NEXT SUMMER

Work in a government job

Study how government decisions are made

Explore major issues of public concern

Examine ethical basis of political action

Enjoy Washington's stimulating atmosphere

Get to know students from other parts of the country

Live in University dormitory in the center of Washington

***

Apply to participate in

# WASHINGTON CITIZENSHIP SEMINAR

June 15 - August 26, 1 9 6 6

Open to men and women students who have completed two years of college.

For further details see back of this announcement and write to:

Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Washington Citizenship Seminar is sponsored by National Student YMCA and National Student YWCA

OVER

WSC-N65:8M

## WHAT IS THE WASHINGTON CITIZENSHIP SEMINAR?

The Seminar gives students a firsthand introduction to the major issues facing the United States today. It helps them explore the resources of their own present faith or philosophy for dealing with the issues. It stimulates personal and political maturity.

## WHO MAY APPLY?

Membership is open to students of all races and creeds who have completed at least two years of college and have a serious interest in the purpose of the Seminar.

## WHAT TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT ARE AVAILABLE?

1. Internships in the offices of Congressmen or with Congressional committees. Apply directly to your Senator or Representative.

2. Civil service appointment in federal agencies. To qualify, students must take the examination for Federal Summer Employment on Saturday, February 5, 1966, when tests will be given throughout the nation. Application to take the test must be made by January 3 to the Civil Service Commission Office having jurisdiction over the place in which you wish to take the test. Obtain further information through your college or at a Post Office. Good clerical skills are required in the majority of openings.

3. Positions with non-governmental agencies and organizations. These usually require early application. Applicants should indicate special skills and interests. Consult your campus placement office about private organizations in Washington.

Acceptance into the Seminar is contingent upon placement in a job. The Seminar Placement Consultant advises applicants about applying for jobs but, since the demand far exceeds the supply, applicants should do as much as possible on their own.

## WHAT IS THE PROGRAM?

All members of the Seminar enroll in a three-point course specially arranged through the Department of Agriculture Graduate School. Such courses are accepted by the Civil Service Commission on the same basis as those from an accredited college or university, although the Graduate School does not grant degrees. Seminar members who want to obtain credit toward a degree should consult with their own college in advance.

The course deals with the problems of decision-making in the federal government. Weekly conferences with public figures and government officials supplement the course. The group plans its own social activities, such as tours, outings and special events.

## WHAT ARE THE LIVING ARRANGEMENTS?

An important feature of the Seminar is the group life and the informal activities. Hence, all members are required to live in the arranged housing, which is an air-conditioned dormitory of George Washington University not far from the White House.

## WHAT WILL IT COST?

Fees payable to the Seminar total $110, including registration, program, insurance and student activity fee. Course tuition is $42 and books about $15. Board and room costs may be slightly higher than on most campuses - $15 weekly for room and $22 to $26 weekly for meals. Other costs will be local transportation and personal items. In most cases earnings will cover Seminar costs. Average pay for Civil Service jobs is about $75 per week before taxes.

Write to: Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022

Agency file "YWCA"

ROBERT HODGELL

# STUDENT SPRING VACATION 1966

## VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECTS

&

## TRAINING FOR TUTORIAL PROJECTS

*for involvement contact ywca*

*sponsored by the national student ywca*

Fact Sheet for Local Associations

VOTER EDUCATION AND REGISTRATION PROJECT
NATIONAL STUDENT YWCA
SPRING - 1966

Several Voter Registration Projects will again he held during the spring vacation period under the sponsorship of the National Student YWCA. Emphasis will be on voter education as well as the practical experience of registering prospective voters.

Projects will be in Southern States, Virginia, South Carolina, one in Mississippi and two outside the South, Cincinnati, Ohio and Denver, Colorado.

Four purposes of primary concern:

1. To help participants and local community people to realize that passage of the Voting Rights Bill is only the beginning of the struggle to enable many minority group persons to realize that their vote counts and that through it they can change the structures which impose discrimination;
2. To help people register so that they can be responsible citizens and vote in the 1966 Congressional and Gubernatorial Elections;
3. To train participants for continuing voter registration and education in their own communities;
4. In accordance with the long-standing commitment of the YWCA, to work for equal rights for all, as the first step toward the establishment of a world community based on justice and love.

Two purposes of secondary concern:

1. To provide experience in assessing community conditions and learning techniques for handling hostility, etc.;
2. To involve students personally in the revolutions of equality.

Method of operation:

The National Student YWCA will cooperate with organized local groups already at work on voter education registration to set up a project. Each project will be staffed by a director from the local group and a YWCA staff coordinator. Each Association is urged to select a team of five students who will spend some time in preparatory study before coming to the project. Some materials will be sent from the National Office for this purpose. Teams are assigned to specific locations in light of distance and the cross-sectional makeup of participants.

It is suggested that local staff or advisors assume responsibility for the selection process.

Housing:

In each city where a voter education registration project will be held the necessary local arrangements will be made by responsible staff. Wherever possible, the group will be housed together.

Cost:

Every effort is being made to keep costs at a minimum. Each student or the local Association must be able to pay transportation and living expenses at the project (including 10¢ a day for accident and sickness insurance). We are trying to secure funds for travel scholarships. Estimated cost will be sent, upon receipt of the return sheet stating your interest, the probable number in your team and your vacation dates.

Send the return sheet indicating the number from your school planning to participate - give vacation dates. Return application to Ruth Hughes, National Student YWCA, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10022 by February 20.

SRRP 1/66

# TRAINING FOR TUTORIAL PROJECTS

Two tutorial training projects will be held during the spring vacation period under the sponsorship of the National Student YWCA, the main objective of which is to provide training and background understanding in how to plan and organize effective tutorial programs which will increase skills, motivation, and confidence of minority group children.

Education is a key factor in the elimination of prejudice. Yet, many children are ill-prepared to use this key. Often they are denied encouragement to develop their minds, talents, and abilities to become strong citizens of their communities. Students can give (or learn to give) aid in the development of skills but more important is the sharing of enthusiasm for learning and the building of relationships based on genuine belief in the tutee's ability.

The National Student YWCA will cooperate with local Associations already carrying on a tutorial program to set up a special training project. Each project will be staffed by at least one nonstudent director. One of the projects will be located on the West Coast - Seattle, and one in the East - Pittsburgh.

The Training Project Plan includes:

1. Lectures and discussions using specialists as resources to cover the inescapable circle of discrimination - ghetto life - inherited poverty - how the public school system has failed - the importance of education as a way of penetrating this vicious circle - Negro history and culture - and how children learn and how the learning process can be obstructed.

2. There will be workshop sessions dealing with curriculum for tutorials - organization of a tutorial (including the relationships with the public school system and the university) - basic skills and how they can be developed for conducting tutorials - and creative ways of releasing latent ability and building confidence in the disadvantaged child.

3. Laboratory sessions will consist of tutoring sessions and informal recreational and cultural activities with disadvantaged children.

4. Plans for action in home communities and evaluation of them.

Housing: In each city where a tutorial training project is to be held, the necessary local arrangements are being made by responsible staff. Wherever possible the group will be housed together.

Costs: Every effort is being made to keep costs at a minimum. Each student or local Association will have to pay transportation and living expenses at the project (including 10¢ a day for accident and sickness insurance). We are trying to secure funds for travel scholarships.

Selection of participants will be made from Associations who are already beginning a tutorial or who plan to set up a program as a result of the project. Each Association is urged to select a team of 10-15 students, who with a nonstudent will spend some time in preparatory study before the project, with two to five of the team planning to attend the workshop (material will be sent from the National Office).

Send the return sheet indicating the number on your team planning to participate, vacation dates, and location choice. Send applications to Ruth Hughes, National Student YWCA, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10022 by February 15.

SRRP 1/66

RETURN AT ONCE TO:

(AIRMAIL)

Ruth C. Hughes
Associate in Human Relations
National Student YWCA
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10022

OUR SPRING VACATION IS:_____

WE INTEND TO SEND_____ TEAMS TO THE VOTER EDUCATION/REGISTRATION PROJECT

WOMEN PARTICIPANTS_____ MEN PARTICIPANTS_____

WE UNDERSTAND THAT A MINIMUM COST FOR HOUSING AND FOOD IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF OUR ASSOCIATION OR OF INDIVIDUAL DELEGATES UNLESS WE HAVE REQUESTED AND RECEIVED SCHOLARSHIP AID. WE KNOW THAT EACH PERSON PAYS INSURANCE COSTS UPON ARRIVING AT THE PROJECT SITE (10% PER DAY FOR DURATION OF PROJECT).

_____
signed title

_____
school

---

WE INTEND TO PARTICIPATE IN THE TUTORIAL TRAINING PROJECT AT_____
We would participate in a training project if more favorable location_____
WE WILL HAVE_____ TEAMS OF_____ WOMEN PARTICIPANTS

OF_____ MEN PARTICIPANTS

WE UNDERSTAND THAT A MINIMUM COST FOR HOUSING AND FOOD IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF OUR ASSOCIATION OR OF INDIVIDUAL DELEGATES UNLESS WE HAVE REQUESTED AND RECEIVED SCHOLARSHIP AID. WE KNOW THAT EACH PERSON PAYS INSURANCE COSTS UPON ARRIVING AT THE PROJECT SITE (10¢ PER DAY FOR DURATION OF PROJECT).

_____
signed title

_____
school

SRRP 1/66

# For Every Woman and Girl

# YWCA

# SUMMER PROJECTS 1966

## INTERNATIONAL PROJECTS

| Location | Type of Program | Cost | Where to Write |
|---|---|---|---|
| MEXICO | Assist with YWCA projects in various sections of Mexico City. Learn about life and culture of the people and participate in student activities. Visits to other parts of Mexico en route to and from the United States. Dates: To be announced. (Women) | Between $500 and $600 | Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple<br>National Student YWCA<br>600 Lexington Avenue<br>New York, N.Y. 10022 |
| GREECE AND YUGOSLAVIA | Participate in project arranged by Athens YWCA. Seminar with YMCA group and local students on Greek life and culture. Visits to other parts of Greece and into Yugoslavia where there will be contact with student groups. Dates: June 23 - August 16. (Women) | About $1100 | Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple<br>National Student YWCA<br>600 Lexington Avenue<br>New York, N.Y. 10022 |
| USSR | The YMCA-YWCA group will be on program arranged especially by the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR. Plans include more than a week at a student camp, visits to several of the Soviet Republics, and a maximum opportunity to meet and talk with students. Dates: To be announced. (Coed) | About $1450 | Mr. Richard A. Stirling<br>National Student Council of YMCAs<br>291 Broadway<br>New York, N.Y. 10007 |
| INDIA | Plans tentative for YWCA student seminar in South India with group of Indian women students to explore cultural differences and similarities and the challenges confronting all women in the modern world. Visits in homes and colleges in both North and South India. Dates: To be announced. (Women) | To be determined | Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple<br>National Student YWCA<br>600 Lexington Avenue<br>New York, N.Y. 10022 |
| JAPAN | Plans tentative for YWCA staff, young university faculty or staff and YWCA advisers to meet counterparts in Japan and possibly nearby Asian countries. Seminar on role of professionally-trained women in automated society. Dates: To be announced. (Women) | About $1000 | Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple<br>National Student YWCA<br>600 Lexington Avenue<br>New York, N.Y. 10022 |

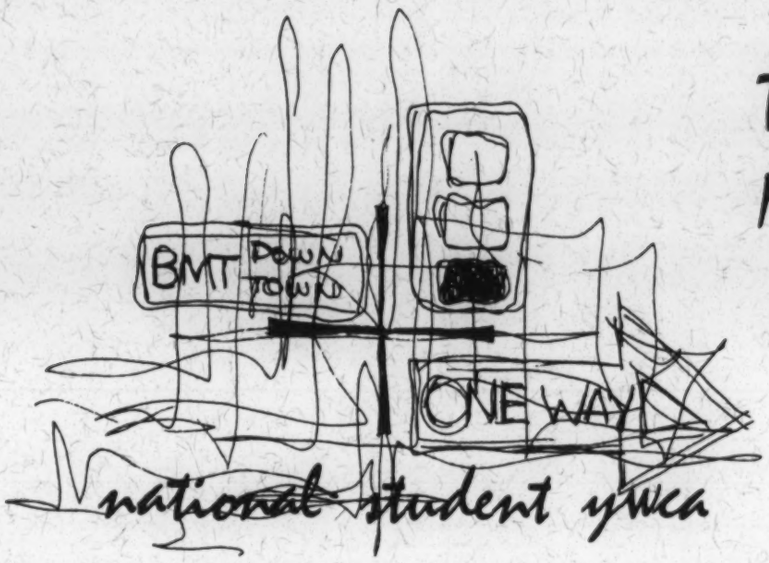
## NATIONAL PROJECTS

| Location | Type of Program | Cost | Where to Write |
|---|---|---|---|
| CITY PROJECT IN NEW YORK | Students work in community settlements or in urban renewal programs. Learn about the privations of the urban slums but also about the agencies seeking to improve conditions. Group will live together. Seminar program arranged by Center for New York City Affairs. Credit may be arranged. Dates: About June 25 - August 19. (Coed) | $100 fee plus rm. and bd. (earnings usually cover expenses) | Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple<br>National Student YWCA<br>600 Lexington Avenue<br>New York, N.Y. 10022 |
| WASHINGTON, D.C. | Students hold jobs with Congressmen, in government agencies, or with private organizations. Participate in active seminar program including lectures, direct experience with government officials and field trips. Group lives together in center of Washington. College credit may be arranged. Dates: June 15 - August 26. (Coed) | $110 fees plus rm. and bd. (earnings usually cover expenses) | Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple<br>National Student YWCA<br>600 Lexington Avenue<br>New York, N.Y. 10022 |
| NEW YORK LEADERSHIP TRAINING SCHOOL | Leadership development for undergraduates with Christian concerns. Courses in Social Ethics, Christian Faith and program skills given at Union Theological Seminary where group is housed. Academic requirements for admission. College credit available. Dates: July 1 - August 12. (Coed) | Approx. $350 | Miss Gloria Metzger<br>National Student YWCA<br>600 Lexington Avenue<br>New York, N.Y. 10022 |

## REGIONAL PROJECTS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| RURAL WEST VIRGINIA | Help a small rural community develop its own Community Action Committee and help motivate the children to continue formal education and gain personal skills. (Coed) | Registration fee | Miss Theodora Ninesteel<br>Middle Atlantic Student YWCA<br>3601 Locust Street<br>Philadelphia, Pa. 19104 |
| ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO | Work as camp counselor in community YWCA with girls of multiracial backgrounds. One week of orientation, four weeks camping, and one week of study of the Southwest, especially the Pueblo Indians. (Women) | $85 for registration, rm. and bd. | Miss Eula Redenbaugh<br>Rocky Mountain Student YWCA<br>1269 Topeka Avenue<br>Topeka, Kansas 66612 |
| BOSTON, MASS. | A small group of students will live and work together in Roxbury, the inner-city ghetto of Boston. Students obtain own jobs at prevailing wages. Study of Christian community and its embodiment in urban community. (Coed) | $25 reg. fee, rm. and bd. $15 a week | Student Christian Movement in New England<br>1145 Massachusetts Avenue<br>Cambridge, Mass. 02138 |

YWCA




# THE NEW YORK CITY PROJECT 1966

*(formerly the College Summer Service Group)*

*WILL GIVE STUDENTS AN OPPORTUNITY TO:*

- *have a summer job in New York in either a community center working with children or a social agency tackling some of the city's problems*
- *study the meaning and results of modern urbanization including the implications for philosophy and religion*
- *live with a group of students from across the country sharing in the life of New York's lower East Side*
- *explore New York and get to know this greatest of American cities; discover its many faces, resources and surprises*

*"URBANIZATION CONSTITUTES A MASSIVE CHANGE IN THE WAY MEN LIVE TOGETHER AND BECAME POSSIBLE IN ITS CONTEMPORARY FORM ONLY WITH THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES WHICH SPRANG FROM THE WRECKAGE OF RELIGIOUS WORLD VIEWS... THE WAYS MEN LIVE THEIR COMMON LIFE AFFECTS MIGHTILY THE WAYS THEY UNDERSTAND THE MEANING OF LIFE AND VISA VERSA." (Harvey Cox in The Secular City)*

*The NEW YORK CITY PROJECT 1966 is one of volunteer service wherein the individual has an opportunity to contribute to the lives of others through giving of himself, his time and his energy. MEMBERS ARE PAID A STIPEND FOR THEIR WORK, WHICH USUALLY COVERS AT LEAST PROJECT FEES PLUS ROOM AND BOARD.*

*Weekly seminars will be conducted by the Center for New York City Affairs of the New School for Social Research. Field trips will be arranged in connection with the seminars.*

*A resident counselor will help the group supplement the seminars with whatever else is of interest to them in New York.*

*The NEW YORK CITY PROJECT is open to men and women students who have completed at least one year of college. The dates are June 22 - August 19, 1966. The cost is $10 registration and $90 program fee. Room and board come to approximately $25 per week.*

*FOR FURTHER INFORMATION AND APPLICATIONS, WRITE TO:*

*Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple*
*National Student YWCA*
*600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10022*

YES

YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

PROSPECTUS

June 1, 1965

SUMMARY OF

YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES'

REQUEST FOR GRANT TO CO-ORDINATE

STATE-WIDE TUTORIAL PROGRAM

Youth Educational Services, a confederation of college students first assembled by Governor Terry Sanford, is a group united by a concern for educational and social progress in North Carolina. Governor Sanford issued a challenge to the student leaders of the predominantly Negro colleges to "turn toward civic enterprise and translate physical action into intelligible dialogue with the entire community."

The students accepted the challenge willingly and immediately planned ways in which their actions could be transformed into constructive programs. The first means found for promoting "better human relations" was the production of four 30-minute 16mm films, "A Minority Report", for television programming and for individual showings. By late Spring, 1964, the film series had progressed to the very technical stages of editing and processing. It was at this point that the students developed the idea of a program of campus-based tutorial projects.

A state-wide tutorial program was designed to aid disadvantaged Negro and white children to prepare for new opportunities in education and careers. In the fall of 1964 a conference was convened on the purposes and organization of tutoring projects. This conference was held on the campus of Wake Forest College in Winston-Salem with the co-operation of the U. S. National Student Association and the North Carolina Council on Human Relations. By inviting a

number of student and adult consultants with extensive backgrounds in education and tutoring projects, the conference was able to focus on similar activities in cities outside North Carolina.

At present, Youth Educational Services has tutorial projects in Greensboro, Fayetteville, Raleigh, Charlotte, and Winston-Salem. These projects are designed to help secondary school children who are potential drop-outs and/or under-achieving because of their general cultural and educational environment and background. By June 1965, these projects involved 437 college students and 967 school children. Students can make a substantial contribution to the educational progress of the State and the development of its human resources.

The tutoring programs are of an altogether voluntary nature. The tutorial projects have been developed and refined at eight or more piedmont colleges during the past year. The projects have benefited the tutors as well as the tutees in that Youth Educational Services has provided an additional opportunity for leadership training and has provided the tutors a basis upon which to objectively view their education and the community in which they live.

While all of this effort has been helpful and effective, it needs guidance and co-ordination. Experience has suggested that the effective continuation of a state-wide tutoring program will require full-time, state-wide co-ordination in two primary areas: (1) Research of educational materials for tutorial use and instruction in their desirable use, and (2) Exchange of evaluative information from the experiences of the various projects and establishment of regular communication with community and State school officials.

It is proposed that these two full-time services be provided by Youth Educational Services during the next year. The Learning Institute of North

Carolina has committed its financial support to the establishment of the first service to complement the work of a field co-ordinator through provision of a staff person to do research and conduct training, and has committed its support through the provision of offices for such a staff person and the field co-ordinator who is to be financed from other sources.

This proposal is directed specifically to the procurement of financial resources for the employment of a staff member to co-ordiante and strengthen existing projects, to encourage the establishment of additional tutorial projects, and to serve as a communicator between tutorial projects, and with related organizations. Such a staff member would require a basic salary, a travel allowance, and a general administrative support budget. It is proposed that a grant of $15,000 be made to the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, a tax exempt, non-profit, charitable organization with whom Youth Educational Services is affiliated, in trust for the use of Youth Educational Services in the following manner:

| | |
|---|---|
| SALARY: | |
| Field Co-ordinator | $ 6,000 |
| FIELD WORK: | |
| Travel Expenses (to school and conferences) | 3,200 |
| OFFICE WORK: | |
| Books and Publications | 200 |
| Dictaphone | 600 |
| Film Rental and Purchase | 100 |
| Postage | 600 |
| Publications and Printing | 2,500 |
| Supplies | 800 |
| Telephone | 1,000 |
| TOTAL: | $15,000 |

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Introduction

II. The Applicant

III. The History

IV. The Proposed Program for 1965-66

A. Co-ordinate and Strengthen Existing Projects

1. Communications
2. Resource Materials and Publications
3. Tutor Orientation and Training
4. City Co-ordinating Councils
5. Evaluation

B. Encourage the Establishment of Additional Tutorial Projects

1. Eastern North Carolina
2. Western North Carolina
3. Piedmont North Carolina

C. Communications: Inter-project and with Related Organizations

V. The Offices of Youth Educational Services

VI. The Budget

VII. The Appendix

A. Value of Youth Educational Services

B. Constitution of the North Carolina Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights

C. Minutes of Monthly Meeting, May 4, 1965

D. Articles of Incorporation, Youth Educational Services

E. History of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations

F. Letter of Recommendation: Dr. T. Franklin Williams, Chairman, North Carolina Council on Human Relations

G. Letter from Dr. Harold Howe, Director, Learning Institute of North Carolina

H. Resolution of the Board of Directors, The North Carolina Fund

I. Resume: Mr. Lowell Dodge

J. Resumes: Applicants for Field Co-ordinator for Youth Educational Services

K. Film Brochure: A Minority Report

L. List of Film Showings

M. A Tutorial Project: Greensboro United Tutorial Service

N. A Survey: North Carolina Tutorial Projects

O. Photographs

# I. INTRODUCTION

Applicant: Youth Educational Services, Incorporated
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Proposal: Establishment of a state-wide co-ordinating office of tutorial services for Youth Educational Services with two full-time staff members and adequate administrative support

Program:

1) To co-ordinate and strengthen the existing tutorial projects of Youth Educational Services

2) To promote additional tutorial projects in the State of North Carolina

3) To provide staff support for other programs of Youth Educational Services

Request: $15,000 for the period from September 1, 1965 to September 1, 1966

## II. THE APPLICANT: YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

Youth Educational Services is a confederation of college students united by a concern for educational and social progress in North Carolina. During his first year, it developed two programs: 1. A film series on the aspirations and condition of the Negro in North Carolina; and 2. A series of tutorial projects in co-operation with the public school system.

Students from the following campuses are active in Youth Educational Services:

Atlantic Christian College
Barber-Scotia College
Bennett College
Duke University
Elizabeth City State College
Fayetteville State College
Guilford College
Johnson C. Smith University
Lenoir Rhyne College
Livingstone College
Meredith College
North Carolina A & T College
North Carolina College
North Carolina State University of UNC, at Raleigh
Shaw University
St. Augustine's College
UNC at Greensboro
Wake Forest College

The Officers for 1965-66 are:

President--Mr. Cecil Butler, North Carolina A & T College
First Vice President--Mr. Robert Holmes, North Carolina State
Second Vice President--Miss Alice Walker, Barber-Scotia College
Secretary--Miss Jeanette Johnson, Johnson C. Smith University
Treasurer--Mr. William Pollard, Shaw University
Project Director--Mr. Charles Bugg, Guilford College

The Board of Directors of Youth Educational Services is composed of the President and Treasurer of Youth Educational Services, four students elected at large and five adults, two of whom must also serve on the Executive Board of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations. The present membership of the Board is:

Mr. Cecil Butler, President, Youth Educational Services

Mr. William Pollard, Treasurer, Youth Educational Service
Mr. Charles Bugg, Director, Greensboro United Tutorial Service
Miss Janet Brown, Meredith College
Miss Deanna Green, Wake Forest College
Mr. George Langford, Fayetteville State College
Mr. John C. Brooks, Legal Counsel, The North Carolina Fund
Dr. Samuel E. Duncan, President, Livingston College
Dr. Leonard H. Robinson, Dean, North Carolina A & T College
Member, Executive Board, North Carolina Council on Human Relations
Member, Executive Board, North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Youth Educational Services is affiliated with the North Carolina Council on Human Relations.

## III. HISTORY: YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

Youth Educational Services was organized in January, 1964, at the suggestion of Governor Terry Sanford who issued a challenge to the student leaders of the predominantly Negro colleges to "turn toward civic enterprise and translate physical action into intelligible dialogue with the entire community."

The students accepted the challenge willingly and immediately planned ways in which their actions could be transformed into constructive programs. The original group of eleven students was known as the Intercollegiate Steering Committee. Soon after its informal organization, the steering committee invited student leaders of various predominantly white institutions to join with them in their efforts to promote civic enterprise. This inter-racial group formally organized the North Carolina Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights with membership open to each college and university in North Carolina.

The purpose of the Intercollegiate Council, as stated in its Constitution, is: "To promote better human relations among all citizens of North Carolina through whatever media that may be at the disposal of this Council."

The first means found for promoting "better human relations" were the facilities and technical knowledge of the North Carolina Film Board. In collaboration with the Film Board, students from four colleges produced the film series, "Minority Report," consisting of four 30-minute films.[1]

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[1] List of films and participating schools, in order of production:
"A Knocking at the Gate," North Carolina College
"Good-bye, Carolina," North Carolina A & T College
"We're Not Alone," Bennett College
"Vote-And The Choice Is Yours," Fayetteville State College

This film series was originally developed for television, but the 16mm films are very suitable for showings to civic, religious and educational organizations. It is now hoped that Youth Educational Services will be able to coordinate a state-wide program of public showings and discussions of these films. Such a program, experience shows, is even more effective than television showings. Local affiliates of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations and college students can co-operate in presenting the films to public gatherings.

These four films represent the Intercollegiate Council's effort to establish the "dialogue" mentioned by Governor Sanford at the first meeting of the Council in January, 1964.

At this same meeting, Governor Sanford challenged the students to "turn toward civic enterprise." By late Spring, the film series had progressed to the very technical stages of editing and processing. It was at this point that the students accepted the second challenge, "civic enterprise."

The idea of developing campus-based tutorial projects came from several Duke University coeds during one of the meetings of the Council. As Spring final exams approached, the students of the Intercollegiate Council resolved that the establishment of tutorial projects in co-operation with the public school systems would receive top priority when school re-opened in September, 1964.

In the fall of 1964 the first step was taken, the convening of a conference on the purposes and organization of tutoring projects. This conference was held on the campus of Wake Forest College in Winston-Salem with the co-operation of the U. S. National Student Association and the North Carolina Council on Human Relations.

The conference followed a seminar format, utilizing student and adult consultants with extensive backgrounds in education and/or tutorial projects. For example, Dr. David Iwamoto of the Research Division of the National Education Association and Tom Roderick of the Philadelphia Tutorial Project served as consultants.[2] Approximately 75 young people participated in the conference, representing 20 colleges and universities.

At present the Intercollegiate Council has tutorial projects in Greensboro, Fayetteville, Raleigh, Charlotte and Winston-Salem. These projects are designed to help secondary school children who are potential drop-outs and/or are underachieving because of their general cultural and educational environment and background.

One such project is the Greensboro United Tutorial Services. This project is a loosely co-ordinated effort by students from five institutions--Bennett College, Greensboro College, Guilford College, North Carolina A & T College and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. This program involved 168 tutors working with 412 children. A description of this particular project is included in the appendix.

Students can make a substantial contribution to the educational progress of the State and the development of human resources. This has been the belief

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[2] List of consultants: Miss Joan Bradbury, Staff assistant, Student Woodlawn Area Project; Miss Ann Cook, Director, Student Woodlawn Area Project; Mr. Lowell Dodge, Director of Tutoring, North Carolina Advancement School; Mr. Thurman Harrison, Staff assistant, Philadelphia Tutorial Project; Dr. David Iwamoto, Research Division, National Education Association; Mr. Stephen McNichols, Staff, USNSA; Mr. Thomas Roderick, Director, Philadelphia Tutorial Project; Mrs. Velma Strode, Director, "Future for Jimmy" Project.

of students in the Intercollegiate Council. Such projects as the Greensboro United Tutorial Services substantiate this ideal.

The most recent development in the Intercollegiate Council's brief history is its assistance to other student and adult groups in formulating tutorial projects. Council students actively assisted the Southeastern Regional YWCA in organizing the first South-wide conference on tutoring, which was held at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in April, 1965. The Council ascertained which schools in its membership might profit from this program and co-ordinated their travel to this very helpful conference. It also selected a team of student consultants to work person-to-person with representatives from schools throughout the South during the conference as well as to serve as discussion leaders.

Most recently, the Intercollegiate Council contributed a team of student and adult consultants to the Richmond City Human Relations Council to assist it in its Tutorial Evaluation Conference.

In early May, 1965, the Intercollegiate Council voted to incorporate as Youth Educational Services and decided to request of potential benefactors the funds necessary to co-ordinate, to strengthen, and to expand its state-wide tutorial program.

## IV: THE PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR 1965-1966

The tutoring program which Youth Educational Services has been promoting during the past scholastic year has been one of an almost altogether voluntary nature. Hundreds of college students from across the State have given freely of their extra-curricular time to aid and inspire disadvantaged primary and elementary grade students. Tutorial projects which are associated with Youth Educational Services have been carried on by students of the following institutions:

(1) Fayetteville State College, Fayetteville.

(2) Greensboro United Tutorial Services, Greensboro.

A co-operative effort of students from Bennett College, Greensboro College, Guilford College, North Carolina A & T College and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

(3) Meredith College, Raleigh.

(4) North Carolina Advancement School, Winston-Salem.

A project drawing tutors from Salem College, Wake Forest College and Winston-Salem State College.

(5) North Carolina State University, Raleigh.

(6) Shaw University, Raleigh.

(7) Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem.

(8) Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte.

While all of this effort has been helpful and effective, it needs guidance and co-ordination. Much guidance and co-ordination has been given during the past year through conferences which were financially pieced together and through the work of persons whose employers donated their part-time assistance. Such employers were the U. S. National Student Association, the Governor's

Office of North Carolina and the North Carolina Council on Human Relations. More Professional guidance and expanded co-ordination is now needed. Specifically, there are needs for two different kinds of endeavors:

1. The State requires some kind of a center for the selection, evaluation, and preparation of materials and for the development of programs which will in a short period of time train tutors as effectively as possible to do a good job in their individual work with young people.

2. There is a need for a field co-ordinator for Youth Educational Services in the State. This person would cover the State rather widely and assist groups at colleges in their contacts with public school systems and in working out the many details of administration which are necessary to make tutoring work productive and accepted by local schools.

The first of the endeavors described above will be sponsored by the Learning Institute of North Carolina through their provision of a full-time staff person, experienced in educational research and tutor training, to work co-operatively with the field co-ordinator of Youth Educational Services. (See appendix G.)

The second of these endeavors is the primary subject of this grant request. Youth Educational Services proposes to establish an Office of Tutorial Services which will:

A. CO-ORDINATE AND STRENGTHEN EXISTING PROJECTS.

B. ENCOURAGE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ADDITIONAL TUTORIAL PROJECTS.

C. SERVE AS A MECHANISM FOR INCREASED COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN TUTORIAL PROJECTS AND WITH RELATED ORGANIZATIONS.

A. CO-ORDINATE AND STRENGTHEN EXISTING PROJECTS.

The staff and financial resources of Youth Educational Services will provide the following services to existing tutorial projects:

1. Communicate with Projects in Other States.

2. Develop Resource Materials and Publications.

3. Assist with Tutor Orientation and Training.

4. Organize City-wide Tutorial Co-ordinating Councils.

5. Develop Evaluation Techniques and Programs.

1. Communicate with Projects in Other States.

There are projects elsewhere in the United States which have met and resolved many of the general problems now facing the present programs of North Carolina students. In addition, these older projects are putting into practice new teaching techniques and are developing original materials to be employed in tutoring.

For instance, the Western Student Movement has established community programs which involve high school students tutoring younger children from the same neighborhood. The Philadelphia Tutoring Project has instituted week-end tutor training sessions which take place outside the city at a conference center. The Student Woodlawn Area Project in Chicago has developed means by which tutees participate in evaluation sessions, both of the tutors and of the project itself.

Youth Educational Services could greatly benefit from the experiences of these older tutorial programs. Youth Educational Services proposes to provide a systematic means for ascertaining these advances in other parts of the country and for applying them in the programs affiliated with Youth Educational Services. Student volunteers who are full-time students do not have the time necessary to carry out this function.

2. Develop Resource Materials and Publications.

Educational materials gathered from educational research organizations, other tutorial projects, and those tested (where possible) in the North

Carolina Advancement School[3] will become part of a reference library in the offices of Youth Educational Services. Whenever possible, the offices of Youth Educational Services will duplicate these materials for distribution and application in local programs. If cost or copyright prohibits efficient and inexpensive duplication, the staff can inform local projects where these materials can be obtained.

Materials gathered from other projects and from the more advanced programs of Youth Educational Services will serve as sources for official program publications, e.g. evaluation forms, guidelines for organization and tutor orientation manuals, and readings on disadvantaged youth.

3. Assist with Tutor Orientation and Training.

The tutor orientation sessions in projects associated with Youth Educational Services have varied widely in content and duration. In the Greensboro program tutor orientation consisted of four formal sessions which drew heavily on professional people from the city and within the State. Other projects have had little or no tutor orientation before beginning the project.

The need in this area is two-fold. First, all projects must become more conscious of the importance of tutor orientation prior to initiating the actual program. Tutor orientation serves to provide the students with additional confidence and knowledge of techniques and to strengthen their

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[3] The staff will work closely with the North Carolina Advancement School. This experimental school is charged with the responsibility of developing approaches and materials for under-achieving children. Youth Educational Services has already benefited greatly from a close association with personnel at the Advancement School. In the future, the School can serve as a laboratory for testing and evaluating newly acquired materials and techniques before they are applied in the local programs associated with Youth Educational Services.

commitment to the project. Second, new projects will need direct assistance in organizing and carrying out their orientation programs.

The staff will study the orientation programs employed by U.C.L.A. and other tutorials. Using the findings of these studies, the staff will develop a set of guides for organizing tutor orientation sessions. These guides will be supplemented by appropriate field work with local projects.

Tutor training and tutor orientation are two distinct operations and problems. The latter serves primarily to introduce the prospective tutor to the goals and operations of a project. Tutor training, on the other hand, should be an intensive and continuing examination of the actual problems encountered by tutors in their sessions with the children.

The materials gathered by the staff can be most effectively applied in tutor training. The gathering of materials and the development of publications should be blended with extensive field work in the area of tutor training.

For example, tutor training should make extensive use of professional people, educators, child psychiatrists, social workers and public school personnel. It must involve a thorough discussion of problems encountered in the tutoring sessions and of practices developed in other programs. Rarely do students have the opportunity to establish sufficient community contacts outside of the public school system to include other professional personnel in tutor training programs. Also, as mentioned previously, student project administrators do not have sufficient time to sift through materials from other projects on this topic.

4. Organize City-wide Tutorial Co-ordinating Councils.

A city-wide co-ordinating structure, such as that which has been

employed in Greensboro, enables a state-wide office to serve and co-ordinate more effectively a state-wide program. The development of such city co-ordinating councils, through staff field work, will be promoted simultaneously with the development of the above mentioned library and publications. An effective mechanism will then be available for distribution and application of information gained from other projects and from projects presently under way in North Carolina.

Raleigh, for example, contains five colleges. One has a stable project under way. Three other colleges are struggling in the early stages of project development. The full-time students involved have neither sufficient time to communicate with other programs nor to develop a city tutorial council which would provide a mechanism for the sharing of valuable information. Youth Educational Services plans to develop city-wide tutorial co-ordinating councils in such situations.

5. Develop Evaluation Techniques and Programs.

The task of developing the early organizational form of a tutorial project and continuing its efficient administration is a full-time effort for local student leadership. Quite often the local project leaders, who are enrolled full-time in school, do not have the time to initiate systematic and regular evaluations of the program content. For example, decisions as to materials and teaching techniques are necessarily left to the individual tutors and are rarely evaluated in a comprehensive manner.

The staff of Youth Educational Services will attempt to initiate program evaluation in the following ways: a. Distribution of evaluation forms. b. "Seminars" for project directors. c. Local "conferences" of project personnel and advisers.

B. ENCOURAGE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ADDITIONAL TUTORIALS.

1. Eastern North Carolina. The development of college and/or high school based tutorial projects in eastern North Carolina is a top priority. The following eastern towns have colleges which could serve as a basis for organization of voluntary tutoring services: Elizabeth City, Wilmington, Fayetteville, Wilson, Greenville, Rocky Mount and Buies Creek. Representatives from Atlantic Christian College in Wilson have participated in Intercollegiate Council programs, and preliminary visits have been made to that campus.

The staff of Youth Educational Services plans to expand its services to the campuses in Eastern North Carolina and to establish communications with the public school system with the aid of members of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations and other organizations who reside in Eastern North Carolina.

2. Western North Carolina. The development of college and/or high school based tutorial projects in certain areas of Western North Carolina is a second priority. In this instance, tutors would be working primarily with white school children from low income families. Such colleges as Mars Hill, Appalachian State Teachers College and Asheville-Biltmore College are considered desirable centers for organizing future efforts in Western North Carolina.

3. Piedmont North Carolina. Most of the projects initiated in 1964-65 by Youth Educational Services are located in the Piedmont Crescent, extending from Raleigh on the east to Charlotte on the west. These projects have served as catalysts. Students in other colleges in this area are already planning to initiate programs beginning next fall.

Youth Educational Services plans to provide assistance where needed to programs initiated next year in this area, especially through the utilization of present tutorial project personnel as "consultants" for new projects.

C. SERVE AS A MECHANISM FOR INCREASED COMMUNICATION BETWEEN TUTORIAL PROJECTS AND WITH RELATED ORGANIZATIONS.

The staff of Youth Educational Services will assist the officers with the regular monthly meeting of school representatives and project personnel. In addition, the staff will prepare a regular newsletter to facilitate communication among the various schools and projects and provide a sense of organizational unity. This newsletter will also be distributed to the appropriate related organizations and to individuals throughout the State.

The staff will attend appropriate meetings and conferences of other organizations in order to facilitate communication between the student organization and other state associations and institutions.

## V. THE OFFICES OF YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

Location. The Youth Educational Services office will be located at the Quail Roost Conference Center, ten miles north of Durham, North Carolina, with the offices of the Learning Institute of North Carolina (LINC). LINC will furnish secretarial help, auditing services and office equipment as needed.

Staff. Persons with experience in tutoring and campus organization are available to Youth Educational Services for the coming year. The staff member selected will divide the responsibilities of office management between himself and the employee of the Learning Institute of North Carolina assigned to this program, according to their past experience and their abilities.

Formation of Policy. The staff will be free to set priorities on their own activities within the bounds set for them by the officers and directors of Youth Educational Services. In general, it will respond first and foremost to the needs of the various tutoring projects, present or new, across the State of North Carolina.

Youth Educational Services Beyond 1966. On the basis of the experience of the staff during the coming year and the evaluation by the directors of Youth Educational Services and the Learning Institute of North Carolina, Youth Educational Services will formulate plans for continuing operations. It is intended that this year's efforts will form the basis for a permanent state-wide tutorial co-ordinating operation.

## VI. PROPOSED BUDGET FOR 1965-66

| | |
|---|---|
| SALARY: | |
| Field Co-ordinator | $ 6,000 |
| FIELD WORK: | |
| Travel Expenses (to schools and conferences) | 3,200 |
| OFFICE WORK: | |
| Books and Publications | 200 |
| Dictaphone | 600 |
| Film Rental and Purchase | 100 |
| Postage | 600 |
| Publications and Printing | |
| A) Conference reports | |
| B) Special printings and distribution | |
| C) Working papers | |
| D) Tapes | 2,500 |
| Supplies | 800 |
| Telephone | 1,000 |
| TOTAL: | $15,000 |

# VII. APPENDIX

## A. Value of Youth Educational Services

The following paragraphs set forth the explicit and implicit values of an organization such as Youth Educational Services. They present conclusions drawn from its activities and growth.

The value of tutoring projects is apparent in terms of the substantive contribution which this type of endeavor makes to the children of minority groups and/or of low income and deprived families. The program can influence the total personality of the child, and particularly his self-confidence and his attitudes toward the learning process. The program serves to complement the public school system by assuming a responsibility which the public school system is at this time incapable of assuming. The program seeks to reach children who have long been ignored. The primary mechanism of achieving that goal is individual attention.

Through the tutor-tutee relationship, the tutee not only improves his skills, but also develops a more positive orientation towards the learning process and the school system. Recent professional research indicates that attitudes are a primary factor in determining the educational "success" of minority-group children and of children from deprived backgrounds.

Individual attention can often break through the syndrome of failure that many of these children have experienced in the school system. The tutor-child relationship cannot be provided by the present structure of the public schools. The tutor concentrates on ascertaining both the weaknesses and the strengths of the individual children. Too often, the deprived child's strengths have gone unrecognized; yet, these strengths provide the key to developing self-confidence and achievement.

The efforts of the individual tutor are directed at developing the sort of personal relationship which is a source of success, at developing techniques which enable the child to demonstrate his strengths, at stimulating the child to apply himself and pursue interests, and at developing a positive orientation towards the learning process, rather than at doing the child's homework.

The individual tutor undergoes a unique "education" during his involvement in the tutorial project. Simply put, the tutoring experience exposes the college student to the educational and social problems of the State in a very personal context. This experience makes the tutor keenly aware of community responsibility and sensitive to the social, political, and economic problems of this State and of the South. The motivations of the tutor to volunteer for such a program can best be revealed by the phrase, "I want to do something, something meaningful, and something for my community." This experience crystalizes that commitment and expands the dimensions of this sense of social responsibility.

The college student of today will be a leading citizen in some southern town tomorrow. The educated person in the South has unparalleled access to the mechanisms of community progress because of the historical role of the educated person and because of the scarcity of trained and committed people to assume positions in the increasingly urban and industrial South. The history of the civil rights movement indicates what can happen if local educated people assume leadership. Youth Educational Services, through this unique experience of tutoring, hopes to assist in the development of social-minded citizens committed to community progress.

A second important aspect of this tutorial program is the impact which such experience has upon the Negro youth involved in Youth Educational Services.

Participation in the activities of Youth Educational Services has had a visible and dramatic impact on the Negro young people involved. Many opportunities heretofore denied, are now provided by federal law and, to some extent, by community practive, e.g., fair employment. Negro youth must be given the opportunity to develop those abilities which will enable them to pursue these opportunities.

The general education of the young Negro needs no extensive examination. It has provided the young Negro with insufficient education to pursue the opportunities granted by law or to fulfill his desire to compete effectively in the society at large. It has suffered for generations and its weaknesses must be considered and judged in light of its past record.

However, the type of experience gained in Youth Educational Services has had a surprising impact upon the participating Negro youth. It has provided an experience rarely encountered in formal education in the predominantly Negro college. Negro students generally are not given the responsibility of student self-government as are white students. Negro students complain that Negro educational institutions are "non-competitive" and "paternalistic."

The responsibility of leadership and administration in Youth Educational Services is assumed by Negro and white youth. They discuss and determine directions and programs. Individuals are encouraged to develop their own ideas on matters and to articulate what they think is best. The students "compete," and they assume responsibility. This is a new experience for many of the Negro students. If one is responsible for chairing a meeting, he chairs it.

In summary, the programs and activities of Youth Educational Services exemplify three primary values:

1. An important and needed contribution to the life of the children.

2. A supplementary educational program for the public school system.
3. An experience for the students which develops young adults committed to and skilled in nurturing social change.

If past investments in the future of the southern community are to be fortified, a new investment must be made. An investment already has been made in southern youth, particularly in college students. The past investment is now beginning to appear as a "profit"--the appearance of the new southern student, committed to actively formulating the content and direction of the changing South.

Youth Educational Services is a product of that previous investment. It is a creation of the new southern student's willingness to work and to work hard at seeing his ideals take shape as reality.

Youth Educational Services has already demonstrated its potential for contributing to educational progress in North Carolina and its value as a "model" for similar organizational efforts elsewhere in the South. To invest in Youth Educational Services is to invest in constructive action for educational and community progress in both North Carolina and the South.

# VII. APPENDIX

B. Constitution of the North Carolina Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights

VII. APPENDIX

C. THE NORTH CAROLINA INTERCOLLEGIATE COUNCIL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

ERDAHL-CLOYD STUDENT UNION

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

MAY 4, 1965

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Minutes

The meeting was called to order by the outgoing President, Mr. William Parker of Shaw University. The first item on the agenda was the showing of a film, "When I Am Old Enough, Goodby!", which depicted the motivations of a high school drop-out and the resultant difficulties that follow dropping out of school. The reading of the minutes was dispensed with. The Treasurer, Mr. Lester Moore of North Carolina College, reported that the balance on hand in the treasury is $100.00.

The roll was taken and the following colleges were represented:

A. & T. College,
Barber-Scotia College,
Duke University,
Elizabeth City State College,
Fayetteville State College,
Johnson C. Smith University,
Meredith College,
North Carolina College,
North Carolina State,
Shaw University,
University of North Carolina at Greensboro,
Wake Forest College.

The second item on the agenda was a discussion of the proposed budget for the 1965-66 school year, and plans for the incorporation of the Council. Mr. John Brooks, of The North Carolina Fund, explained the nature of filing for incorporation. The incorporation papers drawn up by Mr. Brooks were distributed

and discussed by the representatives present. After dicussing the papers, Mr. Cecil Butler, A. & T. College, moved that the Council be incorporated. The motion was properly seconded and carried by unanimous vote. Mr. Moore then moved that the new name "Youth Educational Services, Inc." be adopted as the official name of the organization in lieu of "The North Carolina Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights." The motion was seconded and the representatives voted unanimously to change the name to "Youth Educational Services, Inc." (YES). Miss Pamela Pfaff, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, moved that $20.00 be appropriated from the current treasury to pay for the filing of the incorporation papers. The motion was seconded and adopted.

The next item on the agenda was the report of the Nominating Committee. Those persons nominated by the Committee were:

President -- Mr. Cecil Butler (A. & T.),
First Vice-President -- Mr. Charles Bugg (Guilford),
Second Vice-President -- Miss Alice Walker (Barber-Scotia),
Treasurer -- Mr. William Pollard (Shaw),
Secretary -- Miss Jeanette Johnson (Johnson C. Smith).

The Officers elected to serve for the 1965-66 term are:

President -- Mr. Cecil Butler (A. & T.),
First Vice-President -- Mr. Robert Holmes (North Carolina State),
Second Vice-President -- Miss Alice Walker (Barber-Scotia),
Secretary -- Miss Jeanette Johnson (Johnson C. Smith),
Treasurer -- Mr. William Pollard (Shaw),
Project Director -- Mr. Charles Bugg (Guilford).

The four students elected to serve on the Board of Directors along with the President and Treasurer are:

Mr. Charles Bugg (Guilford),
Miss Janet Brown (Meredith),
Miss Luana Green (Wake Forest),
Mr. George Langford (Fayetteville State).

The Nominating Committee presented a list of members of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations' Board of Directors to the group for its selection of six members to recommend to the Board of Directors of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations for its election of two therefrom to sit as voting members on the Board of Directors of Youth Educational Services. In turn, the Youth Educational Services' President and Treasurer will participate as voting members on the North Carolina Council for Human Relations' Board of Directors to provide an interlocking directorate. The six persons named are:

Mrs. Chase H. Benson -- Greensboro,
Dr. McLeod Bryan -- Winston-Salem,
Mr. Ruben J. Dailey -- Asheville,
Mr. Watts Hill, Jr. -- Durham,
Dr. Howard Miller -- Raleigh,
Reverend Vernon C. Tyson -- Sanford.

The following non-student adults were elected to the Board of Directors:

Mr. John C. Brooks, Staff Legal Counsel, The North Carolina Fund, to serve three years;
Dr. Samuel E. Duncan, President of Livingstone College, to serve two years;
Dr. Leonard H. Robinson, Dean of Education at A. & T. College, to serve one year.

There being no further business upon completion of the election of officers, the meeting was adjourned.

Alice Walker, Secretary
Barber-Scotia College

## VII. APPENDIX

D. Articles of Incorporation of Youth Educational Services, a non-profit Corporation.

We, the undersigned natural persons of the age of twenty-one years or more, acting as incorporators for the purpose of creating a non-profit corporation under the laws of the State of North Carolina, as contained in Chapter 55-A of the General Statutes of North Carolina, entitled "Non-Profit Corporation Act," and the several amendments thereto, do hereby set forth;

1. The name of the Corporation is Youth Educational Services.
2. The period of duration of the Corporation shall be perpetual.
3. The purposes for which the Corporation is organized are:
   - A. To establish an intercollegiate council to promote the free exchange of ideas between students.
   - B. To study the problems involved in improving the education of the people of North Carolina of all ages and in different parts of the State.
   - C. To carry on experimental and other projects toward the solution of such problems.
   - D. To encourage cooperative projects between educational institutions and communities in devising such solutions.
   - E. To encourage cooperative projects between educational institutions and philanthropic institutions in devising such solutions.
   - F. To encourage wise use of public and philanthropic funds devoted to any of these purposes.
   - G. To do all things necessary or proper to aid in improving the

education of the people of North Carolina, either directly or through other private or public organizations.

H. Either directly or indirectly, and either alone or in conjunction or co-operation of other persons, institutions and organizations of any sort or nature, to do any and all lawful acts and things, and engage in any and all lawful activities which may be necessary or appropriate in connection with one or more of such purposes.

4. The Corporation is to have the following class or classes of members: Student governments or other student organizations of any college or university in the State of North Carolina.

5. Directors of the Corporation should be elected in the following manner: As provided in the bylaws.

6. The address of the initial registered office of the Corporation is as follows:

121 East Third Street, Charlotte, North Carolina.

Mecklenburg County.

The name of the initial registered agent of the Corporation at the above address is Miss Betty Jo McMakin.

Southern. The number of directors constituting the initial Board of Directors shall be eleven, and the names and addresses of the persons who are to serve as Directors until the first meeting of the Corporation or until their successors are elected and qualified are:

| Name | Street Address | City or Town |
|---|---|---|
| Dr. Carl E. DeVane | Shaw University | Raleigh, North Carolina |
| Lowell Dodge | None | Winston-Salem, North Carolina |
| Mrs. Helen Adams Furhman | 121 East Third Street | Charlotte, North Carolina |
| Mike Lawler | Route 3 | Chapel Hill, North Carolina |
| Lester V. Moore | 2025 Chidley Hall<br>North Carolina College | Durham, North Carolina |
| William T. Parker | Box 60<br>Shaw University | Raleigh, North Carolina |
| Miss Pamela K. Pfaff | 319 McKiever Street<br>U.N.C. Greensboro | Greensboro, North Carolina |
| Dr. Lenard H. Robinson | A & T College | Greensboro, North Carolina |
| Leon Spencer | 6408 Renolder Station<br>Wake Forest College | Winston-Salem, North Carolina |
| Haynes Streeter | Fayetteville State<br>College | Fayetteville, North Carolina |
| Miss Alice Walker | Barber-Scotia College | Concord, North Carolina |

8. The names and addresses of all the Incorporators are:

| Name | Street Address | City or Town |
|---|---|---|
| William T. Parker | Box 60<br>Shaw University | Raleigh, North Carolina |
| Lester V. Moore | 2025 Chidley Hall<br>North Carolina College | Durham, North Carolina |
| John C. Brooks | Post Office Box 2043 | Durham, North Carolina |
| Mike H. Lawler | Sparrow Apartments<br>Route 3 | Chapel Hill, North Carolina |

9. In addition to the powers granted corporations under the laws of the State of North Carolina, the Corporation shall have full power and authority to:

   A. Do all things necessary or proper in helping to improve the education of the people of North Carolina, either directly or through private or public organizations.

   B. Undertake research and studies of the problems involved in improving the education of the people of North Carolina, of all ages and in different parts of the State, and to recommend grants for such purposes.

   C. Carry on experimental and other projects which have as their purpose the solution of such problems and are intended for educational purposes.

   D. Make available professional staff services to private and public agencies, both State and local, seeking solutions to such problems.

   E. Make available staff personnel for the purpose of coordinating the educational activities of its member bodies.

   F. Encourage the wise use of public and philanthropic funds devoted to any of the purposes of the Corporation.

   G. To receive funds from contributing foundations and other sources, to hold and manage these funds solely for the purposes herein set forth.

10. (A) Upon the dissolution of the Corporation, the Board of Directors of the Corporation shall, after paying or adequately providing for

the payment of all known obligations of the Corporation, distribute the remainder of the assets as follows:

1. Assets held by it in trust for specified purposes shall be applied so far as it is feasible in accordance with the terms of the trust.
2. The remaining assets not held in trust shall be applied so far as it is feasible towards carrying out the purposes stated in these articles, or payed over, for such purposes, to one or more other organizations which qualify under Section 501 (c) (3) The United States Internal Revenue Code or successive provisions thereto.

(B) In carrying out its purposes and in exercising its powers, the Corporation shall be subject to the limitations that:

1. No part of its net earnings or income shall adhere to the benefit of any private shareholder, member, or individual.
2. No substantial part of its activities shall be carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation, or the advocacy of, or campaigning for, objectives which can only be obtained by legislation or the defeat of proposed legislation.
3. It shall not participate in, or intervene in (Including the publicizing or distribution of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.
4. The Corporation shall not engage in any activities which would

cause the Corporation to fail to qualify under Section 501 (c) (3) of The United States Revenue Code or successive provisions thereto.

In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, this the fourth day of May, A.D., 1965.

_____

_____

_____

_____

State of North Carolina, County of Mecklenburg.

# VII. APPENDIX

## E. History of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations

## VII. APPENDIX

F. Letter of Recommendation: Dr. T. Franklin Williams, Chairman, North Carolina Council on Human Relations

VII. APPENDIX

G. Letter From Dr. Harold Howe

THE LEARNING INSTITUTE OF NORTH CAROLINA

QUAIL ROOST CONFERENCE CENTER, ROUGEMONT, N. C. DURHAM 477-2025

MEMORANDUM

May 19, 1965

TO: Executive Committee of the LINC Board of Directors

FROM: Harold Howe II

RE: Use of LINC Funds for support of a North Carolina Office of Tutoring Services.

Friends:

Because of timing problems related to decisions regarding personnel, I am asking your approval of a commitment of $5,000 of LINC funds for support of a new enterprise to coordinate, enhance, and improve tutoring activities by students in colleges and universities throughout the State.

There is currently a great deal of interest among undergraduates and some graduate students in donating a portion of personal time to tutoring work with disadvantaged youngsters. Endeavors of this kind are taking place at Duke and at the University of North Carolina as well as in a great variety of colleges throughout the State. In Winston-Salem, for example, over 100 students from Wake Forest, Salem, and Winston-Salem State College are giving their time to tutoring work at the Advancement School. While all of this effort is helpful and effective, it needs guidance and coordination. Specifically there are needs for two different kinds of endeavors:

1. The State requires some kind of a center for the selection, evaluation, and preparation of materials and for the development of programs which will in a short period of time train tutors as effectively as possible to do a good job in their individual work with young people.

2. There is a need for a field coordinator for youth education services in the State. This person would cover the State rather widely and assist groups at colleges in their contacts with public school systems and in working out the many details of administration which are necessary to make tutoring work productive and accepted by local schools.

The second of the endeavors described above is being actively pursued through the joint effort of the North Carolina Human Relations Council and

through Inter-College Council made up of students. The first of these endeavors, however, needs focus and support, and I am suggesting that LINC provide this in several ways:

1. By making office facilities available at Quail Roost.

2. By providing some financial backing and helping to seek additional financial backing from other sources.

As of this writing, conversations have been opened with the North Carolina Fund about the possibility of a contribution from that source to add to the contribution that LINC might make. In addition, we have available an experienced person in Lowell Dodge, Coordinator of Tutoring Services at the North Carolina Advancement School. Our proposal would be to expand his role and to replace him at the North Carolina Advancement School with an on-the-spot person. He would move to the Chapel Hill-Durham area and occupy an office at Quail Roost. He would keep overall responsibility for policy questions related to tutoring services at the Advancement School, but would, in addition, assume a statewide responsibility in the area of materials and training.

A very tentative budget which we have worked out for a one-year operation of Lowell Dodge's office comes to a total of about $19,000. We intend to seek foundation support for this activity, but in the interim we would like to get started by having LINC and if possible the North Carolina Fund guarantee the expenditures involved in case foundation support cannot be found.

The amount of $19,000 mentioned above includes salary for a coordinator and a secretary, office expenses, transportation and conference expenses, and expenses for the purchase of materials, publications, and phone and mail communications.

I shall telephone each of you next week about your reaction, to this suggestion. In the normal course of events, I would have put this on the agenda for the LINC Board at its June 10 meeting; but because Lowell Dodge, who is the ideal person to take responsibility for this new enterprise faces some personal decisions about next year, it may be important to have a decision prior to that time. I would be happy to have you telephone me for any further interpretations you would like to have. Nothing in this memorandum should be regarded as a commitment by the North Carolina Fund. There has been no opportunity for that organization to discuss this matter at length. I have reason to believe, however, that there is some friendliness to presenting the possibility to the North Carolina Fund Board at its May 25 meeting.

## VII. APPENDIX

### H. Resolution of the Board of Directors, The North Carolina Fund, May 26, 1965

REQUEST FOR GRANT

Requesting Organization: LINC (The Learning Institute of North Carolina)

Amount Requested: $10,000

Type of Grant: Supplement to annual contribution to underwrite a part of a new special service

Covering Period: September 1, 1965, to August 30, 1966

Staff Officer: John C. Brooks

Harold Howe II of The Learning Institute of North Carolina has proposed that that organization establish an office for the support of a new enterprise to coordinate, enhance, and improve volunteer tutoring activities by students in colleges and universities throughout the State. LINC requests that The Fund contribute $10,000 toward the sponsorship of a center for the selection, evaluation, and preparation of materials and for the development of programs which will in a short period of time train tutors as effectively as possible to do a good job in their individual work with young people. (See attached memorandum from Harold Howe to his board.) It would be understood that LINC intends to submit a proposal to a foundation as soon as practicable to seek full financial sponsorship of this supportive program. This program would work closely with that sponsored by Youth Educational Services which is described in some detail in the attached report.

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS: The North Carolina Fund is interested in promoting the expansion and development of a responsible State-wide collegiate tutoring program, and

WHEREAS: LINC has proposed to establish an office for the selection, evaluation, and preparation of materials and for the development of programs which will in a short period of time train tutors as effectively as possible to do a good job in their individual work with young people, and

WHEREAS: It is understood that LINC will pursue foundation support for this program at the earliest practicable time;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND THAT:

ARTICLE I. $10,000 be appropriated to LINC for the establishment of a center to develop materials and a training program for tutors during the year of September 1, 1965, to August 30, 1966.

ARTICLE II. LINC be encouraged to pursue foundation support for this program and that if such be secured, any balance of the appropriation be returned to the general unappropriated program monies of The Fund.

## VII. APPENDIX

### I. Resume: Mr. Lowell Dodge

Mr. Lowell Dodge: At present Co-ordinator of Tutoring at the North Carolina Advancement School; former Project Director, Western Student Movement; staff member, Washington, D. C. Tutorial Project, Northern Student Movement, summer 1964; consultant, Youth Educational Services, 1964-65; B. A., Yale University, 1963.

### J. Resume: Applicant for Field Coordinator for Youth Educational Services.

Mr. Michael Lawler: At present Student Government Vice President, United States National Student Association (Working in the Southern United States, primarily North Carolina and Virginia); past President of the Student Body, University of North Carolina, 1963-64; organizer and resource person to Youth Educational Services since its inception.

# VII. APPENDIX

## K. Film Brochure: A Minority Report

# minority report

**. . . . a continuing film series presenting the reasons behind racial protest in North Carolina, and the essential aspirations of Negro youth of today . . .**

**The first four programs in this Public Affairs Series are:**

## goodbye to carolina

students from Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro, describe realistically the type of economic opportunities available to the Negro in North Carolina, and explain why so many Negro college graduates—engineers, chemists, biologists, mathematicians—seek careers outside the state.

•

## a knocking at the gate

from North Carolina College in Durham, a collection of personal experiences by student demonstrators who tell about the motivation and philosophy that kept them going, in spite of indignities and perils encountered on the streets.

•

## we're not alone

a Bennett College presentation, involving students from North Carolina and from Panama, who discuss an important theme: although the Negro is a minority in North Carolina, he shares aspirations in common with the world's nonwhite majority.

•

## vote-and the choice is yours

with state-wide research and door-to-door interviews in Cumberland County, students of Fayetteville State College describe why the Negro often fails to participate in voting and other democratic processes.

**16mm Black & White film Each film 28 minutes**

Planned by the NORTH CAROLINA INTERCOLLEGIATE COUNCIL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. Research and scripts were supplied by the COUNCIL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, a steering group founded in 1964 by students from schools all over North Carolina in response to Governor Terry Sanford's challenge that Negroes "turn toward civic enterprise and translate physical action into intelligible dialogue with the entire community."

Produced with the assistance of the ETV STUDIO OF NORTH CAROLINA STATE AT RALEIGH, and the NORTH CAROLINA FILM BOARD.

**The films are available to television stations, educational and civic groups, church organizations, service clubs and others. For information please write:**

**MISS JO McMAKIN**
**North Carolina Intercollegiate Council For Human Rights**
**Room 301, 121 E. Third Street**
**Charlotte, North Carolina**

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# VII. APPENDIX

## L. List of Film Showings

# VII. APPENDIX

## M. A Tutorial Project: Greensboro United Tutorial Service

A report submitted by Miss Pamela Pfaff Director
Greensboro United Tutorial Service, 1964-65.

The Greensboro United Tutorial Service is the co-ordinating structure for a tutorial project organized by the five colleges in Greensboro--A & T College, Bennett College, Greensboro College, Guilford College and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. This program involves nearly 500 persons; tutors, children, adult advisers, public school personnel, and other interested adults.

The formation of this program began in mid-October at the tutorial conference sponsored by the North Carolina Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights on the campus of Wake Forest College. It was there that students from the Greater Greensboro Area first met and began formulating the tutorial project.

After the conference, the first step was to meet with officials of the city school system. Following conferences with the assistant superintendent of public schools, representatives of the project spent the next few months making presentations to school principals and PTA groups at meetings initiated by him. What were our goals? How would we work? These were only a few of the many questions which had to be satisfactorily answered.

Once having secured the confidence of the public school personnel and the parents, each campus began to set the wheels of tutor recruitment in motion. The first effort yielded one hundred and fifty tutors. Before tutoring, these students attended several orientation sessions.

In order to encourage a positive response from the children at Gillespie School, students organized a "fun" assembly at the school. The "guitar-picking" and singing was an entertaining and relaxed introduction to both the program and to some of the student tutors. Maybe the program was too good. The project staff was swamped with 345 applications by children from the fourth through ninth grades. All wanted a tutor.

On February 16, Greensboro United Tutorial Service "opened shop" for the first time. Eighty-five tutors were matched with one hundred seventy children, tutoring everything from mathematics and geography to trumpet (tutoring a tutee to toot). Each tutoring session lasted one hour, two days per week. These tutoring sessions were held in the school classrooms.

The problem of transportation was in great part resolved through the volunteer efforts of members of various city service clubs. The adult supervisor at the school and student secretarial help received stipends granted under the provisions of the Economic Opportunities Act. The larger portion of funds for supplies and transportation costs was provided by the respective student governments and campus organizations on the various campuses.

The primary goal of the project was to provide tutoring in academic subjects to "underachievers." Though gradual progress was noted by the tutors, many commented on the "problems" of working in the school atmosphere. Many tutors felt that the relationship of tutor and child was seriously inhibited by the classroom surroundings.

At this juncture another opportunity arose; it met the above problem squarely. In cooperation with the Greensboro Community Council and with the assistance of a professor from Bennett College, the program began tutoring sessions in two Negro housing developments. Each session lasted an hour and a half, one night per week. By the close of the year, this aspect of the totorial

project included 49 tutors and 146 tutees, ranging from pre-school to eleventh grade. Most significant was the fact that this program worked directly with the adult community councils organized within the housing developments and the tutoring sessions were held in the homes of the children.

The college student did not have to second-guess about the home environment of the children with which he worked. Of more importance, the college student and the parents in the community joined hands to provide increased educational opportunities for the children. These factors, combined with the absence of school bells and classroom atmosphere, probably resulted in this aspect of the tutorial project being the most successful.

Time was too short to arrange any extensive field trips, but a group of Guilford College tutors did arrange a trip to the mountains for 17 sixth graders from Gillespie School. The projects in the housing developments closed with an extra-curricular event--two parties at which parents, tutors, children, and advisers got together for an informal evening of conversation and refreshments.

Since Greensboro United Tutorial Service was student inspired, staffed, and administered, most problems were those typical of student efforts--lack of funds and insufficient number of tutors. However, the goals of the program have been realized satisfactorily on an experimental basis and thanks to this relative success, a permanent and extensive tutorial program is planned for the city. Specifically, the Gillespie School and the housing developments have asked that the program be continued next year. Also, two other housing developments, one white and one Negro, have requested a similar program. The city school administration has projected an expansion of the in-school tutorial program to ten schools within two years.

What sort of judgments can be made about this project? Any, of course, are subjective and in this case somewhat fragmented. First, has the interest of the college students dwindled? Almost to a person, the tutors have expressed a strong desire to participate in the programs next year. In fact, some of the tutors became interested in the summer program of the North Carolina Volunteers because of their experience in the tutorial project.

In some cases the work of the tutor and child went beyond themselves into the family. Parents told tutors that their interest in continuing their education or at least stepping up the number of books and magazines in their home was sparked by the work of their children and the tutor. Several tutors were asked to the homes of the children for dinner.

What of the children? What do they think about the program, about their college tutors? Several children were so enthusiastic that they continued meeting with their tutors after the formal closing of the program for the year. In some cases groups of children visited the campus of their tutors. But probably the best example of the children's response to the program came from a third grade boy, who when the car of tutors drove up in front of his home one night, ran eagerly to the car, peered in, and then shouted enthusiastically to his buddies in the front yard: "yep, them's ours!"

## VII. APPENDIX

N. Statistical Survey of Tutorial Projects in The State of North Carolina. Organized under the auspices of Youth Educational Services.

| | College | No. of Tutors | | No of Tutees |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Bennett College | 27 | | 54 |
| 2. | Duke University | 200 | | 400 |
| 3. | Fayetteville State College | 20 | | 15 |
| 4. | Greensboro College | 31 | | 103 |
| 5. | Guilford College | 25 | | 50 |
| 6. | Johnson C. Smith University | 18 | | 100 |
| 7. | North Carolina A & T. College | 5 | | 5 |
| 8. | North Carolina State University of UNC, at Raleigh | 26 | | 26 |
| 9. | University of North Carolina at Greensboro | 75 | | 200 |
| 10. | Wake Forest College | 10 | | 14 |
| | Total | 437 | Total | 967 |

# VII. APPENDIX

## O. Photographs

NC - ~~Gen~~ YES

# UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104 • AREA CODE 215—BAring 2-1106 • CABLE, NATSTUD

#4 Sparrow Apts., Route #3
Chapel Hill, North Carolina
June 24, 1965

Project file
Chapel Hill, N.C.

LWD ✓
AU ✓
mm

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

First, I am glad we had a few minutes there at the end of the Board meeting to get some signals straight on the Charlotte meeting.

Enclosed is the final working draft of the prospectus for Youth Educational Services. Your suggestion of including an initial summary was very helpful. Any further suggestions as to how this proposal might be improved will be appreciated.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Cordially,

Mike

Michael H. Lawler
Student Government
Vice President

MHL:gtl

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YES Newsletter

VOLUME 1; Number 2 January 1966

Y.E.S. agency file PA ES VJ

## FIRST YES REGIONAL WORKSHOP HELD IN LAURINBURG

*Adapted from a report by Pat Bagg, Chairman, Queens College Tutoring Program*

Project directors and tutors from St. Andrews Presbyterian College, Johnson C. Smith University, and Queens College attended a YES workshop in Laurinburg, N. C. on January 8. The focus of the workshop was techniques of evaluation. This workshop, held in the St. Andrews Student Union overlooking the college lake, was the first in a series planned by Youth Educational Services. Eventually YES hopes to replace state-wide conferences completely with regional workshops such as the one held in Laurinburg, which are smaller and enable a higher level of participation.

The meeting covered three topics. First, delegates of each of the three colleges described in brief the structure and size of their tutoring programs. Then each of the three outlined the form of evaluation presently in use. The directors of both the Queens College project and the Johnson C. Smith project have been relying to date on discussions with tutors and supervising school personnel. The St. Andrews program is instituting a method of weekly tutor reports, to be placed on a single sheet of paper and filed with the student

*See Evaluation Workshop on Page 6*

## YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES TUTORIAL CONFERENCE TO BE HELD IN RALEIGH, FEBRUARY 11, 12, and 13, 1966

Frank Riessman, author of *THE CULTURALLY DEPRIVED CHILD* and of several other items included in the YES library of resource materials, will be the principal speaker for the YES Tutorial Conference to be held February 11-13 at North Carolina State University in Raleigh. Dr. Riessman will speak at the Friday evening buffet banquet at 7:00 p.m. on the topic *TUTORING THE DISADVANTAGED CHILD.*

Peter, Paul and Mary Concert Friday Evening

Peter, Paul and Mary are presenting a concert at North Carolina State Friday evening, February 11. Youth Educational Services has purchased a block of tickets for the concert and delegates to the tutoring conference may obtain these tickets if they wish at the price YES paid for them. Tickets are $2.00, $2.50, and $3.00 each. The concert will follow Dr. Riessman's speech at 8:30.

Conference workshops will focus on techniques for tutoring reading, tutor training and materials, programed materials, role-playing with low-income people, and for those interested, approaches to initiating

*See Conference on Page 6*

A Note on the New Format for the NEWSLETTER.....

Comments from several readers of the first NEWSLETTER indicated that the three column format made reading difficult. In this issue of the NEWSLETTER, we have decided to try full width columns. YES welcomes further comments, pro and con, from its readers on the new format.

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*Volume 1; Number 2*

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ABOUT YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

Youth Educational Services is a confederation of North Carolina college students who are united by their concern for education and social progress in the State. YES is a new name for the former North Carolina Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights. The group adopted its new name in May, 1965 to reflect its increasing emphasis on educational programs. The main activity of Youth Educational Services at the present time is coordinating and servicing 15 tutoring projects in different parts of North Carolina. Youth Educational Services is supported by grants and services from three sources: The Fund for the Advancement of Education; The North Carolina Fund; and The Learning Institute of North Carolina. YES presently has a staff of three: Lowell Dodge, Coordinator of Tutoring Services; Michael H. Lawler, Coordinator of Field Activities; and Mrs. Ginger Stillman, Office Manager. Youth Educational Services is incorporated in the State of North Carolina as a non-profit, educational corporation.

A full description of the activities of Youth Educational Services, its officers and Board of Directors is available on request.

Youth Educational Services welcomes grants and contributions from all sources, both individual and institutional. Persons interested in supporting Youth Educational Services should contact Michael H. Lawler, YES, P. O. Box 3067, West Durham Station, Durham, N. C. 27705. (Office address: Quail Roost Conference Center, Rougemont, N. C. 27572, 13 miles north of Durham on Route 501.)

THE YES NEWSLETTER

The Youth Educational Services NEWSLETTER is published periodically by the staff of YES. The NEWSLETTER will gladly accept for publication letters and articles submitted by its readers. YES reserves the right to select portions of these items for publication. The NEWSLETTER is distributed free of charge to students and to tutoring organizations in North Carolina. Students, tutors and tutorial administrators should indicate their college and/or tutoring project affiliation when requesting a free subscription to the NEWSLETTER. Other persons and organizations may subscribe at the annual rate (approximately 5 issues for the school year) of $1.00 per subscription. Clip and mail to YES, Box 3067, West Durham Station, Durham, N. C. 27705:

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NAME_____ COLLEGE OR ORGANIZATION_____

MAILING ADDRESS_____ ZIP_____

## THE PERISCOPE

Each issue of the NEWSLETTER will carry a column on an educational topic unrelated to tutoring but hopefully of interest and relevance to its readers. We have selected for this NEWSLETTER excerpts from a talk by Thomas F. Pettigrew, Associate Professor of Social Psychology at Harvard University, delivered July 20, 1965 at the Special Training Institute on Problems of School Desegregation, sponsored by the University of North Carolina at the Advancement School in Winston-Salem. Dr. Pettigrew's recent book *PROFILE OF THE NEGRO AMERICAN* has become a basic text in its field. Subheadings have been added.

### Reflections on School Desegregation

#### In the Eye

"First off, I think we all recognize that American public education finds itself today in the eye of a racial revolution. It is a revolution with a difference. This revolution unlike others the world has known aims to join rather than to uproot the society it confronts. This significant difference I am afraid is often overlooked, not just in the South but in the North also. Public education is necessarily the prime vehicle for this process of joining the main stream which the Negro American Revolution very clearly is aiming to do. Just as I think education is the prime vehicle for the assimilation of 20 million immigrants to the United States years earlier....

"...When can you remember in your lifetime that public education was ever so much in the public view. This is certainly one of the great benefits of the Negro American Revolution. Public education is now of great public concern. Some of the concern may, from the point of view of educators, be a rather negative concern but at least we are in the headlines. In the early '50's, before the American Negro Revolution, before Sputnik, and I think the Negro Revolution is much more important in this instance than Sputnik, public education was considered a given of American life with very little attention and I might add that it received far less money than it now receives from the public coffers. For this concern we are indebted to the Revolution, and I agree with Keppel* that it offers us a unique opportunity to exploit the Revolution for achieving educational excellence not just for Negroes but for all American children....

#### On the Motivation of Negro Youth

"One claim maintains that formal instruction is simply powerless to overcome the enormous deficits which many Negro children bring the school situation. And they always belabor the same points: lower motivation, poor speech pattern, broken family life, etc. I might add that we have good evidence to show now that they [Negro children] come to school with high motivation; the lowered motivation comes after they have faced school, which would seem to be largely the responsibility of the school, not the kids. Anyway, this claim, too, is called into serious question as soon as one accepts the astonishing improvements in Negro performance made by truly imaginative school systems whose Negro students have all of these deficits....

"In summary, we have asked public education in America to be instrumental in solving most of our major social problems in the United States and our request has been answered in a very positive way. This is, at least to me, the glory of public education in the United States and suddenly at least some educators...are sounding like public education isn't there to help solve America's social problems. It's been doing exactly that for a hundred years--this is no new request of public education...."

*Francis Keppel, U. S. Commissioner of Education

## TUTORING AT THE NORTH CAROLINA ADVANCEMENT SCHOOL

There are two kinds of tutoring in progress at the Advancement School: the volunteer student tutoring which involves college students tutoring the eighth grade boys at the Advancement School, and "Junior Tutoring" in which eighth grade boys tutor 4th to 6th grade boys from a nearby elementary school and a housing project. For further information on the "Junior Tutoring", see page 5.

### About the Advancement School

The Advancement School is a residential school in Winston-Salem, N.C. designed to help 8th grade boys with good academic potential but poor achievement. It opened in the fall of 1964, and operates on a year-round basis. Students enroll for periods of 11 weeks during the regular school year or in summer session. Approximately 300 boys are enrolled each session. About 25 teachers are brought to the School from across the state for in-service training.

### Tutoring at the Advancement School

Tutoring began during the pilot session of the School in November and December, 1964, and was based on the ideas that: (1) individual attention would be beneficial because a tutor could tailor the pace and materials to the interests and abilities of a student; (2) college students might provide an effective model for the younger students; and (3) tutors can improve the self-concept and motivation of students by making tutoring a success-experience.

Initially, 50 volunteers from Winston-Salem State College and Salem College tutored in subject areas: math, social studies, science and language arts. After an evaluation of the tutoring, several changes in the program developed, including a shift in the content of tutoring from a subject area orientation to the basic skills common to all subject areas (dictionary skills, spelling, outlining, etc.). A Tutoring Center was established to provide a focal point for tutor discussions and distribution of tutoring materials.

Until January, 1966, the tutoring program operated without any essential changes. This fall, 180 students from Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem State College and Salem College participated in the tutoring program. The Coordinator of Tutoring is Oscar Carter. He is assisted by one Antioch College work-study student. Eileen Nitzberg is assisting this term.

Beginning in February, 1966, the program will institute several experimental changes. Tutors will be provided with sample lesson plans which they may use as guides in deciding how to approach tutoring various subjects and basic skills. Tutors will work much more closely with the Advancement School staff, and, in particular will have the benefit of the teachers' recommendations regarding specific needs for students in tutoring. All tutors will be volunteers; the program in which students from Salem College tutored as part of a course requirement in psychology has been dropped.

See NCAS Tutoring on Page 8

*At N.C. Advancement School*

# 8th-Graders Teach Younger Students

By Arlene Edwards
Staff Reporter

Remember the tongue-twisting limerick about the tutor who tooted the flute trying to tutor two tooters to toot?

The North Carolina Advancement School started a tutoring project this week that takes just about as many "T's" to describe.

It's a project in which the boys who came to the Advancement School because they needed some extra tutoring are tutoring younger boys who are in the same predicament.

Advancement School boys, eighth-graders, are tutoring 31 fourth-, fifth- and sixth-grade boys from Skyland and Columbia Heights Elementary schools two or three afternoons a week.

And many of the Advancement School tutors are themselves being tutored at night by students from Wake Forest, Salem and Winston-Salem State colleges.

### One Teaches One

The project is called "Each one teach one." Through it Advancement School officials are saying to the boys, "We know you've got it and we want you to teach somebody else."

It's based on the theory that "you learn something better by teaching it," explained Dr. Gordon McAndrew, director of the Advancement School.

Lowell Dodge, who has supervised the more than 100 college students who have tutored at the school since it opened in November, said: "When you have a tutoring situation, there is always the question of who gets more out of the tutoring—the tutor or the student?"

Dodge said that Advancement School officials "thought it might give our students more of an idea of the importance of education if they were put in the same position as their teachers."

### Originated Project

John Cleveland, who thought up the project between his duties as language arts instructor, explained that the Skyland and Columbia Heights boys are boys like those attending the Advancement School—"of high potential but low achievement."

Most of the boys have IQs of more than 100 as do the Advancement School boys, said Cleveland, "but they aren't producing." They were carefully screened for the program.

Staff Photo by Jim Keith

**Tim Robinson of Waynesville counsels Ronald Wall of Columbia Heights School.**

The Advancement School tutors weren't screened quite as carefully. Dodge said that boys who signed up for the tutoring elective were accepted as "confident enough" to do it.

The junior tutors, as they are called to eliminate confusion, have had several training sessions and have been given a six-page manual that stresses "sincere interest" and "friendship" as the keys to helping the younger students.

The manual lists three goals for the junior tutors:

—To teach the student the skills which are important to almost all learning, such as spelling, using the dictionary, outlining, and using the library (but not to do his homework for him).

—To help boost the student's confidence in himself, both in his school work and with his friends.

—To widen the horizons of the elementary student through friendship and new ideas. He will "look up" to the tutor and learn from his experience.

Sessions are held in the Advancement School boys' dormitory rooms, and the Advancement School boys have been encouraged to show their charges around the school when the studying gets too nerve-wracking. Some boys being tutored probably will want to enroll in the Advancement School, but if the program works they won't need to.

CONFERENCE, ctd.

tutoring programs. The workshops will be conducted by consultants in some cases, and by staff of Youth Educational Services and project directors in other cases.

The conference is open to project directors and other interested persons. There will be no registration fee for delegates from North Carolina tutoring projects. Delegates from tutoring projects outside of North Carolina and persons who are not directly involved in tutoring projects are welcome, but are required to pay a $3.00 registration fee. Meals will be provided for all free of charge. YES will arrange housing for those who need it, free of charge where possible. If you would like further information or registration forms for the Conference, please contact Lowell Dodge, YES, P. O. Box 3067, West Durham Station, Durham, N. C. 27705. Phone: 477-7397. *Registration closes Tuesday, February 8.* The Conference will be limited in size to the first persons who register.

EVALUATION WORKSHOP, ctd.

coordinator in charge at each tutoring session. A discussion followed on the problems in transferring the St. Andrews system of center coordination and tutor reporting, which all present agreed was ideal, to other tutoring projects.

St. Andrews is able to have such an evaluation procedure because of four factors:

(1) One student has been appointed center coordinator and will tutor only in the absence of an expected tutor. Otherwise she will handle the administrative end of tutoring each session.
(2) All tutoring takes place at the same location.
(3) All tutoring takes place on Tuesdays and Thursdays.
(4) All tutoring takes place on Tuesdays and Thursdays between the hours of 3:00 and 5:00.

Other projects, it was decided, would have difficulty in instituting the St. Andrews arrangements, since their projects were not as concentrated as the St. Andrews project both in space and time.

Finally, the workshop turned to a discussion of the YES manual entitled *HOW TO EVALUATE YOUR TUTORING PROJECT* and a single page sheet prepared by YES for the workshop entitled *BASIC EVALUATION DATA*. Lowell Dodge, of YES, explained the various sections of these two items, making recommendations to the leaders of the three projects present on the basis of their contents. (These documents are available on request from the YES office.)

Attending from St. Andrews College were: Martha D. James, tutoring project coordinator; Patsy Pence, center coordinator; and Cheryl Barlup, a tutor. Dr. David Hawke, faculty adviser, attended briefly. Jeanette Johnson, project director, and William Gaither, center coordinator, attended from Johnson C. Smith University. Queens College was represented by Pat Bagg, project director; Charlie Kubricht, tutor; and Karen Clayton, tutor. Lowell Dodge of YES conducted the workshop.

## OFFICIAL OF THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION VISITS YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

Mr. John Scanlon, Secretary-Treasurer of The Fund for the Advancement of Education, established by the Ford Foundation, visited Youth Educational Services on Thursday, December 9. The Fund is the largest single grantor of the activities of Youth Educational Services. The purpose of Mr. Scanlon's visit was to learn about YES and to take a reading on the extent of our progress to date. Mr. Scanlon visited with the project director and a center coordinator from the Greensboro tutoring project, G.U.T.S. Representatives from Fayetteville State College Tutoring Project and from the North Carolina State Tutorial Commission were invited but were unable to attend the meeting.

Mr. Scanlon had several suggestions to offer Youth Educational Services. The most significant of these was the need to establish a strong program of evaluation.

Mr. Scanlon was interested in many of the dimensions of the YES program. In particular, he asked questions regarding how tutoring projects in North Carolina select the students they will tutor, how they select the location of tutoring, and the materials they use during the tutoring session. He expressed great interest in the "one-to-one" or "head-to-head" approach to tutoring. In general, Mr. Scanlon seemed enthusiastic about the overall YES program.

## LAWLER AND BUGG ATTEND O.E.O. NATIONAL TUTORING SEMINAR IN WASHINGTON

Mike Lawler, Coordinator of Field Activities for YES and Charlie Bugg, director of Greensboro United Tutorial Services, were among representatives of tutoring projects across the nation who attended a two-day meeting in Washington on January 8 and 9, sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity. OEO's Community Action Program Division called the meeting to look into the national tutoring picture and to map out possible approaches to supporting the tutoring projects across the country.

Among those attending were representatives from the U.S. Office of Education; the Council on the Southern Mountains; the Student Woodlawn Area Project in Chicago; the U.C.L.A. Tutorial Project; the Office of Tutoring Services in Washington, D. C.; and Pratt Institute in New York City. At the meeting, Youth Educational Services represented the only state-wide tutorial coordinating body in the country. As such, Youth Educational Services was able to contribute ideas on approaches for an organization attempting to serve a large number of tutoring projects over a wide area. Although no actual plans for a national coordinating or servicing body developed directly from the meeting, the prospects for the formation of such a body in the future remained as a definite possibility. The group expressed the hope that they might be able to reconvene in the future. According to Mike Lawler, "The meeting was very helpful to YES. It provided information and personal contacts on enrichment activities, such as arts and crafts, and on involvement of parents in the tutoring program."

PETTIGREW, ctd. from Page 3

De Facto Segregation

"Ironically, however, as de jure segregation of schools slowly recedes, de facto segregation is rapidly increasing. In virtually every standard metropolitan area in the United States, which means any metropolitan area of a quarter of a million people or more, racial segregation of housing increased from 1940 to 1960...Still I might add the most desegregated city in the whole country in housing, only in housing, is Charleston, South Carolina.

"...Many Southern cities as you know and many of your cities and towns I am sure are presently openly striving to simulate the Northern de facto segregation pattern. I call this imitating the Northern plan. The Northern plan as you know is very simple, it is very clever....All you have to do is to make sure that you have residential segregation -- the North caught on tothis fifty years ago.--- and then everything else is automatically segregated. And then of course you have death-row belief in neighborhood schools; that's an essential. You have to believe, though there is no evidence whatsoever to prove it, that the neighborhood schools are the only way to educate children. Believe in that; make sure the

See Pettigrew on page 12

*NORTH CAROLINA AND THE NEGRO*

Youth Educational Services has a limited number of copies of *NORTH CAROLINA AND THE NEGRO*, edited by Capus M. Waynick, Special Consultant to the Governor on Race Relations; John C. Brooks, Administrator, North Carolina Mayors' Co-operating Committee; and Elsie W. Pitts, Recording Secretary, North Carolina Mayors' Co-operating Committee; on sale at $1.00 per copy. The book reports the experience of cities and towns in North Carolina when they were confronted with the organized revolt of Negroes against segregation. Published in 1964, the book contains a Foreword by former Governor Terry Sanford, a short description of the Negro protest movement in North Carolina and major sections on the response of many cities in North Carolina to the protest; the official municipal declarations on human rights; and a section on laws relating to civil rights in North Carolina. Persons wishing to have a copy of *NORTH CAROLINA AND THE NEGRO* should send $1.00 or a check payable to Youth Educational Services to P. O. Box 3067, West Durham Station, Durham, North Carolina, 27705.

NCAS Tutoring, ctd.

For further information on this program, write to Mr. Oscar Carter, Coordinator, North Carolina Advancement School, Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27101.

The tutoring program at the Advancement School serves as a laboratory for Youth Educational Services. Lowell Dodge, Coordinator of Tutoring Services for Youth Educational Services, maintains close contact with the tutoring program at the Advancement School. The Advancement School tests and evaluates for YES both tutoring materials and techniques for training tutors.

## PROJECT SHARE: ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES FOR TUTEES IN DURHAM

by *Sara Evans and Mical Heyman*

(Note: This article was written by two student leaders at Duke University who have developed an interesting array of enrichment activities for students being tutored through several different tutoring programs in the Durham area. We hope these ideas will serve as an example for project directors across the state. -Ed.)

SHARE began over two bowls of cornflakes. From the beginning, the individual letters did not mean a thing--it was the whole word that counted. SHARE, as we see it, is an attempt to extend the cultural events at Duke University to the children in the tutoring programs of Edgemont Center, Operation Breakthrough, and Project Opportunity. Each month tutors receive calendars of plays, movies, concerts, and sports events on campus which children would enjoy. By going to these attractions together, we have hoped that both the Duke students and underprivileged children will grow to new ways of thinking about their two different but equally valuable worlds.

Through the cooperation of the Methodist Center at Duke we have been able to have our bulletins published at no cost each month. Mr. William Griffith of the University has helped us to realize programs through the athletic, music, and drama departments. About twenty-five children saw the Duke-Wake Forest football game. Nearly twice that number attended the performance of Olatunji and his Drums of Passion. We now have forty-five aspiring African dancers on our hands.

Later this semester about twenty-five children attended a kiddie concert here at Duke, while others have seen Finnian's Rainbow and movies at the Quad Flicks. The recent reduction of prices at the dining halls for these children has been an added incentive for tutors to bring their tutees out to Duke.

Next term, the YWCA plans to lend more substantial aid to this cultural enrichment program. As a centralizing agent, the "Y" hopes to coordinate the publishing, distribution, and publicity of the program, enlisting students from both campuses who do not tutor to be "hosts" for an evening to several children.

The original impetus for this program came from a desire to see cultural enrichment programs, practiced over the summer at other schools, established here at Duke. We hoped that SHARE would serve two purposes: First, we wanted to do something of an impromptu but immediate nature to bridge the gap between a university opportunity and the substandard education of many basically bright children in Durham. We also wanted at the same time to bridge the gap felt by both children and students of the isolation of the university from the town community. Second, in long range terms, we hoped that SHARE would reinforce to the university the pressing need for programs now, not in five years, for underprivileged but talented children. We would like to see Duke take the lead in initiating a series of experimental programs in this area. We hoped that SHARE could be a spark to light a larger fire.

## BUGG ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF YES

At the first meeting of the Board of Directors of Youth Educational Services held at the Institute of Government, University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, November 21, 1965, Charlie Bugg III was elected Chairman of the Board of Directors of Youth Educational Services. The Board also elected George Langford, Student Body President at Fayetteville State College, as its Vice President, and John C. Brooks, Secretary-Treasurer. Mr. Brooks is presently the Executive Director of the Maryland Constitutional Convention Commission.

The balance of the meeting concerned itself primarily with an extensive report from the staff of Youth Educational Services on various aspects of its operation and thorough discussion of many of these major aspects.

## AIDS YES PROVIDES TO TUTORIAL PROJECTS

YES is able to aid prospective or established tutoring projects in the following ways:

1. Help establish the administration of the project
2. Help in formulating goals of the project
3. Assist in recruiting tutors
4. Assist in tutor orientation sessions
5. Assist in training volunteer tutors
6. Devise appropriate tutoring materials
7. Distribute to projects materials from YES resource library
8. Evaluation of the project.

Persons wishing assistance from YES should contact either Lowell Dodge or Michael Lawler at YES, P.O. Box 3067, West Durham Station, Durham, N. C. 27705. Phone: 477-7397

## RESOURCE MATERIALS AVAILABLE FROM YES LIBRARY

YES has developed an extensive library of resource materials for tutoring projects. The library includes a wide range of tutoring manuals, a selective list of short background readings for tutors, materials to assist in project organization and funding, guides on tutoring reading, tutoring materials in the basic skills, and bibliographies of tutoring materials from projects across the country.

Most of the materials listed are free of charge to tutoring projects in North Carolina. YES will fill all requests for materials insofar as possible. To request a "Bibliography of Available Tutoring Materials" write YES, P. O. Box 3067, West Durham Station, Durham, N. C. 27705.

## Correction

The article on page 11, "Local Students Aid Others to Study" incorrectly states that Youth Educational Services is "a division of the Learning Institute of North Carolina." YES is an independent organization, legally constituted as a non-profit educational corporation in North Carolina. Youth Educational Services receives part of its financial support from LINC and has offices at the same location.

# Local Students Aid Others To Study

BY DOUGLAS M. YOUNG
Daily News Staff Writer

Charlie Bugg has gone to Washington.

Who is Charlie Bugg?

Charlie Bugg is the coordinator for GUTS.

What is GUTS?

GUTS is the Greensboro United Tutorial Service, a student commitment to service, to children who are having a difficult time in school, who may have limited advantages at home and who may have a hard time in life unless somebody helps them.

Somebody is. Approximately 150 students from the five colleges in the Greensboro area are offering their knowledge and themselves to Greensboro children, who, for varying reasons, may not have the normal opportunities for growth.

But why has Charlie Bugg gone to Washington? He has gone there this weekend at the invitation of the Office of Economic Opportunity to give his views on specific needs for a possible national tutorial program under the sponsorship of the OEO.

Bugg was chosen to go because the Greensboro tutorial program is the largest and the best in the state, according to Mike Lawler, coordinator for Youth Educational Service (YES), a division of the Learning Institute of North Carolina. Lawler travels about the state in an effort to encourage similar programs.

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**THE IDEA** for GUTS came out of a meeting of the Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights at Wake Forest College in November of 1964.

Charlie Bugg of Guilford College, Pam Pfaff of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro (now a Fulbright Scholar at the University of London), and Ralph Lee of A&T College (now with JOIN, a teenage rehabilitation center in Brooklyn, N. Y.), spearheaded the drive for a tutorial program in Greensboro.

"All of us from Greensboro decided to work together as one unit," Bugg said.

The first thing the group did was appear before the Greensboro Board of Education, which referred him to Dr. H. C. Allison, assistant superintendent in charge of curriculum with the city schools.

According to Bugg, Dr. Allison liked the idea in theory, but was obligated to make sure that the students would carry through with the program. He attended one of the group's orientation meetings and that convinced him.

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**"WE ARE** pleased with the spirit of cooperation they have shown," Dr. Allison said last week. "Where we have things they can use, we make them available. But of course nothing has been budgeted and there is very little we can do now. We hope to be able to do a lot more with their program if we can qualify under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act."

Dr. Allison's enthusiasm was echoed in early 1965 when about two-thirds of the Gillespie Park School children indicated an interest in the tutoring program following an assembly presented by the college students at the school.

The program began with about 60 college tutors teaching at the Gillespie school (usually on a one to two basis), and 30 in the redevelopment housing projects.

Teaching in the homes at the redevelopment projects was an innovation that many of the students may not have expected. Much of the credit for starting that program goes to Van S. Allen of the redevelopment commission.

"Mr. Allen knew the people in the community," Bugg said. "He gave us the contacts and helped us in every way possible."

**BASICALLY,** the purpose of GUTS is to improve the academic standing of those tutored. This is done in two ways, through the study of the subject matter and through encouragement.

"Mainly we help them on an emotional level," Bugg said. "It gives them a kind of encouragement to know that somebody cares about them. You've got to believe in those kids."

Tutoring also means being a friend to the student, talking to him, introducing him to a different kind of language and different way of thinking—"broadening the horizons," as Bugg put it.

Tutors and their students take trips together, too. With the help of the Unitarian Church's young people's group, about 25 of them took a trip to Hanging Rock recently.

"Only two or three had ever seen the mountains," Bugg said.

• • •

**BUT WHILE** the tutors are "broadening the horizons" for the students, they are also broadening their own.

"Sometimes it's like a cultural exchange when all the parents and students and tutors get together at the housing development," Bugg said. "You have discussions in the homes which you wouldn't have in the schools."

At present, the college students are tutoring two afternoons a week at Price and Central schools, and one night a week in the housing projects.

• • •

**HOW EFFECTIVE** has the work of GUTS been?

Bugg said the rate of dropout has been about 15 per cent. He can report numerous instances of improvement in attitude and work—the girl who was being tutored in English who not only improved her English grade, but also brought her math grade from a D to an A.

One of the most important facets of the work has been the acceptance by the students' parents. Last Friday night the parents gave the tutors an appreciation dinner at the Pearson Street YWCA.

**Science Twosome: Admiration**
Beth Cohn of UNC-G And Shirley Woods

PETTIGREW, ctd. from Page 8

"Negroes are all ghettoized and then you can talk about the most liberal high-sounding principles in the American Constitution you want to talk about....

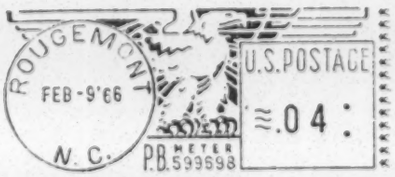
"They are going to try to separate us as we were never separated before---as a matter of fact---residentially. They will try to separate us and reproduce a Harlem, try to reproduce a Southside Chicago, and I think we ought to look twice at Southside Chicago and Harlem to see if that is what we really want in the South. They are going to try to do this in Raleigh, Winston-Salem, Greensboro, Charlotte. They are going to do it in Atlanta; Atlanta has already had a housing crisis....

Devices for Ending Segregation

"...These devices include first, the district-wide redrawing of school lines to maximize racial desegregation balance -- what I would call positive gerry-mander. This isn't the first time we ever gerry-mandered school districts. Let's face it, we have been gerry-mandering them all over the country for the purpose of minimizing desegregation. We could gerry-mander districts with another principle in mind, to maximize desegregation....

"...A second device is the pairing of predominantly white and Negro schools along the borders of the Negro ghetto or the Negro community -- the so-called Princeton plan....Third, the alteration of f feeder arrangements, particularly in cities but to some extent in rural areas and in small towns. Feeder arrangements from elementary schools to junior high and from junior high to senior high might be planned in order to maximize racial balance....Fourth, the rebuilding plan provides for careful placement of new and typically larger schools, near but not within, the Negro ghetto...."Fifth, we could convert more schools into district-wide specialized institutions for the handicapped, for the gifted, for the arts, sciences, etc. Obviously this is too expensive for rural areas, but certainly within the domain of urban areas..."The sixth plan is often called Campus Parks...the establishment of broad educational centers covering many levels and many programs all in one place. Usually you put it outside of town--bus all kids to it--white and Negro, then it is nobody's school; it is everybody's school. Seventh, the subsidized transportation of students--bussing....By the way, most Negro parents in the United States, as polls show us, do not like bussing any more than the white parents. It's hard on the kids."

YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
P. O. BOX 3067
WEST DURHAM STATION
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27705
TELEPHONE: 919 - 477-7397




Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Al,
Can you send us a couple of good people - love to have them, eg U. of Georgia tutorial project.
Thanks for the help. Mike Lawler

"Genuine "Yes!" YES"

YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
P. O. BOX 3067, WEST DURHAM STATION
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27705

Dear Al,

We are happy to invite you to attend the upcoming Tutoring Conference sponsored by YES, February 11-13, 1966 at North Carolina State University in Raleigh. We really hope that you will plan to attend, and bring along several delegates from your tutoring project.

The Conference will provide you with specific and detailed information particularly with regard to tutoring remedial reading and math, and new types of tutoring materials.

We have tried our best to make the Conference cost as little as possible for you. There will be no registration fee, except for out-of-state and non-tutorial delegates. YES will cover the cost of meals for everyone, and we are doing our best to locate free housing for all delegates who need a place to stay in Raleigh.

Dr. Frank Riessman, author of *THE CULTURALLY DEPRIVED CHILD*, perhaps the best book published for persons teaching and tutoring poor children, will deliver the main address on Friday evening. Later on the same evening, *Peter, Paul and Mary* will perform at the Reynolds Coliseum. Sat. Morning the Baltimore Colts play the Packers on the front lawn. Be sure and come early

With this letter we are enclosing four other items:

1. Registration forms;
2. A tentative Conference schedule, including a description of the workshop choices;
3. A Tutoring Conference information sheet; and
4. A map of routes to the Conference site.

Please register as soon as possible. We have room only for about 125 delegates. Looking forward to seeing you at the Conference.

Sincerely,

Lowell Dodge + Mike Lawler
Lowell Dodge and Mike Lawler

P.S. Please pass the word about the Conference to others you know who might be interested in coming.

*"A Confederation of College Students United by Their Concern for Educational and Social Progress in North Carolina"*

# TUTORING CONFERENCE INFORMATION SHEET

YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
P. O. BOX 3067, WEST DURHAM STATION
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27705
PHONE: 477-7397

DATES: February 11, 12, 13, 1966: Friday, Saturday and Sunday (the second weekend in February)

LOCATION: North Carolina State University in Raleigh. Registration will take place in the Erdahl-Cloyd Student Union Building on the North Carolina State campus. Workshops and general sessions will also be held in the Student Union building.

TIME:
1. Registration will begin at 11:00 a.m. Friday, February 11 and conclude at 1:30 p.m.
2. The first general session is scheduled for 2:00 p.m. on the 11th.
3. The first workshop will begin at 3:00 p.m.
4. A buffet banquet will be served beginning at 5:30 in the Harris Dining Hall.
5. The conference will end at 5:00 p.m. on Sunday, the 13th.

COST: There will be no registration fee for delegates from tutoring projects within North Carolina. Delegates from out-of-state and from in-state groups not involved in tutoring will pay a $3.00 registration fee. Meals will be provided to all delegates free of charge, including buffet banquets both Friday night and Saturday night. Persons who can afford lodging on their own are urged to make their own arrangements. YES is attempting to secure lodging in student dormitories for delegates who are unable to arrange their own lodging.

LODGING: YES, in cooperation with the Meredith College Tutoring Project and the North Carolina State University Tutorial Commission, is attempting to arrange overnight dormitory accommodations for delegates to the conference. It is hoped that arrangements can be made for female delegates to stay either at Meredith College or with female students at North Carolina State.

GUEST SPEAKERS AND CONSULTANTS: (Others to be announced)

Keynote speaker, Dr. Frank Riessman, Associate Professor, Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Yeshiva University, New York City. Author of The Culturally Deprived Child.

Earl Russell, Director, Reading Clinic, North Carolina Advancement School.

John Ogle, Chairman, Department of Mathematics, North Carolina Advancement School.

Irving Noyes, Chairman and Director, Durham Education Skills Center.

ENTERTAINMENT: Peter, Paul and Mary Concert. Tickets are available from YES at cost. Please order tickets if you wish them as soon as possible, since YES has purchased only 50 and they are likely to go quickly. This concert will take place Friday, Feb. 11, 8:30 p.m., in Reynolds Coliseum.

SCHEDULE: A copy of the tentative schedule is enclosed.

HOW TO GET THERE: A map indicating the location of N.C.State University in Raleigh is enclosed.

TUTORING CONFERENCE, February 11-13, 1966
YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
P. O. BOX 3067, WEST DURHAM STATION
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27705
PHONE: 477-7397

**Tentative Schedule:**

**Friday, February 11**

11:00 a.m. - 1:30 p.m. Registration in the lobby of the Erdahl-Cloyd Student Union, North Carolina State Univ. at Raleigh. (Entrance faces Hillsboro Street)

2:00 p.m. General Session, Theatre, 2nd floor Erdahl-Cloyd Student Union

3:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. Workshop I

Note: Each delegate is urged to select one of the three workshop tracks and attend each of the workshops in that track. Since there is likely to be some overlap among the three tracks, switching will result in repetition of discussion. We suggest each tutoring project assign its delegates to the track it wishes to cover.

Track A: Project Organization. Intended for delegates either planning or just starting a tutoring project. Workshops will focus on: starting your project (one-to-one? where? what type of tutee? scheduling? etc.); background information on the culture of the tutees (why have the schools failed them?); recruiting and orienting tutors; program evaluation.

Track B: Tutoring Materials and Tutor-Training. For delegates from established projects wishing to learn about new tutoring materials and training tutors in their use. Workshop topics are: how to set up tutor orientation and training; programed materials and their use; training tutors in the use of role-playing; non-programed tutoring materials.

Track C: Techniques of Tutoring. For delegates from established projects interested in refining their approaches to tutoring reading, math, and other subjects. Workshop subjects:
- general techniques of tutoring
- techniques of tutoring remedial reading
- techniques of tutoring remedial math
- tutoring in subject areas and in basic skills (spelling, outlining, dictionary use, etc.)

5:30 p.m. Buffet - Banquet Dinner. Harris Dining Hall

7:00 p.m. Address: Dr. Frank Riessman, followed by question and answer session

8:30 p.m. Special Seminar for interested delegates with Dr. Riessman. For delegates with tickets: Peter, Paul, and Mary Concert, Reynolds Coliseum.

Saturday, February 12

7:00 a.m. - 8:45 Breakfast served in Harris Dining Hall.

9:00 a.m. - 11:30 a.m. Workshop II for Tracks A, B, and C.

12:00 noon - 1:30 p.m. Luncheon served in Harris Dining Hall

2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. Workshop III for Tracks A, B, and C.

6:00 p.m. Buffet - Banquet Dinner. Harris Dining Hall
Speaker to be announced.

9:00 p.m. Special Seminars on:
-Enrichment Program for Tutorials
-Possibilities for Youth Educational Services
State-wide Summer Program

Sunday, February 13

8:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m. Breakfast served in Harris Dining Hall

Morning: Listing of churches to be provided at conference for those who wish to attend.

12:00 noon - 1:00 p.m. Luncheon served at Harris Dining Hall

1:30 p.m. - 3:30 p.m. Workshop IV, Tracks A, B, and C

4:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. General Session, Theatre

YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
P. O. BOX 3067, WEST DURHAM STATION
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27705
PHONE: 477-7397

For YES Use Only
Date Received _____
Workshop Track _____
Housing Arranged _____

REGISTRATION FORM:
TUTORING CONFERENCE
February 11-13, 1966

DEADLINE: YES must receive your completed application form no later than February 8 in order to arrange for the banquets on Friday and Saturday evenings. If you cannot mail your registration form to reach YES by the 8th, please call 477-7397 (collect) by 4:00 p.m., February 8th.

PLEASE USE A SEPARATE REGISTRATION FORM FOR EACH DELEGATE ATTENDING FROM YOUR COLLEGE OR ORGANIZATION. IF YOU NEED MORE APPLICATION FORMS, PLEASE WRITE TO YES FOR THEM.

DATE _____

NAME _____ PHONE NO. _____

MAILING ADDRESS _____

COLLEGE (OR ORGANIZATION) _____ SEX _____

NAME OF TUTORING PROJECT OR ORGANIZATION _____
(On the reverse please list any particular problems with your tutoring project which you would like to discuss at the conference.)

---

WORKSHOP SELECTION: (Explanation of workshop topics in each of these tracks is enclosed.)

I prefer the Workshop Track dealing with:
_____ A. Project Organization
_____ B. Tutor Orientation and Training and Tutoring Materials
_____ C. Techniques of Tutoring

TRANSPORTATION:
A. Mode of Transportation
Car _____ Bus _____ Train _____ Etc. _____
B. Arrival Time
I plan to arrive at _____ (a.m., p.m.) on Friday, Feb. 11.
Note: All delegates are urged to arrive by 1:30 p.m. Friday at the latest.

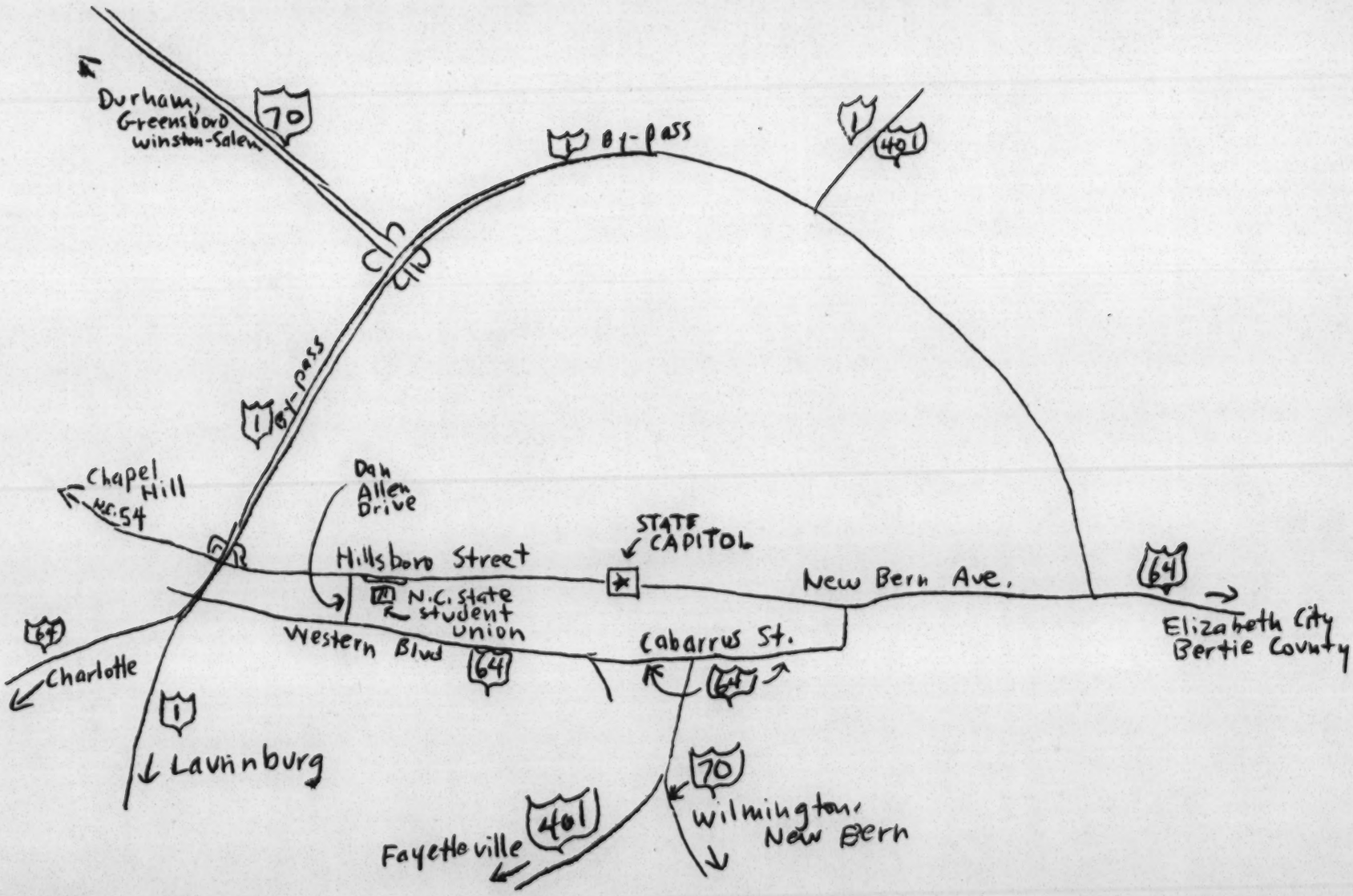
LODGING: I need to have lodging arranged. Yes _____ No _____
(Housing to be assigned on a first come first served basis.)

PETER, PAUL AND MARY CONCERT: I am enclosing a check to cover the cost of _____ tickets to the Peter, Paul and Mary Concert. Yes ____ No ____
Tickets are $2.00, $2.50, and $3.00. Note: The $2.00 seats are not very good.
Amount Enclosed _____

DELEGATES NOT FROM N. C. TUTORING PROJECTS: I am enclosing my $3.00 registration fee _____ OR, I will pay my $3.00 registration fee at time of registration _____. Note: Please check one.

MAKE ALL CHECKS PAYABLE TO: YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

# How To Get to the Conference



# YES NEWSLETTER

file YES Agency

VOLUME 1; Number 3 April 1966

## N. C. FUND DELEGATES TO Y.E.S. ITS SUMMER VOLUNTEER PROGRAM FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS

The North Carolina Fund has transferred to Youth Educational Services the responsibility for conducting a summer volunteer program for college students in North Carolina communities. For the past three summers this program has been known as the North Carolina Volunteers. George Esser, Executive Director of The North Carolina Fund, announced this change at a press conference February 7, 1966.

### Y.E.S. Summer Program

The Y.E.S. Summer Program for 1966 represents a new approach to summer volunteer programs for college students. Y.E.S. plans to send small groups of college students who are experienced in tutoring and community development to six North Carolina communities: Boone, Charlotte, Greensboro, Raleigh, Laurinburg, and Fayetteville; and to one rural eastern county, Bertie. The primary responsibility of the tutoring staff in each of these seven locations will be to organize summer tutorials drawing on the volunteer efforts of the people in the community for tutors. In four of the seven communities (Boone, Charlotte,

*See SUMMER PROGRAM; Page 4*

*NEW Y.E.S. OFFICE*

*New Y.E.S. office location:*
107 1/2 East Parrish St.
*Our new mailing address is:*
P. O. Box 1168
Durham, N.C. 27702
*Our new phone number is:*
Area Code 919-688-3035

*ATTENTION:*

**BECOME A MEMBER OF Y.E.S.; VOTE AT ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 7th**

A general membership meeting for Youth Educational Services has been scheduled for Saturday, May 7th, at Fayetteville State College in Fayetteville. Y.E.S. is seeking to expand its general membership. Student governments and student organizations may join Y.E.S. by mailing their names and $1.00 to: P. O. Box 1168, Durham, N.C. 27702. Only paid members of Y.E.S. can vote at the general membership meeting. Those voting will select members for the Board of Directors of Youth Educational Services and establish general policy guidelines for the organization.

## DR. GORDON McANDREW NAMED TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

Dr. Gordon McAndrew, Director of The North Carolina Advancement School in Winston-Salem, was named to the Board of Directors of Youth Educational Services by the Board at its March 26th meeting. McAndrew replaces The Rev. Vernon C. Tyson on the Board. Rev. Tyson recently resigned from the Board because of the pressure of other commitments. The appointment of McAndrew to the Board must be confirmed by the general membership of Youth Educational Services at its May meeting.

McAndrew has served as the Director of the Advancement School since its

*See McANDREW; Page 4*

THE YES NEWSLETTER

VOLUME 1 Number 3 April 1966

## ABOUT YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

Youth Educational Services is a confederation of North Carolina college students who are united by their concern for educational and social progress in the State. Y.E.S. is a new name for the former North Carolina Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights. The group adopted its name in May, 1965, to reflect its increasing emphases on educational programs. The main activity of Youth Educational Services at the present time is coordinating and servicing twenty tutoring projects in different parts of North Carolina.

Youth Educational Services is supported by grants and services from three sources: The Fund for Advancement of Education, The North Carolina Fund, and The Learning Institute of North Carolina. Y.E.S. presently has a staff of twelve. Michael H. Lawler is the Director of the Summer Program, and Lowell Dodge is the Coordinator of the Academic Year Program. Youth Educational Services is incorporated in the State of North Carolina as a non-profit educational corporation.

A full description of the activities of Youth Educational Services and a listing of its officers and Board of Directors is available on request.

Youth Educational Services welcomes contributions and grants from all sources both individual and institutional. Persons interested in supporting Youth Educational Services should contact Michael H. Lawler or Lowell Dodge, Youth Educational Services, P. O. Box 1168, Durham, N.C. 27702, or phone 919-688-3035, (office address: 107 1/2 East Parrish Street, Durham, N.C. 27701).

### THE Y.E.S. NEWSLETTER

The Youth Educational Services NEWSLETTER is published periodically by the staff of Y.E.S. The NEWSLETTER will gladly accept for publication letters and articles submitted by its readers. Y.E.S. reserves the right to select portions of these items for publication. The NEWSLETTER is distributed free of charge to students and tutoring organizations in North Carolina. Students, tutors, and tutorial administrators should indicate their college and/or tutoring project affiliation when requesting a free subscription to the NEWSLETTER. Other persons and organizations may subscribe at the annual rate (approximately 5 issues for the school year) of $1.00 per subscription.

Clip and mail to Y.E.S., (Box 1168, Durham, N.C. 27702), the following coupon.

Name: _____

College or Organization: _____

_____

Mailing Address: _____

_____

### IN THIS ISSUE:

Y.E.S. Summer Program.....1
McAndrew named to Board.....1
Y.E.S. Tutoring Conference....3
New Projects.....3
Tutorial Assistance Center....5
New Y.E.S. Staff.....6
Reports on Established Projects.....10
The Future of Y.E.S.; a Discussion.....16
New Y.E.S. Tutoring Materials.....17
Y.E.S. Needs Staff for Next Year.....20

"SO YOU WANT TO HELP PEOPLE.....
WELL, FORGET IT!
UNLESS....."

Four-page document by Opal C. Jones, Executive Director, Avalon Carver Community Center, Los Angeles. One of the new additions to the Y.E.S. Tutoring Library. See pages 17 and 18.

## THE PERISCOPE

Each issue of the NEWSLETTER carries a column on an educational topic unrelated to tutoring, but hopefully of interest and relevance to its readers. We have selected for this NEWSLETTER excerpts from an article published in the April 5, 1966, Wall Street Journal, by Frank J. Prial, Staff Reporter for the Journal, entitled "Classless U.: Colleges Add Programs for Independent Study to Avoid Academic Rut." (Reprinted with the permission of the Wall Street Journal).

### Classless U.

Hamilton, N.Y. --A few weeks ago, when most college students were worrying about semester exams and fighting post-holiday blues, Colgate University junior Bill Arendt was getting tanned in the Florida Keys.

His classmate, Tom Honeyman, was in the Caribbean, too--at Ocho Rios, on Jamaica.

Well-heeled truants? Not quite. Bill, from West Bend, Wis., was studying marine ecology. Tom, from Somerville, N.J., was studying tropical plant and animal life at the Caribbean Biological Center. Both boys were working on projects as part of Colgate's popular January special studies program: A month of independent work in the middle of the academic year, free of routine college pressures.

### Leaving the Rut

The Colgate program--people here call it the Jan-Plan--is one example of a campus trend to independent study programs that free the student from classrooms, schedules, grades and credits, and encourage him to take a more individual and resourceful approach to his work. Among other things, the programs are designed to lift the student out of his academic rut.

*See CLASSLESS U., Page 7*

## Y.E.S. TUTORING CONFERENCE BRINGS TOGETHER 150 STUDENTS, PROJECT DIRECTORS, AND PUBLIC SCHOOL OFFICIALS

Student project directors representing tutoring programs or potential tutoring programs in thirty different North Carolina locations, together with public school officials and delegates from as far away as Yale University attended the Youth Educational Services Tutoring Conference, February 11-13 1966, at North Carolina State University at Raleigh.

Dr. Frank Riessman, author of The Culturally Deprived Child, delivered an address on, "Goals and

*See CONFERENCE, Page 7*

## EIGHT PROGRAMS BEGUN SINCE JANUARY AMONG THOSE SERVED BY YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

Youth Educational Services has recently assisted in the formation of the following eight programs:

Rural Tutoring Under-Way in Bertie County: Twenty tutors, primarily high school and junior high school students and parents from the community of Woodard are engaged in what is perhaps the most unusual tutoring program served by Y.E.S. In the low-income community of Woodard the homes are on average a quarter of a mile apart from each other, and few families have

*See NEW PROJECTS, Page 8*

*SUMMER PROGRAM ctd. from Page 1*

Greensboro, and Fayetteville) students with experience in community work will attempt to organize the parents of tutees into groups interested in bringing about educational reform and improvement in their respective communities. The booklet, "Youth Educational Services: A Proposed Summer Program", contains full details. Copies are available upon request from Y.E.S.

## N. C. Fund Grant

The Board of The North Carolina Fund has approved a grant to Y.E.S. in excess of $10,000 for the purpose of planning and developing its Summer Program. Y.E.S. is employing these funds primarily to support a planning and development staff. This staff is described further on page 6 of this NEWSLETTER. Y.E.S. will utilize these funds from The North Carolina Fund and hopefully from other sources until the funds for Y.E.S. arrive from the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

## Request for OEO Grant

For the purpose of administering its summer community service programs, Youth Educational Services has applied to the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, D.C. for a grant in excess of $100,000. Youth Educational Services expects to hear within three weeks whether or not its request for funds has been approved.

Persons wishing to have further information on the Y.E.S. Summer Program should write to Michael H. Lawler, Director, Summer Program, Youth Educational Services, P. O. Box 1168, Durham, N.C. 27702.

---

Y.E.S. recently received a new shipment from Chicago of "Tutoring Reading at After-School Study Centers". Copies are again available on request from Y.E.S.

*McANDREW ctd. from Page 1*

inception in 1964. He came to the school from Oakland, California, where he was the Director of The Educational Component of a large Ford Foundation Gray Area Program. In addition to his position at the Advancement School, McAndrew is also an Associate Director of the Learning Institute of North Carolina in Rougemont. McAndrew resides in Winston-Salem, is married and has two children.

## Other Board Decisions

The Board of Youth Educational Services also decided at the same meeting to approve the employment of new members of the Planning Staff and the Administrative Staff; to proceed with the matter of submitting to the Learning Institute of North Carolina a request for interim support to assist Y.E.S. during the period before receipt of the OEO grant; to work toward the further strengthening of the Board of Directors of Youth Educational Services; and, to initiate a program for developing a general membership of Youth Educational Services.

### AIDS YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES CAN PROVIDE TO TUTORING PROJECTS

Y.E.S. is able to aid prospective or established tutoring projects in the following ways:

1. *Help establish the administration of the project.*
2. *Help in formulating the goals of the project.*
3. *Assisting in recruiting tutors.*
4. *Assist in tutor orientation sessions.*
5. *Assist in training volunteer tutors.*
6. *Devise appropriate tutoring materials.*
7. *Distribute to projects materials from the Y.E.S. resource library*
8. *Evaluate the project.*

Projects needing assistance may contact Lowell Dodge, P. O. Box 1168, Durham, N.C. 27702; phone 688-3035.

# NATIONAL "TUTORIAL ASSISTANCE CENTER" LAUNCHED BY THE U.S. NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION ON CONTRACT WITH THE U.S. OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Walt Senterfitt (formerly the Director of Community Involvement Desk of the United States National Student Association) has recently put into operation the TUTORIAL ASSISTANCE CENTER for the purpose of providing consultation, materials, a newsletter, a national conference, and other services for tutoring programs across the country.

## To Insure The Independence Of Tutoring Programs

The Tutorial Assistance Center (TAC) intends to provide its assistance in a manner which will insure the independence of tutoring programs particularly with regard to solving administrative and organizational problems in their own ways. Many projects, NSA asserts, have been "forced to trade control of their projects for the support of other agencies, and have lost the freedom and initiative necessary to develop programs according to their own perspectives."

## TAC Programs

Among the programs and operations which TAC plans to undertake in its first year of existence are:

1. To collect and distribute tutoring materials such as: project descriptions, prospecti, reports, tutoring manuals, booklets on how to establish and administer tutoring programs, bibliographies of background readings for tutors, readings for tutees, etc.;
2. To produce guides called "Problem Papers" on topics such as: how tutoring projects may develop their own materials, how tutoring projects may solve funding problems, how to develop and administer tutoring programs, how to tutor effectively, how to involve parents and tutees in program-planning, etc.;
3. To put together a national directory of tutoring projects;
4. To produce 20 case studies of selected tutoring programs around the country;
5. To collect and distribute in a usable fashion information on how federal programs such as the Work Study Program and the National Teacher Corps can be helpful to tutoring programs;
6. To investigate the possibility of a summer training institute for tutorial leaders;
7. Conduct a nation-wide conference for tutorial leaders; and, develop workshops on tutoring to be conducted at national conferences of other organizations such as the National Education Association.

## TAC Staff

TAC will have a staff of ten with five working on program and five administrative. Two of the staff will be field coordinators who will be responsible for conducting a survey of tutoring nationally, producing case studies of selected tutoring programs, and providing assistance to programs requesting it.

## National Policy Advisory Board

TAC will assist in selecting 12 individuals to serve as a National Policy Advisory Board to the Office of Economic Opportunity and through that office to the U.S. National Students Association and the Project Director for the operation of TAC. The Board will be representative of the present diversity of tutorial projects nationally.

*See TUTORIAL ASSISTANCE CENTER, Page 9*

## Y.E.S. HIRES FOUR NEW STAFF MEMBERS FOR DEVELOPING SUMMER PROGRAMS

Within the last month, Youth Educational Services has expanded its program staff from two to six to enable Y.E.S. to make all the necessary plans in preparation for its summer program.

The four new program staff members:

1. Juanita Clarke, from Brooklyn, N.Y. Juanita graduated from Barnard College in June 1965, having majored in Government. Before coming to Y.E.S. Juanita was a counselor-interne with the phase of the New York City Poverty Program know as JOIN, (Job Orientation In the Neighborhood). Juanita tutored in the Harlem Education Project and was a participant during the summer of 1963 on Operation Crossroads Africa in which she lived and worked in Ivory Coast, West Africa.

2. Nan Mumma, a student at Antioch College, Ohio. Nan comes to Y.E.S. through the Cooperative Program at Antioch, which enables Antioch students to spend roughly half of each school year working in different parts of the world. Her previous assignments under the Cooperative Program include: serving as a research assistant in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.; work with the Institute of Developmental Studies in New York City also as a research assistant; assistant teacher at the Crotched Mountain Rehabilitation Center in New Hampshire; and an assignment with the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C. as a recorder for the Institute Seminars. Nan has also served as a tutor in the Harlem Education Project.

3. Penny Puckett, a graduate of Cornell University in June 1961. Penny has previously worked with The North Carolina Fund as a personnel assistant; with the Securities and Exchange Commission in Washington, D.C. as a personnel management trainee; and as a teacher for two years in Elementary and High School in Fairfax County, Virginia. Penny serves as the Administrative Assistant to the Director of the Summer Program.

4. Mike Russell, from San Francisco. Before coming with Y.E.S., Mike was a VISTA volunteer in New Bern, N.C. While serving as a VISTA volunteer, Mike organized and directed a new tutoring program in New Bern, dubbed Educational Growth Opportunities (EGO).

---

## NEW OFFICE AND ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF ORGANIZED FOR SUMMER PROGRAM

In late March, Youth Educational Services moved into its new quarters at 107 1/2 East Parrish St. in downtown Durham. The need for additional space made necessary the move to this new location from the Quail Roost Conference Center.

The new administrative staff of Y.E.S. occupies a good portion of this new office space. Mrs. Shirley Morgan is the new Office Manager for Y.E.S. replacing Ginger Stillman who resigned to take a position with the training division of The North Carolina Fund. Mrs. Morgan has wide experience as a secretary, payroll clerk, cashier, bookkeeper, and as a purchasing agent.

Mrs. Judith McLamb serves as the bookkeeper. Mrs. McLamb is a graduate of Hardbarger's Business College in Raleigh, North Carolina and has worked as a bookkeeper-office manager for an auto supply firm and as a bookkeeper and payroll clerk for a CPA firm.

The Y.E.S. secretarial staff of 4 includes: Mrs. Sara Banks of Chapel Hill, N.C., who has served as a secretary to the City Manager of Savannah, Ga., to the manager of a

*See SECRETARIES; Page 7*

*SECRETARIES ctd. from Page 6*

hotel in Georgia and to a judge in the recorders court also in Savannah, Ga.; Mrs. Linda Currin from Durham, previously a legal secretary; Miss Carrie Harris from Oxford, N.C., a graduate of Durham Business College (secretary trainee); and Miss LeEtta Smith who has completed three years at North Carolina College.

*CONFERENCE ctd. from Page 3*

Techniques of Tutoring Disadvantaged Children", answered questions and later conducted a seminar for interested delegates. He focused particularly on the use of role playing and dance as action approaches to tutoring poor youngsters.

## Workshops

Consultants with experience in remedial reading, program materials, the new math, and other areas held workshops for the delegates. A central aim of the conference was to provide ideas, information and materials to assist project personnel in improving their projects. One series of workshops dealt with projects in the earliest stages of development, aimed to assist persons from new programs or potential programs; others focused on specific techniques for more advanced programs.

## Conference Papers Available

Working papers for the conference, outlines for workshop discussions, listings for the delegates, listings of consultants, and conference schedules are available from Y.E.S. for any interested persons. Write to Lowell Dodge, Youth Educational Services, P. O. Box 1168, Durham, North Carolina 27702.

*CLASSLESS U. ctd. from Page 3*

"One of the great burdens under which American education labors," says Colgate president Vincent M. Barnett, Jr., "is the routinized superstructure we have imposed on the student. The paraphernalia of education easily can snuff out his enthusiasm, his initiative, his spark of intellectual curiosity. "In the January program, we say to the boy: 'For 15 years you've worried about credits and grades. Forget it -- do something you want to do." Although an increasing number of colleges are joining the trend, acceptance of it still is far from unanimous. Some educators, in fact, are out-spoken against it.....

Where the plans have been tried, they generally are praised by faculty and students alike. At Lake Forest College in Illinois, where 25 students are enrolled in a four-year program that has no grades or required courses and that has tests only twice during the four years, president William Cole says independent study is helping to penetrate the "sheepskin curtain" -- the tension that often exists between student and teacher. The Ford Foundation pays for the costs beyond the normal educational expenses of the experimental Lake Forest plan, which will be used at five campuses by next fall.....

## A New Yale Program

At Yale this fall, 12 boys who now are sophomores will launch a new program by spending a year in some contrasting culture -- India, Latin America or Africa -- preferably working for a local company.

*See CLASSLESS U., Page 19*

*NEW PROJECTS ctd. from Page 3*

automobiles. Yet, a combination of strong community leadership and cooperation from the Bertie County public school system (both administrators and teachers) have enabled the establishment of a strong tutorial in this community. Of the 52 families in Woodard, 30 are involved in the program.

Mr. Timothy Bazemore is the director of this program. He is a leader in many other areas of community action as well as tutoring. Youth Educational Services has made three organizational visits to Bertie County and four trips for the purpose of tutor-training. Communities around Woodard are now considering the establishment of their own projects based on the model of Mr. Bazemore's project.

Bertie County is to be the site of a major summer effort by Youth Educational Services.

The East Carolina Volunteers Club: Fifteen East Carolina College students are now involved in community tutoring through the Volunteers Club. This project began in March of this year, and takes place in a housing project near the campus. The student coordinator of the tutoring project is Jean Allen. Youth Educational Services has completed three visits to this Greenville project; two for organizing, one for training tutors.

Elkin-Jonesville Program: Ernie Wells, a VISTA volunteer, is conducting a small tutoring program in the Elkin-Jonesville area. About ten tutors, mostly high school students, are tutoring a dozen or so 5th and 6th grade youngsters once a week at their school. The tutoring is mainly in the areas of reading and arithmetic. Youth Educational Services' staff has made two visits to this project and, in addition, has sent extensive materials.

Adult Literacy Training in Franklin, N.C.: The Macon Program for Progress, a project of the North Carolina Fund, has initiated an adult literacy tutoring program for residents of the mountainous area around Franklin, N.C.

This program is under the direction of Miss Virginia Miller, and utilizes the materials entitled "Reading in High Gear". Approximately 20 tutors, primarily adults, work one-to-one with other adults, most of whom are essentially illiterate. Some tutors meet their tutees once a week, others twice a week. Since this is a relatively new program, the results have as yet been difficult to gage. Youth Educational Services has completed one two-day visit to this project and plans another toward the end of April.

North Wilkesboro - McGrady VISTA Tutoring Program: Two VISTA volunteers in McGrady, N.C., Miss Carol Mims and Miss Patti Tallon, have launched a new tutoring program in McGrady. Tutors for the project are primarily students from Wilkesboro Central High School. The eleven tutors commute ten miles north to McGrady for each tutoring session. The tutees are primarily fourth through seventh graders from a rural mountain background.

Y.E.S.'s coordinator of tutoring services has conducted one tutor training session for this project.

VISTA Volunteer Runs Project In The Salisbury Area: VISTA volunteer, Jeff Bakely, who is assigned to the Salisbury-Orwan Community Services Council has initiated a small tutoring program in East Spencer, N.C., near Salisbury. Tutors in the program come both from Catawba College and Livingstone College. There are approximately six tutors now involved. Each tutor works with one student.

*See NEW PROJECTS; Page 9*

*NEW PROJECTS ctd. from Page 8*

Youth Educational Services has made two visits to this project; one for organizational purposes and the other for tutor training.

New Project in Williamston, N.C.: Within the last month, Youth Educational Services has been instrumental in assisting Mr. Haywood Harris, Director of the neighborhood Youth Corp in Williamston, N.C., to launch a program in which older neighborhood Youth Corp participants are tutoring younger ones as well as students from the local schools. Y.E.S. has assisted in the training of 45 of these tutors. These tutors each meet one tutee twice per week after school. Each tutor is paid at the rate of $1.25 per hour. Most of the tutors are girls. Mr. Harris hopes to continue the program into the summer. To date, Youth Educational Services' staff has made three visits to Williamston in assisting to establish this program.

Wilmington, N.C.: Tutoring started April 18th in a new program in Wilmington, N.C. This program is sponsored jointly by the Wilmington Human Relations Council and the Wilmington Y.W.C.A. Coordinator of the program is Annette Moore, a senior at New Hanover High School.

Mr. Lisbon C. Berry, a Wilmington attorney, has been instrumental in launching this program. The New Hanover County Schools have offered their support to the effort. The tutors are both Negro and white.

Youth Educational Services has made five trips to Wilmington; three for the purposes of organization, two for tutor training. There are approximately 25 tutors in this program.

## NORTH CAROLINA AND THE NEGRO

Youth Educational Services has a limited number of copies of NORTH CAROLINA AND THE NEGRO, edited by Capus M. Waynick, Special Consultant to the Governor on Race Relations; John C. Brooks, Administrator, North Carolina Mayors' Co-operating Committee; and Elsie W. Pitts, Recording Secretary, North Carolina Mayors' Co-operating Committee. The book sells at $1.00 per copy. It reports the experience of cities and towns in North Carolina when they were confronted with the organized revolt of Negroes against segregation. Published in 1964, the book contains a forward by former Governor Terry Sanford, a short description of the Negro Protest Movement in North Carolina, and major sections on a response of many cities in North Carolina to the protest; the official municiple declarations on human rights; and a section on laws relating to civil rights in North Carolina. Persons wishing to have a copy of NORTH CAROLINA AND THE NEGRO should send $1.00, cash or check, payable to Youth Educational Services, P.O. Box 1168, Durham, N.C. 27702.

*TUTORIAL ASSISTANCE CENTER ctd. from Page 5*

Further details on the Tutorial Assistance Center are contained in, "A Proposal for a Tutorial Assistance Center of U.S. National Student Association; Contracted with the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity from March 1, 1966, through February 28, 1967", submitted February 24, 1966, by J. Walton Senterfitt, III; Rachelle Diener, and Michael P. Wood. A limited number of copies of the proposal are available from USNSA, 2115 S. St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008.

## THE NORTH STAR

One of the new additions to the Y.E.S. Bibliography of Available Tutoring Materials is The North Star. This is a collection of creative writings by the tutees of the Harlem Education Project. Tutoring projects interested in starting tutee magazines may wish to order copies of The North Star.

## REPORTS ON 20 ESTABLISHED PROJECTS SERVED BY Y.E.S.

(Reports on New Projects are listed beginning on Page 3 of the NEWSLETTER)

Y.E.S. encourages project directors to write their own reports for this NEWSLETTER. The only report in this issue written by a director is the report on the Davidson College project. Target date for publication of next NEWSLETTER: May 15.

(1) Appalachian State Teachers College: The North Carolina Volunteers Club at Appalachian State Teachers College has carried on a strong tutorial since December of 1965. A graduate student, Rae Worthington, administers this program. Assisting Rae are the elementary program coordinator Miss Becky Laws, and the high school coordinator Burlene Leonhardt. There are roughly 50 tutors in this program.

Youth Educational Services summer staff member Mike Russell has been working with this program in laying groundwork for a Y.E.S. summer program to take place in Boone, N.C. Earlier in the year, Youth Educational Services assisted with training tutors in this program.

(2) Brevard, N.C.: Approximately one out of every ten students at Brevard College is now tutoring in a program very closely coordinated with the public schools in Brevard. The tutees come from the Brevard Junior High School, a mile away from the college. Student coordinators for the program are Richard Gauley and Gretchen Kirzinger.

Overall coordinator for the program, Mrs. Mary Whitmire, is the guidance counselor at the junior high school. Mrs. Whitmire has matched tutors and tutees and arranged for the parents of the tutees to provide transportation for the tutors.

There is a strong emphasis on cultural tutoring in which tutors make an effort to involve their students in a wider range of activities. Many tutors, for instance, have undertaken the following activity: They tell their tutee to pretend that they have $50.00 to spend. Tutor and tutee then walk into town with the tutee free to spend the money in any way he wishes. The tutor tags along learning much about the interests and values of the tutee in the process. Curiously enough, they have found that many tutees prefer to save their imaginary $50.00 rather than spend it. The Brevard program is one of the best organized served by Y.E.S. Y.E.S. has made three visits to this project.

(3) Campbell College Tutoring Program in Buies Creek, N.C.: The tutoring at Campbell combines both academic and enrichment elements in its program. Linn Campbell, coordinator of the effort, reports that there are presently five tutors involved and that she plans in the near future to add five more tutors to the program. The academic phase of the program takes place in the Buies Creek Elementary School twice a week. The enrichment phase shifts location with each meeting. Thus far tutors have invited their students to the Campbell College campus, (Linn reports that it was fascinating to see the reactions of the tutees to an exhibit of Modern Art at the college) and plans for future enrichment activities including a trip to Raleigh.

Y.E.S. staff made two visits to Campbell College assisting its project to organize.

(4) Chapel Hill Program: The Chapel Hill tutorial is a joint undertaking of the Interfaith Council and the YM-YWCA of The University of North Carolina. Overall coordinator of the project is Mrs. Nancy Elkins of the YM-YWCA. Mr. and Mrs. Doug McCallum

*Continued on next page*

are student coordinators for the operation. There are 130 in all tutoring in the program.

There are several phases of the Chapel Hill project:

A. The elementary phase coordinated by Mrs. Catherine Adams which operates in four Chapel Hill elementary schools. Most of the 50 or so tutors in this phase are adults primarily faculty wives.
B. A high school and remedial reading phase takes place on the university campus. Mrs. Joan Lipsitz and Mrs. Marie Matthews have organized training for 30 tutors, recruited tutees and coordinated this aspect of the program.
C. Out-of-town tutoring is in progress in Hillsboro, Cedar Grove, and Eflin. Roughly 30 tutors travel from Chapel Hill to these towns once a week to tutor junior high and high school students in the school primarily during the evening.
D. The community tutoring phase involves roughly six or seven coeds who venture into the homes of Negroes and into community centers for direct communication not only with the tutees, but with the parents of the tutees. Nancy Ehle has spearheaded this phase.

(5) The Davidson YMCA Tutorial Program by Mike Norris, Assistant Director: We here at Davidson are proud of the stride our program has made in making available educational assistance to the young people of the area. Immediately following the beginning of second semester this year, a study hall was initiated at the local Negro Elementary - Junior High School. It has proved successful and now approximately twenty children attend each session. Guidance for these children is offered by five students from Davidson and several faculty members from the college. Some women from town also help. At the present time, we are only able to conduct two hour long study hall sessions a week. These sessions are held in classrooms after regular school hours. Besides helping the children with their homework, math games and spelling bees are organized. These sessions are very informal with one tutor helping four or five children.

Our big hope is that one day we will be able to provide a much more adequate tutorial program for the children. We would like to be able to plan trips to Charlotte for the youngsters and to take them on a regular basis to our own library here on campus. Our local Negro Methodist minister is helping us organize such a program. However, he is new in the community and has not yet gained the trust of the adult citizens. Most parents feel that we are trying to move too fast and they tend to distrust our motives. It will be a long time before we can organize such a tutorial program on a round basis.

In addition to the study hall program, which is directed by Georges Nzongola, we are currently conducting some tutoring service for Negro and white high school students. These sessions are held here on the campus one evening a week. This phase of our program has been running for most of the school year, but attendance has been light.

Tutoring is a relatively new activity here on campus, but many students have found that besides being a worthwhile endeavor, it is also fun and exciting to help youngsters become involved in the "learning game".

(6) The Edgemont Community Center, Durham, N.C.: The Edgemont Community Center, a privately supported settlement house in the Edgemont section of Durham, is conducting a tutorial project involving roughly 40 tutors primarily from Duke

*Continued on next page*

University. The coordinator of this program is Mrs. June Ingram.

Youth Educational Services has assisted this program both through tutor training and through supplying extensive sets of tutoring materials. Tutors work at Edgemont two nights a week. Some of the tutors are utilizing sets of programed reading instruction materials.

(7) The Experiment in Self-Reliance Winston-Salem, N.C.: Eighty tutors from Wake Forest College, Salem College, Winston-Salem State College, and from three Winston-Salem high schools are now tutoring through the Experiment in Self-Reliance Program run by Mrs. Cecile Rocz, a VISA-US volunteer. This program, which started in January, emphasizes heavily the use of Science Research Associates Reading Labs, Pilot Libraries, and Reading for Understanding kits. Training in the use of these materials is provided by Irving C. Noyes of the Durham Education Skill Center. Combined with the tutorial is a snack program, funds for milk, crackers, and cookies are included in the budget for the ESR tutorial.

A highly select group of ten of the high school students tutoring in the program are tutoring on a paid basis. Mrs. Rocz reports that this phase of the program is perhaps the most successful.

The program is being run on a demonstration basis through June. ESR hopes to start a full program lasting for one year in June utilizing funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

(8) The Fayetteville State College Tutorial Project: The only project to our knowledge serviced by Y.E.S. which has produced a marriage is the Fayetteville State Tutorial Project. The Director, Miss Judy Wilkins, is engaged to one of the leading tutors in the project, Mr. Cecil Ramsey.

There are about 25 tutors in the project whose efforts are coordinated by Gilbert Ross, a junior at Fayetteville State. Most of the tutees come from Washington Drive Junior High School. Tutoring takes place on the Fayetteville State campus. All tutors fill out weekly report forms on their activities during their tutoring session. Student body president and Y.E.S. Board member, George Langford, also tutors in the program. This project began in October and has continued with 20 tutors quite strongly ever since that time. Fayetteville is one of the seven sites selected for an extensive Youth Educational Services summer operation.

(9) Greensboro United Tutorial Service (GUTS): GUTS continues to work primarily in the community. It has recently expanded from three housing project tutoring sites into a fourth, the Smith Housing Project which is integrated. Tutoring at this location was developed primarily by Allen Toothaker, a student at Guilford College.

A & T students are now tutoring in full force through GUTS, the coordinator on the A & T campus is Wayne Peterson. The tutors recruited by Peterson will start at the Apache Homes Housing Project. Students from Guilford College, Greensboro College, Bennett College and UNC-G continue their work through GUTS. There are now a total of 140 tutors in the program.

(10) Hawthorne Junior High School Tutoring Program, Charlotte, N.C.: The guidance counselor at Hawthorne Junior High, Lydia Moody, and the Principal, Mr. Pinkney Stowe, have initiated a program at Hawthorne Junior High in which 19 adults from St. Martin's Episcopal Church in Charlotte, tutor 25 students during

*Continued on next page*

the school day.

Youth Educational Services has supplied this project with extensive sets of tutoring materials, tutoring manuals, and background readings for tutors.

Mrs. Moody reports that she is extremely happy with the program. She indicated that almost all of the tutees have made progress and cited in particular one case in which a youngster being tutored three times a week by a doctor has increased his reading level two years during two months of tutoring.

(11) High Point Tutorial: A former North Carolina Volunteer, Sarah Greene, has started tutoring in High Point. For the moment, Sarah is the only tutor. She is working with illiterates utilizing the materials entitled Reading In High Gear. Sarah is planning to extend her efforts into the summer. She intends next year to enlist many more tutors and many more persons who would like to take advantage of literacy training.

The tutoring in High Point was initially a project of the North Carolina Volunteers. Those being tutored have for the most part been persons involved in the North Carolina Fund's Mobility Program.

(12) Johnson C. Smith University Tutorial: Director of the Johnson C. Smith University tutorial, Jeanette Johnson, and Assistant Director, Tyler Millner, have developed a new phase to the Johnson C. Smith tutorial. The on campus phase, which promises to become the strongest aspect of the program. In the on campus phase, junior high students from the Irwin Avenue School visit the Johnson C. Smith campus two afternoons per week for tutoring. Johnson and Millner have found that on campus tutoring solves the problem of tutoring transportation and is also a more exciting location for the tutees.

Other dominions of the Johnson C. Smith project are continuing strongly. They are the Woodlawn Community dominion in a rural area outside of Charlotte, and a third center at Our Lady of Consultation Church where Johnson C. Smith tutors are working one-to-one with 5th graders. There are now roughly 80 tutors at work at the Johnson C. Smith tutorial. It is hoped that the work being done in this program will serve as the basis for the Y.E.S. summer operation to be located in this Charlotte area.

(13) The Laurinburg Tutorial Program: Roughly 30 students from St. Andrews Presbyterian College in Laurinburg are involved in community tutoring under the authoress of the St. Andrews Presbyterian College Peace Corp. Martha James, coordinator of the tutorial program, has had extensive assistance by Patsy Pence, center coordinator at the tutoring site, and Cheryl Barlup. Although the Peach Corp's tutoring program has been in existence for more than a year, it was not organized on a one tutor, one tutee basis. A new phase started in February is based on the one-to-one approach and shows high promise for the future.

Youth Educational Services summer staff member Nan Mumma is making preparations in Laurinburg which will be one of Y.E.S.'s summer project sites.

(14) Meredith College: An on-campus tutorial program has been in progress at Meredith College now for a year and a half. Coordinator for the first half of this year was Ann Freeman. Readers who attended the Y.E.S. tutorial

*Continued on next page*

conference will remember Ann as the provider of housing for all women delegates. The new coordinator for the Meredith College program is Ann Rollings. Roughly 30 tutors work with an equal number of tutees from a nearby elementary school. These tutees come to Meredith College for their tutoring.

Reverend Bud Walker, chaplain at Meredith College, has been extremely helpful to Y.E.S. in its attempt to plan for a summer project in the Capitol City.

New Bern - Educational Growth Opportunities: After roughly three months of operation, the EGO project has gone under. VISTA volunteer Mike Russell coordinated EGO until the sudden death of the VISTA program in New Bern. Following Mike's departure from New Bern EGO struggled three weeks for its existence, but finally died through lack of leadership.

At its height, the EGO project could count nine tutors and an equal number of tutees, plus a burgeoning library of resource materials. A dim hope remains that perhaps community people, having been sparked by the idea of EGO, will in the future bring it back to life.

(15) Tutoring at The North Carolina Advancement School: There are two programs in progress at the Advancement School. Both are somewhat altered versions of programs during the preceding sessions of the Advancement School.

There are now 16 tutors at work in the junior tutoring program in which the 8th grade students at the Advancement School tutor 4th and 5th graders from a nearby public elementary school. All of the junior tutors are students from Hayes Junior High School in Williamston, N.C. They tutor spelling, arithmetic, writing, and a bit of reading. A 5th grade teacher at the elementary school reports that all five of her students who are participating in the program show remarkable improvement in their classroom work.

Students from Wake Forest College continue to work at the Advancement School in the senior tutoring program. These students, 12 in all, work within the mathematics department under the supervision of Mr. Tom Mikula working specifically on skilled efficiencies which teachers have indicated that individual students need to work on with the tutor. The Wake Forest students are at the Advancement School as a part of an educational psychology course taught by Dr. Keith Pritchard at Wake Forest College.

(16) The North Carolina State Tutorial Commission at the University of North Carolina at Ral Raleigh: "Shrimp" Goetherd and Lynn Spees run a tightly coordinated tutoring effort involving roughly 15 tutors at North Carolina State University at Raleigh. The tutoring is cultural as well as academic. Tutors often take their students on cultural enrichment trips both to the university campus and to places of interest in Raleigh.

Youth Educational Services' summer staff member Juanita Clarke has been active in Raleigh and with the North Carolina State Tutorial Commission in laying plans for a Youth Educational Summer Project in Raleigh.

(17) Operation Breakthrough Tutorial, Durham, N.C.: The tutoring program in Durham is perhaps the largest in the State with 230 tutors. It is organized as a part of the overall anti-poverty effort of Operation Breakthrough in Durham. It has a sizeable budget which it has used to purchase extensive tutoring materials.

There is now tutoring in all three of the major target areas of Operation Breakthrough:

Target Area A (covers the Hayti Area) has two coordinators. Mrs. Bessie McLaurin is the coordinator at St. Joseph's AME Church. She supervises 75 tutors. Also in A is the Children's House where tutoring is supervised by Mrs. Lucia Tanford.

Target Area B (covers East End and Edgemont) has VISTA volunteers as coordinators. Miss Merle Hughes coordinates both at the East End School and at the Union Baptist Church. Sue Finer supervises at the Edgemont School.

Target Area C (covers Bragtown) has tutoring supervised by Jan Burch, another VISTA volunteer. Jan is assisted by an indigenous worker, Mrs. Flossie Evans. Tutoring in Target Area C takes place at the Lakeview Elementary School.

Mrs. Jewel John is the overall coordinator of tutor recruitment for Breakthrough. Most of the tutors come from Duke and North Carolina College.

Irving C. Noyes serves as consultant to the program. Mr. Noyes has trained most of the tutors in the use of The Science Research Associates materials which the program is using.

The Operation Breakthrough program has a tutorial advisory committee whose members include the following: Mr. Howard Fitts, North Carolina College; Dr. John Artley, Department of English, Duke; Mrs. Jano Bogdonoff; Rev. J. W. Barnes, principal of Hillside High School; Mr. Frank Burnett, principal of Pearson School; Rev. Phillip Cousin, Minister of St. Joseph's AME Church; Rev. Hank Elkins, Chaplain North Carolina College; Mrs. June Ingram, Director, Edgemont Community; Mr. F. D. Marshall, principal, East End School; Mr. E. W. Madgette; Mrs. Pauline Newton; Mrs. Ann Rowe; and Mr. William Woody.

RESOURCE MATERIALS AVAILABLE FROM THE Y.E.S. LIBRARY

Y.E.S. has developed an extensive library of resource materials for tutoring projects. The library includes a wide range of tutoring manuals, a selective list of short background readings for tutors, materials to assist in project organization and funding, guides on tutoring reading, tutoring manuals in the basic skills, and bibliographies of tutoring materials from projects across the country.

Most of the materials listed are free of charge to tutoring projects of North Carolina. Y.E.S. will fill all requests for materials as far as possible. To request a copy of "List of Materials Available From the Y.E.S. Tutoring Resource Library", write to Y.E.S. Post Office Box 1168, Durham, North Carolina 27702.

To Project Directors who have borrowed published tutoring materials from Y.E.S.:

As the academic year comes to an end we would appreciate it very much if you could return to Y.E.S. all published tutoring materials for which you no longer have a need. We will have a pressing demand for these materials this summer.

**Y.E.S. PROJECT DIRECTORS AND STAFF MEET WITH GRANTORS, March 8, 1966, AT THE INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT IN CHAPEL HILL, N. C.**

Representatives from Youth Educational Services and its grantors, The North Carolina Fund, and The Fund for Advancement of Education (established by the Ford Foundation), met to discuss the future of Y.E.S. March 8th in Chapel Hill. The Learning Institute of North Carolina, which also supports Youth Educational Services, was unable to send a representative.

Representing Y.E.S. at the meeting were: Cecil Ramsey, a tutor from Fayetteville; Jeanette Johnson, project director at Johnson C. Smith University; Joan Lipsitz, a project director in Chapel Hill; John Brooks, Secretary Treasurer of the Board of Directors; Charlie Bugg, Chairman of the Board and project director in Greensboro; and Y.E.S. staff members Lowell Dodge and Mike Lawler. John Scanlon attended from the Fund for Advancement of Education. Representing the North Carolina Fund were George Esser, Executive Director, and Tom Hartmann,

*See FUTURE OF Y.E.S.; Page 20*

(18) The Queens College Tutorial: Leadership of the Queens College tutoring project shifted recently from one student group to another. The original group under the leadership of Miss Pat Bagg tutored in a downtown YWCA. The new group under the supervision of Mrs. Elizabeth Wright is working with both tutoring and recreation at the Morgan School in Charlotte.

Several delegates of the Morgan School group attended the Youth Educational Services tutoring conference in February.

(19) Wake Forest College Tutorial: Five tutors continue the work of the tutorial program at Wake Forest College in Winston-Salem. These tutors work at a junior high school. Earlier in the year there were 13 tutors involved, but the program was significantly reduced at the time when the Winston-Salem--Forsyth County School System decided to undertake a large tutorial of its own.

One Wake Forest student, Diane Hyde, tutored a student on her own at a different school. Other tutors originally in the program have undertaken a new and adventitious enterprise, establishing off campus residence in the Negro neighborhood of Winston-Salem to carry on work related to tutoring directly in the neighborhood. The off campus project is under the direction of Lu Green, a member of the Board of Directors of Y.E.S.

(20) W.A.M.Y. Work Study Tutorial In Boone, N.C.: Roughly twenty work study students from Appalachian State Teachers College travel twice and sometimes three times weekly to remote areas in the Watauga, Avery, Mitchell, and Yancy County area. These towns carry names like: Gragg, Meat Camp, Elk Park, and others.

Barbara Doub supervises those work study students who are tutoring. Many are engaged both in tutoring and in recreational activities. They find that recreation and evening study halls are a good way to attract the students to a location where they may then be tutored.

**Y.E.S. WANTS YOU..... to write for the NEWSLETTER**

We know there is action in your tutoring program which would be worth sharing with others in the State. So tell us like it is. It's impossible for us to keep up with all these things, cause you're what's happening.

ADDITIONS TO THE "LIST OF MATERIALS AVAILABLE FROM THE YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES TUTORING RESOURCE LIBRARY"
April, 1966

*Items listed in Bibliography of November, 1965, now available in quantity*

1. A Neglected Resource--Cross Age Relationships, ten-page mimeo, Peggy Lippitt and John Lohman, Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, University of Michigan, P.O. Box 1248, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. How a successful project was organized in which 6th graders tutor 1st to 4th graders.
2. Tutoring Reading At After-School Study Centers, excellent pamphlet. Write: Governor's Committee on Literacy and Learning, Room 1417, 19 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill. 60603 (Youth Educational Services only has a limited number of copies of this pamphlet.)
3. Northern Student Movement, Prospectus for Educational Projects, 1963-1964. A four-page summary. NSM's plans for tutoring projects in six Northern cities beginning in June, 1963, including budget.
4. Prospectus, Philadelphia Tutorial Project, Inc., 1964 through 1967. Fourteen pages with detailed budgetary breakdowns, including diverse supplementary programs.
5. A Prospectus, Western Student Movement, April 10, 1964. A proposal for a large community-based summer tutorial in Los Angeles, carried out in the summer of 1964.
6. The North Star (Harlem Education Project), thirteen pages. Creative writings by the tutees of the Harlem Education Project; an example of how your tutoring program can start a tutee magazine.

*Additions to the Youth Educational Services tutoring resource library*

A. NEW TUTORING MANUALS

1. UCLA Tutorial Project, Your First Day As A Tutor, and How to Survive It. Four pages on what to do during your first tutoring session with brief notes on the following sessions. For projects working closely with the schools.
2. Detroit Public Schools, A Guide for Volunteer Tutors. Please write to Aileen Selick, Program Administrator, Detroit Public Schools, 5057 Woodward, Detroit, Michigan 48202. Mimeo with tips for the first session, reading and writing.
3. Bloomington (Indiana) Christian Centre, Tutor Guide Book (for tutors from the University of Indiana) Seven pages. Includes keeping a record of your work and field trips.
4. So You Want To Help People.....Forget It! Unless..... by Opal C. Jones, Executive Director, Avalon-Carver Community Center, 4272 Avalon Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90011. The complete guide on how to avoid pitfalls in the helping relationship, particularly in working with poor people. An excellent four-page summary.

B. NEW BACKGROUND READING FOR TUTORS

1. Claire Schmais, Dance As a Part of The Pre-School and Elementary School Curriculum. An eleven-page mimeo with a brief introduction by Dr. Frank Riessman in which he states, "this article presents an important new approach for the education of disadvantaged children".

## C. NEW MATERIALS TO ASSIST WITH PROJECT ORGANIZATION AND FUNDING

1. United States National Student Association, Establishing A Volunteer Tutorial Project (working draft only) by J. Walton Senterfitt and Thomas W. Roderick; includes suggestions for goals, and setting up the project (recruiting tutors and tutees, matching, supervision, training, and contact with the schools.) Nineteen pages.
2. Sample Forms for use in project administration.
   a) Interest inventory sheet (used by tutorial at the University of Indiana). A listing of 23 questions which you can use during your first tutoring session to learn about the interests of your tutees.
   b) A sample tutor application form (used at the North Carolina Advancement School)
   c) For Your First Session, a form to break the ice. Includes tips for the first session and blanks to be filled in.
3. Joyce Bolinger, How to Organize a Volunteer Study Center, Governor's Committee on Literacy and Learning, Room 1417, 19 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill. 60603. With sections on contact with parents, building volunteer esprit de corps, materials, and evaluation.
4. Gayle Janowitz, Helping Hands, paperback -- 125 pages ($1.75) contains chapters on the organization of a study center, programs and activities, results, and effectiveness. A conventional approach to the organization of a tutorial.
5. North Carolina Advancement School, Tutoring Program Design, a philosophy of tutoring at The Advancement School. Includes materials used in the Advancement School Tutoring Program.
6. Eighth Graders Teach Younger Students, an article from the Winston-Salem Journal by Arlene Edwards on The Junior Tutoring Program at The North Carolina Advancement School. Includes goals and organization.
7. Youth Educational Services, A Proposed Summer Program, the philosophy and organizational details of the Y.E.S. Summer Program of 1966.
8. Youth Educational Services, A Proposed Academic Year Program, preliminary draft. Plans of Youth Educational Services for the 1966-67 academic year.

## D. NEW GUIDES ON TUTORING READING

1. Guide Book for Reading Instructions by Helen A. Lundblad. For tutors. Includes sections on reading games and word games for different reading skills levels.
2. Guide Book for The Volunteer Reading Teacher by Lenore Sleisenger, Teachers College Press, Columbia University. ($1.25) Please write to: Miss Nancy Stiefel, Teachers College Press, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027. A 51-page guide including the first meeting, getting acquainted, tutoring one child, tutoring small groups, methods and materials, helping children to read with understanding, appropriate books for remedial teaching, and evaluation.
3. Reading Improvement Program Recommendations. Eight-page mimeo for tutors working with students who have mastered the basics of reading. Includes improving speed, accuracy, and eye movement.

CLASSLESS U. ctd. from Page 7

The 12 are taking special course work now to prepare themselves and will take more when they return. "Then," says Henry Chauncey, Jr., assistant to Yale president Kingman Brewster, "for 10 years after they graduate, they can come back to Yale, stay as long as they like, and brush up or widen what knowledge they acquired the first time around." The educational expenses of the students when they come back after graduation will be paid by grants from foundations.

The goals of the program, says Mr. Chauncey, are two: Achieving student maturity, and making the Bachelor of Arts a terminal degree (82% of Yale's graduates now go on to further schooling).

"The intensity of the educational experience, the long plod through elementary grades, high school and the rest, tends to lock students into a rut," Mr. Chauncey says. The year in India or Africa, he adds, is intended to get them out of that rut. "President Brewster would like to go even further. He'd like to have enough money for a deferred acceptance program--to give every boy we accept a year off to do whatever he wants before he comes here," says Mr. Chauncey.

Letting a student "do whatever he wants" sometimes leads to projects that are a bit off-beat--though, professors say, usually educational in one way or another. During Colgate's two-year-old Jan-Plan, for instance, students have built medieval musical instruments, written papers on "the sociology of surfing" and dug for Indian artifacts around Lake Okeechobee in Florida, along with more routine projects such as studying the theater or the financial community and doing social work in big cities.

Last year, one Colgate student was one of the last persons to interview Malcolm X, the slain Black Muslim. Another studied glaciology, becoming so interested that he has signed up for an 18-month tour at the South Pole after his graduation this June.....

Actually, some schools with January plans concede, even if a student gets a minimum of knowledge in his January study it's more than he normally would get during the month. Although spring generally is considered the time when a student's mind wanders from the books, January's weather is so miserable in the North, these students traditionally just hole up and do as little as possible during the month. (Even now, says a member of the Colgate faculty, the local movie houses are filled with Colgate students during January. "It's January, man," they told him when he asked why.)...

## GUTS Undertakes "Way-Out" Activities for Tutors and Tutees

Last week a group of tutors and tutees from the GUTS program in Greensboro, which is under the direction of Charlie Bugg, attended an address by Wayne Morse, a ranking member of the Foreign Relations Committee, United States Senate, at Guilford College. The tutees are 9th graders who are tutored in a group by Kaky Sowers, Ina Rominger, and Beth Kirsch, tutors in GUTS from UNC-G. Their trip to hear Senator Morse was a part of their continuing discussion on current events. After the speech, the tutors answered many questions which the 9th graders had on their minds.

Gym-Fest at A & T: Wayne Peterson, coordinator of tutoring at A & T College for GUTS, organized for tutees in GUTS an all-day visit to A & T College. Transported by buses supplied through Greensboro's Community Action Program, a large group of tutees from several housing projects in Greensboro took over the A & T campus. They were free to use all of the gym facilities, to tour the campus, and to talk with students. A group of A & T tutors served as guides for the tutees.

*FUTURE OF Y.E.S. ctd. from Page 16*

The Y.E.S. project directors asserted that their projects could definitely take advantage of increased services from Y.E.S., if these services could be made available by means of a larger budget. Y.E.S. staff made clear that it would like to be able to devote more effort to relations with school officials, relations with community action programs, the use of audio visual aids and programmed tutoring materials, and the development of cultural enrichment activities for the various Y.E.S. tutoring projects. The grantors expressed the thought that the basic goals and operations to date of Y.E.S. were successful and valuable and that Y.E.S. should be very cautious in undertaking any large new tasks which divert Y.E.S from its primary enterprise.

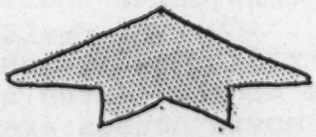
The grantors expressed the feeling that the proposed evaluation program of Youth Educational Services not be so extensive as to place an excessive burden on the organization. Mr. Scanlon felt that the primary purposes of evaluation were to learn how we might do better what we set out to do and to leave tracks for others who wish to duplicate the Y.E.S. model.

Mr. Scanlon finally suggested a very brief report which would enable others to profit from our experience. The report might answer the questions: how did Y.E.S. get started? what have we learned? what have we accomplished? Mr. Esser agreed with this idea. It was concluded that this short pamphlet should be written toward the end of the first year of operation of Youth Educational Services, perhaps in August.

Y.E.S. welcomes from its readers reactions to this discussion on the future of the organization.

**Y.E.S. SEEKS STAFF FOR 1966-67**

Youth Educational Services needs top tutorial talent for several positions open this September, including an Executive Director; and two persons in tutor-training and materials. Experience in tutoring and/or project administration is the primary qualification. For further information, contact Lowell Dodge, Youth Educational Services, Post Office Box 1168, Durham, North Carolina 27702 or call 919-688-3035.



*Youth Educational Services*
*Post Office Box 1168*
*Durham, North Carolina 27702*

THIRD CLASS

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Rec'd 6/15/66

Y.E.S.

# CREATIVE APPROACHES TO TUTORING

For Use In The Y.E.S. Summer Program, 1966

Lowell Dodge

More copies available from:

Youth Educational Services
Post Office Box 1168
Durham, North Carolina 27702

## INTRODUCTION

Tutors everywhere are fed up with conventional tutoring materials. The materials being used in many tutoring programs fail to make a connection with the tutee. Materials which tutors have judged inadequate in this respect include school textbooks, SRA materials, published workbooks (even those with pictures), and with some students anything that appears on a printed page.

This paper attempts to suggest some fresh alternatives. Some of the approaches listed on the following pages have already been tried with some success by tutors in North Carolina. Maybe none of the approaches will work with your particular situation, but perhaps some of them will suggest to you ways in which you may be creative with your student.

We hope that this list will expand during the summer as you develop approaches which you feel are creative. We would appreciate it very much if you could pass on to us ideas for inclusion in revised versions of this paper. Attached to the end of this paper are sheets you can use for this purpose.

# I. CRAZY THINGS TO DO DURING A TUTORING SESSION

## A. Plugging into your tutee's interests

Students at Brevard College have had excellent luck with this activity. At the beginning of the tutoring session, tell your tutee that he has $50.00 to spend during the tutoring session. Tell him he can spend it on anything he wants. Then take a walk into town or into a shopping area where there are reasonable alternatives, and see what he spends his money on. Have him keep track with a pad and pencil how much money he has left after each purchase. Since this is a fairly good way to learn about your tutee's interests, it may be an activity which you might undertake during one of the first sessions with your tutee. It also provides a chance to discuss with your tutee things such as the difference between necessities and luxuries, techniques of comparative shopping, and the difference between durable goods such as a fishing rod, and perishable goods such as an ice cream cone. Curiously enough some tutors in Brevard found that their students decided to save a portion of their hypothetical $50.00.

## B. Imagination Walk

Take a walk with your tutee and make something out of it. Tutors have used casual walks to sharpen the powers of expression and observation of their tutees. Examples:

1. You spot a lonely piece of grass coming up out of a crack in the sidewalk, and you ask your student, "How do you think that blade of grass feels?"

2. You spot an individual in a group or walking along the sidewalk, and ask the tutee to make a guess as to what kind of character the person is. This approach can get interesting if once in a while you can spot a person on the other side of the street whom you know, then ask your student why they think the person is the way they have described.

3. Get your student to use his senses effectively and to put into words what these senses mean, such as by having your student compare the difference in moods created first by the smell of a furniture store and second by the smell of a bakery.

4. Some tutors use walks for tutoring reading more effectively than they use workbooks. Reading signs and getting at the meaning behind signs which one encounters in any city has much more immediate pay-off for many students than reading in workbooks.

5. The exchange game. Have your tutee take you to a place he thinks you have never been and then have him tell you why he selected the place. Then you take him to a place you think he has never been and let him know why it is an important place for you.

C. Tutee Map-Making

A good way to learn of your student's concept of his world, and to get him to practice symbolizing on paper something he has in his mind, is to get him to draw a map of things important to him in his neighborhood. You might start, for instance, by having him chart the route from his home to the place where he is being tutored, and to point out things along the way that are important, such as a candy machine, where the cops hang out, location of a friend's house, etc. If need be, you can start out with a grid pattern of the streets or make a project out of filling in a map or extending a map by actually footing it about town. Tutors who wish to extend their students' concept of the world about them can then work with their student on showing how other points of interest outside of the immediate neighborhood in the city relate to the part the student knows best. Then expand from city to state, etc. One tutor went so far as to take a far away place which had aroused the interest of the student, locate it on the map, and plan the details of a trip to the place including going to a travel agent and picking up brochures, investigating plane fares, boat fares, and even visiting stores to shop for clothing which would be appropriate for the location.

D. Make Deals With Your Tutee

Examples:

1. "You bring some magazine or book about something you think I know nothing about, and I'll bring in something you know nothing about." One tutor who tried this brought in something about whales only to find out that her tutee had brought in a book about snakes. They both learned from each other during that session.

2. Have your tutee bring to the tutoring session five words which he thinks you will not know in exchange for five words you select which you think the tutee might not know. You may be surprised at the outcome.

The general theory behind making deals is that it involves both you and your student on an equal footing in an activity which enables you both to learn more about each other.

## II. IDEAS FOR NEW MATERIALS AND NEW TECHNIQUES FOR TUTORING SESSIONS

### A. Use Comic Books

The following story illustrates the point behind using comics:

A group of ninth-grade boys refused to read in English class. When asked why, they unanimously concurred that the books they were reading were "phoney". What follows is a dialogue between a teacher and a class on this point.[1]

Teacher: What do you mean "phoney"?
Class: Corny.
Teacher: What does "corny" mean?
Class: (no response)
Teacher: Can you give me an example of what isn't "corny"? Say in a T.V. program perhaps?
Class: "Naked City".
Teacher: Why isn't "Naked City" corny or phoney?
Class: Well, one Sunday you see a kid with his mother walking to church, and the next day he gets into trouble.
Teacher: Why isn't that phoney?
Class: Because he isn't all bad or all good. He isn't one-way.
Teacher: Are you saying then, that a one-way character is phoney?
Class: Yeah!.....If you'd give the kids in this school the choice, they'd all read comic books.
Teacher: Why?
Class: They're a lot more fun.
Teacher: But I thought you said one-way characters were "phoney". I never heard of Batman doing anything nasty.
Class: The big difference is we know the comic books are going to be phoney, and that's why they're fun. But the stuff you give us in school you tell us isn't phoney and it always is.

### B. Have your tutees create their own materials. The SWAP Approach:

The Student Woodlawn Area Project in Chicago has its tutees talk in a more or less unsupervised atmosphere into a tape recorder, asking them to describe interesting incidents in their lives. SWAP then types up the

[1]From English Journal, Volumn 54, No. 4, April 1965, "Phoney Literature" by Gerald Weinstein and Mario Fantini

stories and mimeographs them. These materials are on topics of interest to the tutees, but most important they are in the language of the tutees. Youth Educational Services has a series of these SWAP stories available to all projects to serve as an example of the way in which this approach can work.

C. The Dear Abby Gimmick

If you are working with a girl or a group of girls, try this: Take letters written into the love-lorn experts, such as Ann Landers, Dear Abby, and the rest, from frustrated teenagers. Give only the letters themselves to the tutees, then have them compose their own answers. This is often the way to get girls into the mood for some expository writing. Many times the girls will outdo the experts with their answers. You might have different girls compete with each other for the best answer, or compare the answers of the girls to the answers provided by the experts. If the answers your girls give are not perfect, that is fine. Then you can work on expression, punctuation, grammar, spelling, etc.

D. The Hiptionary

Your tutoring efforts should be an attempt to add to, rather than replace the language your tutee uses. There is a major movement afoot in American education to respect the dialects of American minority groups and to build on them rather than condemning them as incorrect.

A simple project which tutors can undertake in line with this thinking, suggested by Frank Riessman, is setting up a hiptionary in a systematic fashion. Everytime your tutee uses one of his "rich and colorful words" put it on a card, then work with him in discovering in the dictionary synonyms from formal English. The effects are several. First of all, the process of putting together the hiptionary attaches a new importance to the tutee's own language. Second of all, it is a subtle way of exposing your tutee to a great many new "English" word definitions for the "hip" words your tutee may have been using for quite a while. Tutors who have used this approach find that their students have a lot of fun using their new-found "big words".

E. Develop Your Own Vignettes

The vignette must zero in on the language and experience of your tutee. You might even illustrate it with drawings or photographs. Here is an example:[2]

[2]From English Journal, Volumn 54, No. 4, April 1965, "Phoney Literature" by Gerald Weinstein and Mario Fantini

E continued. Sample Vignette:

THE DANCE

Jimmy had spent about an hour in front of the mirror getting ready for this dance. He was wearing his best suit, a smart three-buttoned slim job. Even so, he still didn't feel right. He was kind of jumpy.

The auditorium wasn't too crowded, but Mary Ann was there. She looked real great with that pink lace dress and those pink high-heels.

All of the boys were standing together at one end and the girls were at the other.

"Hey, Jimmy!" Frank shouted, "You're looking pretty cool. Why don't you grab a chick and start swinging?"

"I would, man, but I don't want to wear out my dancin' shoes."

"Well, why do you have dancin' shoes if you're not going to use them?"

"Look who's talking. I don't see you spinning around the floor with anyone."

"Oh, man, I wouldn't waste my time with any of these babes. They're from nowhere."

"Sure, sure, I know."

All the while he was talking, Jimmy kept watching Mary Ann out of the corner of his eyes. She was dancing with another girl. The boys were still gathered in one corner, laughing and shouting wise remarks to the girls across the floor. Not one was dancing with a girl.

"If only I had enough guts to ask her to dance," Jimmy said to himself. "But it would be real rough. I'd have to walk across that big floor with everybody looking bug-eyed at me. The guys would sure make some fuss about it. And then suppose she didn't want to dance with me after I asked her? I'd feel so low-down I'd have to crawl out of here. Darn, I don't know what to do!"

He thought of himself dancing with her.....holding her real close in his arms. He became more shaky than ever.

"Maybe," he thought, "if I just walked over real cool and said, 'Let's dance, baby,' she wouldn't have a chance to say no."

Before he had a chance to move, Tommy and Neil grabbed him by the arms. They pulled him over to the rest of the boys.

"C'mon, Jimmy, we're all going over to Marshall Street..... This thing here is just too square, man."

Jimmy found himself strolling out of the school with the boys. "Whew," he told himself, "where am I going? I didn't get all dressed up just to hang on the corner. But.....I guess I can't go back now. Mary Ann,.....you're a doll. Well.....maybe next time."

Questions for discussion

Why didn't Jimmy dance with Mary Ann? If Jimmy wanted to stay at the dance, why did he leave with the boys? Do you believe that Frank really didn't want to waste his time with the girls? Where do you think this dance took place? In an elementary, junior high, senior high, or college? Why? Do you think Jimmy will dance with Mary Ann next time? Why?

Vocabulary development

Several words in this story might form the basis of a hiptionary such as cool, square, bug-eyed, "from nowhere", etc.

F. Role-Playing

Role-playing connects with the "physical learning style" of poor children. When these children translate into action something that is written in a story or included in a discussion it takes on much more meaning for them. They become much more articulate about a situation after it has been translated into a series of physical acts. The beauty of role-playing is that you don't have to be any kind of a professional to pull it off; the benefits of role-playing stem primarily from the discussion which follows the role-play, and one aspect of that discussion usually centers around ways in which the role-play might have been more authentic or more skillfully done. If you feel just a bit uneasy about undertaking a role-play, as many of us do, just dive into one head first. You will be amazed how much fun it is.

G. Educational Games: Role-Playing Real Life

Youth Educational Services is presently working with a series of life-games developed by James Coleman, a Johns Hopkins University sociologist. Four of these games are Career, High School, The Great Game of Legislature, and Consumer. The games, which are in use at the North Carolina Advancement School, tend to captivate the students for long periods of time. They thrust the students into real-life situations such as deciding what kind of college to go to (in the "Career" game). Points are assigned for various alternatives, and students who select the alternatives which are the most appropriate for their own situation get the most points.

Tutors interested in exploring the possibility of using these games should contact Lowell Dodge. Difficulties we will have to overcome in using these games in tutoring are:

1. The games will carry over a series of from five to fifteen tutoring sessions,and, therefore, assume a consistency in tutor and tutee attendance.
2. The games work most effectively with groups. Therefore, tutors having just one student will have to join with other tutors to make the games work well.
3. The games are still in the experimental stage. Tutors planning to use them will need to spend considerable time in advance mastering the ideas behind the games and plotting the specific techniques of applying the games to their particular situation.

H. Reading Games and Math Games

Youth Educational Services now has available short compendiums of both reading and math games designed to make these subjects more interesting to tutor. Please write to the Y.E.S. office in Durham for these materials. Also available is a series of reading tests (short word-recognition tests) which will help you in determining the reading level of your student, if you must use tests.

I. Pittsburg Action-Housing Tutor Guide

Y.E.S. now has available an ingenious guide for tutors devised in Pittsburg which outlines close to 100 techniques for learning from everyday situations. Write Y.E.S. if you would like examples of this approach. One example is as follows:

Purpose: Teaching Children to Stop to Think

Talk with students about the function of a radio aside from playing records by groups like The Rolling Stones. Have students realize the radio is helpful during an emergency. Was there ever an emergency that caused them to think and act quickly? Have them tell you what they would do in the following emergencies:

1. If you discovered a fire in school.
2. If you were washing dishes in a restaurant and dropped a plate on the floor.
3. If you saw a car parked on a hill beginning to move slightly because the brake was loose.
4. If your best friend asked to copy your answers on an arithmetic test.
5. If you found a pocketbook containing a $10 bill.

J. Books with Negroes in them

Youth Educational Services has collected a cross-section of the newer books available written about Negroes, Negro History, or containing pictures of Negroes. There are not enough copies to go around for every project, but Y.E.S. plans to loan its present supply out on a first-come first-served basis. Many of these materials are very inexpensive. We suggest that you have anybody wishing to contribute to the Summer Program assist by purchasing some of these materials. A two-page summary listing titles, publishers, publishers' addresses, and prices is available on request from Youth Educational Services.

K. Frank Riessman

Writings by Frank Riessman available from the Y.E.S. office are full of ideas for activities in tutoring. Some of these are mentioned in this paper, but there are many more. If you are interested, write to Y.E.S. and request Riessman's "Tutoring the Disadvantaged Child" and "The Culturally Deprived Child, A New View".

Mail to: Lowell Dodge
Youth Educational Services
Post Office Box 1168
Durham, North Carolina 27702

## CREATIVE TUTORING TECHNIQUES

You can help Y.E.S. add to the ideas in this paper by writing up new techniques which have worked well for you in tutoring:

1. What new technique or approach did you try?

2. Why do you think it worked well?

3. Do you have any special recommendations for other tutors who might wish to try it out?

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Recd 6/15/66

# JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN TUTORING IN NORTH CAROLINA

June 14, 1966

There are at the present time three excellent opportunities--full time paid positions--in the State of North Carolina for people with experience in tutoring. Two of these positions are with tutoring programs. The third is with Youth Educational Services which coordinates a large number of programs across the State.

(1) Operation Breakthrough Tutoring Program, Durham, North Carolina. Contact Scott Puckett, Program Planner, Operation Breakthrough, Post Office Box 1470, Durham, North Carolina, 27702. Telephone 919 682-2184.

Operation Breakthrough, the Community Action Program of Durham, is seeking a person who will be concerned mainly with the content (both techniques of tutoring and materials) of tutoring in the Operation Breakthrough program. This program covers most of Durham and involves more than 200 tutors, most of whom come from Duke University and North Carolina College. The job pays up to $9,000 or even more depending on experience. Qualifications: experience with tutoring techniques and with tutoring materials; ability to deal with school superintendents and other public school officials; public school teaching experience (preferred, but not required); administrative ability; an interest in working with people from diverse racial backgrounds. The job will entail working with VISTA volunteers and work-study students in addition to neighborhood staff. Position ~~open now~~ proposed for August. Apply immediately if interested.

(2) Experiment in Self-Reliance Tutorial (ESR), Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Contact Mrs. Cecile Rocz, 1229 North Highland Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 27101. Telephone 919 723-8831.

ESR needs a person to handle the administrative side of their tutoring program. This means working with the people who are already involved to keep the program running smoothly. There are two separate tutoring centers. SRA materials are used extensively. The position will pay $5,000 for the nine-month period beginning in September, 1966. The prime qualification is an interest in working with large numbers of people and in assisting in the effort to create an orderly tutoring program. Mrs. Rocz will be responsible for the content of the tutoring. Experiment in Self-Reliance is the Community Action Program of Winston-Salem.

(3) Coordinator of Tutoring Services, Youth Educational Services, Durham, North Carolina. Contact Lowell Dodge, Coordinator of Tutoring Services, Youth Educational Services, Post Office Box 1168, Durham, North Carolina. Telephone 919 688-3035.

Y.E.S. wants a person to assist tutoring programs in North Carolina to improve the quality of their efforts. The person will have a fairly free hand in determining ways in which to help projects in this regard. Travel around North Carolina for tutor training, working with project administrators, and developing new and fresh approaches to tutoring techniques and to materials will be involved. The job will pay in the neighborhood of $6,000 to $7,000 depending on experience. The qualifications are experience in tutoring and preferably in the administration of tutoring programs, experience with tutoring materials, imagination, resourcefulness, and energy. Job available September, 1966.

YES

# YOUTH EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

## Proposed Budget for 1965-1966

| | |
|---|---|
| **SALARIES:** | |
| Field Co-ordinator | $ 6,000.00 |
| Office Co-ordinator | $ 5,500.00 |
| Part-time clerk typist | $ 1,500.00 |
| **TWO CONFERENCES:** | |
| Transportation and housing of students | $ 2,000.00 |
| Consultant fees | $ 2,000.00 |
| (A.) honorarium | |
| (B.) travel | |
| (C.) housing | |
| **FIELD WORK:** | |
| Travel Expenses (to schools and conferences) | $ 3,000.00 |
| **OFFICE WORK:** | |
| Publications and printing | $ 2,500.00 |
| (A.) conference working papers | |
| (B.) tape transcriptions | |
| (C.) conference reports | |
| (D.) special printings and distribution | |
| Postage | $ 600.00 |
| Telephone | $ 1,000.00 |
| Supplies | $ 800.00 |
| Rent | $ 600.00 |
| Typewriter | $ 300.00 |
| Mimeographer (half of cost to be paid by N. C. Council on Human Relations) | $ 250.00 |
| Dictaphone | $ 600.00 |
| **ACCOUNTANT SERVICES:** | $ 200.00 |
| Total | $26,850.00 |

Amounts appropriated in items "Conferences", "Field Work", and "Office Work" may be adjusted within each of these items.

Office facilities, such as a conference room, filing equipment, and an extra typewriter, will be provided by the North Carolina Council on Human Relations. The services of the Executive Director and other office staff will be without cost.

YES ~~NCCHR~~ - ~~Meeting, Reports, etc.~~ MM

Articles of Incorporation of Youth Educational Services, a non-profit Corporation.

We, the undersigned natural persons of the age of twenty-one years or more, acting as incorporators for the purpose of creating a non-profit corporation under the laws of the State of North Carolina, as contained in Chapter 55-A of the General Statutes of North Carolina, entitled "Non-Profit Corporation Act," and the several amendments thereto, do hereby set forth;

1. The name of the Corporation is Youth Educational Services.
2. The period of duration of the Corporation shall be perpetual.
3. The purposes for which the Corporation is organized are:
   A. To establish an intercollegiate council to promote the free exchange of ideas between students.
   B. To study the problems involved in improving the education of the people of North Carolina of all ages and in different parts of the State.
   C. To carry on experimental and other projects toward the solution of such problems.
   D. To encourage cooperative projects between educational institutions and communities in devising such solutions.
   E. To encourage cooperative projects between educational institutions and philanthropic institutions in devising such solutions.
   F. To encourage wise use of public and philanthropic funds devoted to any of these purposes.
   G. To do all things necessary or proper to aid in improving the

education of the people of North Carolina, either directly or through other private or public organizations.

H. Either directly or indirectly, and either alone or in conjunction or co-operation of other persons, institutions and organizations of any sort or nature, to do any and all lawful acts and things, and engage in any and all lawful activities which may be necessary or appropriate in connection with one or more of such purposes.

4. The Corporation is to have the following class or classes of members: Student governments or other student organizations of any college or university in the State of North Carolina.

5. Directors of the Corporation should be elected in the following manner: As provided in the bylaws.

6. The address of the initial registered office of the Corporation is as follows:

121 East Third Street, Charlotte, North Carolina.

Mecklenburg County.

The name of the initial registered agent of the Corporation at the above address is Miss Betty Jo McMakin.

Southern. The number of directors constituting the initial Board of Directors shall be eleven, and the names and addresses of the persons who are to serve as Directors until the first meeting of the Corporation or until their successors are elected and qualified are:

| Name | Street Address | City or Town |
|---|---|---|
| Dr. Carl E. DeVane | Shaw University | Raleigh, North Carolina |
| Lowell Dodge | None | Winston-Salem, North Carolina |
| Mrs. Helen Adams Furhman | 121 East Third Street | Charlotte, North Carolina |
| Mike Lawler | Route 3 | Chapel Hill, North Carolina |
| Lester V. Moore | 2025 Chidley Hall<br>North Carolina College | Durham, North Carolina |
| William T. Parker | Box 60<br>Shaw University | Raleigh, North Carolina |
| Miss Pamela K. Pfaff | 319 McKiever Street<br>U.N.C. Greensboro | Greensboro, North Carolina |
| Dr. Lenard H. Robinson | A & T College | Greensboro, North Carolina |
| Leon Spencer | 6408 Renolder Station<br>Wake Forest College | Winston-Salem, North Carolina |
| Haynes Streeter | Fayetteville State<br>College | Fayetteville, North Carolina |
| Miss Alice Walker | Barber-Scotia College | Concord, North Carolina |

8. The names and addresses of all the Incorporators are:

| Name | Street Address | City or Town |
|---|---|---|
| William T. Parker | Box 60<br>Shaw University | Raleigh, North Carolina |
| Lester V. Moore | 2025 Chidley Hall<br>North Carolina College | Durham, North Carolina |
| John C. Brooks | Post Office Box 2043 | Durham, North Carolina |
| Mike H. Lawler | Sparrow Apartments<br>Route 3 | Chapel Hill, North Carolina |

9. In addition to the powers granted corporations under the laws of the State of North Carolina, the Corporation shall have full power and authority to:

   A. Do all things necessary or proper in helping to improve the education of the people of North Carolina, either directly or through private or public organizations.

   B. Undertake research and studies of the problems involved in improving the education of the people of North Carolina, of all ages and in different parts of the State, and to recommend grants for such purposes.

   C. Carry on experimental and other projects which have as their purpose the solution of such problems and are intended for educational purposes.

   D. Make available professional staff services to private and public agencies, both State and local, seeking solutions to such problems.

   E. Make available staff personnel for the purpose of coordinating the educational activities of its member bodies.

   F. Encourage the wise use of public and philanthropic funds devoted to any of the purposes of the Corporation.

   G. To receive funds from contributing foundations and other sources, to hold and manage these funds solely for the purposes herein set forth.

10. (A) Upon the dissolution of the Corporation, the Board of Directors of the Corporation shall, after paying or adequately providing for

the payment of all known obligations of the Corporation, distribute the remainder of the assets as follows:

1. Assets held by it in trust for specified purposes shall be applied so far as it is feasible in accordance with the terms of the trust.
2. The remaining assets not held in trust shall be applied so far as it is feasible towards carrying out the purposes stated in these articles, or payed over, for such purposes, to one or more other organizations which qualify under Section 501 (c) (3) The United States Internal Revenue Code or successive provisions thereto.

(B) In carrying out its purposes and in exercising its powers, the Corporation shall be subject to the limitations that:

1. No part of its net earnings or income shall adhere to the benefit of any private shareholder, member, or individual.
2. No substantial part of its activities shall be carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation, or the advocacy of, or campaigning for, objectives which can only be obtained by legislation or the defeat of proposed legislation.
3. It shall not participate in, or intervene in (Including the publicizing or distribution of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.
4. The Corporation shall not engage in any activities which would

cause the Corporation to fail to qualify under Section 501 (c) (3) of The United States Revenue Code or successive provisions thereto.

In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, this the fourth day of May, A.D., 1965.

_____

_____

_____

_____

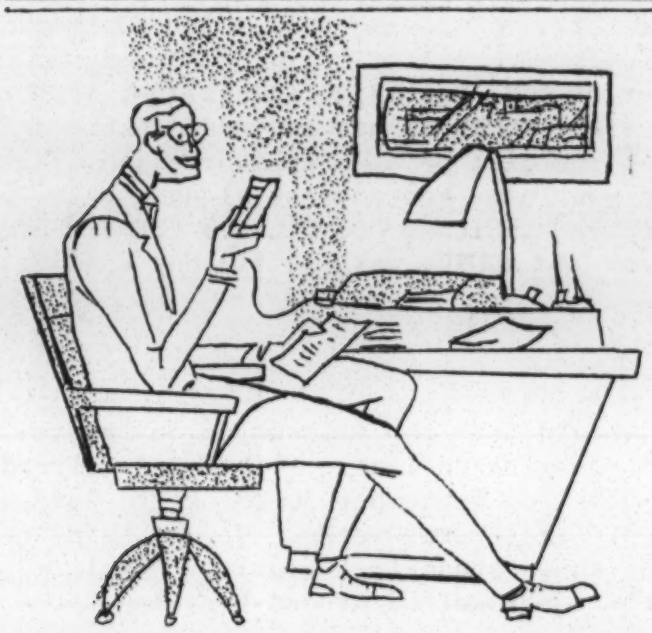
State of North Carolina, County of Mecklenburg.

# THE ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, WEST
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA 35805

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

December 1, 1964



## NEW STATE OFFICE ...

Yes, office space has been found and the headquarters of the Alabama Council on Human Relations have been moved to Huntsville at the above address.

Due to circumstances beyond our control it took a little longer than expected. So if you have not been getting your copies of the ACHR Newsletter, it isn't because they got lost in the mails. They didn't get sent!

The Board of Directors voted in late August to make this move. This was at the same time that the new executive director was hired. (See the story below.) In order to get a very desirable location, we chose to wait a little more than a month while it was being fixed up for us. We expected to move about October 15. But the landlord-to-be changed his mind (perhaps we should say "its mind"--corporations are so impersonal), and it took us nearly another month to find a different place.

But now at last we do have a nice office in another new building. Things are not fully sorted out yet, but the office and crew of one are at your service!

## NEW EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR ...

Almost everyone concerned has probably heard by now that the Reverend Norman C. Jimerson resigned in August in order to accept a position as Director of the Career-in-service program of Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Michigan. He and his family moved to Kalamazoo during the first week of September and report themselves very happy in their new home and work. Their address is 116 Monroe Street, Kalamazoo.

The Reverend J. Edwin Stanfield was chosen by the Board of Directors to succeed Mr. Jimerson. Mr. Stanfield is a Presbyterian minister. He was born in Warren, Arkansas, and grew up in northern Louisiana and Arkansas. He attended Arkansas College and was graduated from Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia. He holds B.D. and Th.M. degrees from Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia. He pastored churches in West Virginia for seven years. He comes to Alabama Council after a summer of training with Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

Mrs. Stanfield is the former Joyce Pauley of South Charleston, West Virginia. They have one son, Mark, age four.

## ESSAY CONTEST DELAYED ...

We are sorry to report that the essay contest which we had planned to repeat this year has been postponed, by order of the Executive Committee, due primarily to the unsettled state of affairs resulting from the difficulty in locating an office. This turn of events is the more unfortunate in that Mr. Harry Golden, Editor of the NORTH CAROLINA ISRAELITE, had graciously consented to judge the finalists' entries. We hope to have another go at this program in the not-too-distant future.

---

DON'T FORGET THE ANNUAL MEETING. FEBRUARY 6. IN BIRMINGHAM. MARK THE DATE NOW.

# NEW POLICY FOR "NEW SOUTH"

After Years and years of holding the line at $2.00 the Southern Regional Council magazine, NEW SOUTH, finally had to yield to inflation and raise the subscription price to $2.50. It would still be the best literary bargain in the South at twice that price, of course. More important for everyone to remember is another action taken simultaneously.

For some time the office staff at SRC have wrestled with the problems and confusion resulting from handling subscriptions at second hand, i.e. through the offices of the several state councils on human relations. Therefore, in order to simplify handling, and in order to avoid raising the membership fees of state councils, it was decided that ALL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND RENEWALS FOR NEW SOUTH WILL BE HANDLED DIRECTLY FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL OFFICE.

In other words, you can still be a member of ACHR for $5.00 (single) or $8.00 (man and wife), but -- we hate to tell you! -- NEW SOUTH is not included in the deal. Please take comfort in the thought that you will be helping your organization and its purposes a little bit more. And send your name and address along with $2.50 for a year's subscription to: NEW SOUTH...SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL...5 FORSYTH ST. ...ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303. (If you already get NEW SOUTH, wait until they send you a renewal notice -- then wait no longer.)

# DR PITTS DOING BETTER

While we are passing along bad news, we should note the illness of our president, Dr. Lucius Pitts, who is also president of Miles College. Perhaps you already know about this, for it really is not "news" now. On September 30 Dr. Pitts suffered a mild heart attack. He was in the hospital for several weeks. We are happy to report that he is at home now and that his health is steadily improving. By late November he was able to get out briefly for the long-awaited ground-breaking ceremony for Miles' new science building.

# MACON COUNTY PROGRESS

Turning to more pleasant happenings, congratulations are in order for the political pathfinders in Tuskegee and Macon County. The Reverend K. L. Buford and Dr. Stanley Hugh Smith, recently elected to the Tuskegee City Council, were the first two Negroes elected to public office against white opponenets in Alabama in almost a century. Dr. C. G. Gomillion was elected to the Macon County Board of Education and The REverend V. A. Edwards to the county commission. Both Dr. Gomillion and Mr. Edwards are members of the ACHR Board of Directors.

# WHAT HAPPENED IN THE SOUTH?

Speaking of politics,the Southern Regional Council released on November 15 a very interesting analysis of the results in the South of the November 3rd national election. Here are a few of SRC's conclusions:

Of the six southern states carried by the Democratic Party in 1964 four, and possibly five, would have gone Republiaan had it not been for the Negro vote.

The southern states which Johnson carried have the highest Negro registration. Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina -- where Negro voter-registration efforts have had some success ---voted 54%, 57%, and 59% for Goldwater. Mississippi and Alabama gave Goldwater 87% and 69% respectively. Both states are notoriosa for intimidation and other blocks to Negro voting rights, with the result that Negro voter registration is abnormally low.

"The other issues of the campaign," says the report, "undoubtedly entered into the outcome in the Deep South, but the fact that they did not have the same effect on white voters as in the entire rest of the nation leads (along with other compelling evidence) to the conclusion that race was the controlling factor in this area where it has always assumed grotesquely disproportionate importance."

The report also made the point that "effective Negro registration and participation in elections is the best assurance that race will be eliminated as a politically profitable issue...." The so-called "Negro bloc vote" does not exist unless racism dominates the election. Because the race issue dominated this election in the South, we saw the rejection by white voters of strongly conservative Democratic candidates who had tenure and presumably could have served more effectively the purposes of the voters who rejected them -- for example, George Huddleston, Jr., of Birmingham. On the other hand, Negroes so intensely rejected the Republican Party that Negro voting clearly accounted for the election of some strongly conservative Democrats, e. g., Robert Casey of Houston.

# HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO AHAC

The Association of Huntsville Area Contractors recently celebrated their first anniversary. Speaker for the occasion was Hobart Taylor, Jr., associate special counsel to President Johnson. Mr. Taylor, one of the highest ranking Negro officials in federal government, commended the associatinn and "the fine sense of dedication... which has made this community one of the first in the country where industry has combined to accomplish manpower utilization of minorities."

Outgoing president Milton Cummings explained that AHAC was formed after Huntsville industries, responding to President Kennedy's executive order on fair employment practices for government contractors, found that local schools were not turning out technically qualified Negroes -- and that qualified Negroes from other parts of the country were reluctant to move to Huntsville because of discrimination in h housing, the poor educational facilities generally, and policies of segregation in public accomodations. AHAC seeks to help Negroes to qualify for better jobs through refresher courses, tutoring, and advice on job interviews through their Technical Advisory Committee. The association also works to improve housing and public education.

Executive Director of AHAC is Mr. L. C. McMillan. The new president is A. V. Pilling, Vice President of Hayes International Corporation, who was installed at the anniversary celebration.

IF YOU DID NOT RECEIVE THIS COPY OF THE ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN THROUGH THE MAIL, BUT WOULD LIKE TO RECEIVE IT REGULARLY, PLEASE WRITE TO US. IF YOU ARE A "PAID UP" MEMBER, LET US KNOW, FOR YOU SHOULD BE ON OUR MAILING LIST. IF YOU ARE NOT A PAID UP MEMBER, USE THE APPLICATION BLANK PROVIDED ELSEWHERE IN THIS ISSUE.

THE ENCOURAGEMENT -- BY COLLECTION AND DISEMINATION OF INFORMATION, BY PERSUASION, AND BY MORAL SUPPORT -- OF PRACTICES AND POLICIES WHICH HOLD FORTH THE PROMISE OF A JUST REWARD FOR ANY MAN'S LABOR OR STUDY. On July 2, 1965, the section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act on equal employment opportunity will take effect. Unless the matter is given creative thought and advance preparation there may be more reaction than response to the law. Many industries and businesses, in Alabama and elsewhere, have already taken noteworthy steps and adopted constructive policies with regard to the employment of minority-group applicants. In 1965 the Alabama Council purposes to sponsor at least one seminar, and possibly more, for business and industrial leaders and labor leaders to promote understanding of the law and its purposes and to share ideas for constructive responses.

THE ENCOURAGEMENT -- BY COLLECTION AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION, BY PERSUASION, AND BY MORAL SUPPORT -- OF BETTER USE OF AVAILABLE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES BY ALL CITIZENS, AND OF IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES NOW EXISTING. The Alabama Council supports every effort at improving public schools and democratic instruction in Alabama. One of our goals for 1965 is the development, in cooperation with the National Student Association, of an active student organization to participate in tutorial programs and school readiness programs for disadvantaged children. Also, in 1965, our local councils will be asked to support a democratic system of education by encouraging Negro students who would like to enroll in technically integrated schools, but are hesitant.

THE ENCOURAGEMENT -- BY COLLECTION AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION, BY PERSUASION, AND BY MORAL SUPPORT -- OF THE USE BY THE COMMUNITIES OF THIS STATE OF THOSE GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS AIMED AT ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT FOR ALL PERSONS. If financial resources can be found, ACHR plans to sponsor a meeting for civic leaders and officials with administrators of the Economic Opportunity program, the Manpower Development and Training program, the Higher Education Facilities Act, and others, to find out how communities can take advantage of these resources. (On November 25,

(continued on page 4)

AIMS OF ACHR FOR 1965 (cont. from page 3)
1964, it was announced by the office of Economic Opportunity that 120 community projects in the nation had already been approved under the anti-poverty program. These projects will cost a total of 35 million dollars. Atlanta, for instance, has already received approval for a one million dollar plan. So far Alabama has received a grant of $30,000 "to determine how -- or if -- Alabama would make use of the anti-poverty campaign." Governor Wallace has appointed Mr. Claude Kirk of Montgomery to make this preliminary survey and report to him. In announcing this grant and Kirk's appointment, Governor Wallace's press secretary emphasized that Kirk was only to conduct the study and report to the governor, "who has veto power on the program within the state.")

THE ENCOURAGEMENT -- BY COLLECTION AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION, BY PERSUASION, AND BY MORAL SUPPORT ---OF HONEST, CREATIVE EFFORTS BY CIVIC LEADERS AND ORDINARY CITIZENS TO WORK OUT INTER-GROUP RELATIONS PROBLEMS IN THEIR COMMUNITY. In 1965 the Alabama Council plans to sponsor in as many communities as possible meetings through which Negro leaders in education, religion, business and industry, and community affairs could convey to members of the Community Relations Service, municipal officials, and other appropriate persons and agencies the problems they perceive in housing, education, employment, and use of public facilities.

THE ENCOURAGEMENT -- BY COLLECTION AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION, BY PERSUASION, AND BY MORAL SUPPORT -- OF EVERY DESIRE FOR JUSTICE AND OPENNESS TOWARD ALL PERSONS. To this end, in 1965, a major effort of the ACHR will be the organization of new local councils on human relations and the enrollment of many more members. There are many people who are looking for some way to express creatively their concern for wholesome human relations. Now is the time.

# A NOTE FROM THE DIRECTOR

Dear friends:

I believe that the goals set forth in the preceeding statement constitute a constructive program which will appeal to you.

We are attaching a sheet on which there are three membership applications. I hope that you will use one for yourself and the others to enlist friends.

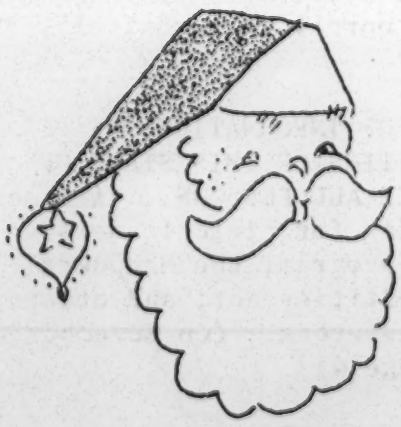
And do it now! Under our new policy all membership renewals are due January 1. This is in order that we may plan more meaningfully at the beginning of each year. All new memberships or renewals received after October 1 are valid for the following year.

The Alabama Council needs your support. Your membership does more than you may realize. Our finding resources with which to carry out our proposed program depends in large measure on the response to it from within Alabama -- and from concerned friends elsewhere.

But -- more important -- you need the Alabama Council. Something can be done about the unhealthy climate of human relations in Alabama. The stunning and thrilling setting-forth of a national consensus against bigotry and racism in 1964 has given creative people, even in Alabama, a chance to take the initiative. It is a chance that may pass quickly. Not to seize this opportunity would be stark tragedy, not only for our state, but also for the negligent persons. For, as Justice Holmes once said, "A man should share the action and passion of his times at peril of being judged not to have lived."

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield



MERRY CHRISTMAS !!

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, S.W. HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA

YES, I am for the principles and aims of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and I would like to lend my support to the 1965 program of the Council by becoming:

1. A Single Member ($5.00).....( ) New ( ) Renewal ( )
2. A Joint Member, Husband and Wife ($8.00)...( ) Check enclosed ( )
3. A Student Member ($3.00).....( ) Cash enclosed ( )
4. A Contributor ($ ).....( ) Bill me ( )

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZIP CODE _____ COUNTY _____

OCCUPATION _____ DATE _____

NOTES: Memberships and contributions to ACHR are Federal Income Tax deductible.
If you sent a membership application after October 1, 1964, your membership will be valid for 1965. Otherwise, please renew as soon as possible. We would like to have as many members as possible enrolled before the annual meeting (Feb. 6).

---

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HUNTSVILLE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

AU
MM

Our purpose . . .

. . . To promote channels for prompt and easy communication between individuals and groups of all races.

. . . To foster an atmosphere and environment in which citizens of all races, creeds, and colors can exist and work together in decency and dignity.

PROPOSED SLATE OF NEW OFFICERS:

Richard Hall, Chairman of the nominating committee submitted the following slate of new officers at our last meeting.

| | |
|---|---|
| President | Ralph Lee |
| Vice-President | Dr. Virgil Howie |
| Recording Secretary | Gloria Penn |
| Corresponding Secretary | Jane Reed |
| Treasurer | Dr. Mary Pandow |
| Representatives to State board | Joan Cashin |
| | Jane Reed |

If the proposed change in our by-laws (explained below) is approved, we will vote on this slate at our next meeting. Nominations from the floor will, of course, be welcomed. Evelyn Falkowski and Ezekial Bell will continue to serve two year terms as members-at large on our board.

BY-LAW CHANGE

Our state board has requested that all local chapters elect officers in January in order to facilitate record-keeping for our executive director. In order to do this, the following change must be made in our by-laws.

Article 6 Section 1
from " at the election meeting in May "
to " at the election meeting in December"

We will vote on this at our next meeting.

NEXT MEETING

Christmas Party and Annual Dinner combined
Wed. December 16 Parish House
St. Thomas Episcopal Church
Deliscious Dinner ($1.65 to be paid at door) 7:00P.M.
Business Meeting (very short, only the two items listed above) 7:45 P.M.
Delightful Speeches by
Bill Reed ( president, Huntsville Council)
Ed Stanfield (executive director, State Council)
Ralph Lee ( nominee, president Huntsville Council)

Please make reservations for dinner by Sunday with Jane Reed at 536-8289 or Belle Fletcher at 536-0131. If you can't join us for dinner, come for the rest of the evening.

"Let none who are here present remain mere critics or spectators. Let us all be communicants in the life of this meeting, entering into its devotion with a spirit of comradeship, with a becoming sense of our several needs, and with a reverence for the ideal of human character." Stanton Coit

# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive,S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

January 7, 1965


## ON SATURDAY, JANUARY 30TH
# LEROY COLLINS TO BE ANNUAL MEET SPEAKER
## AT DINKLER-TUTWILER IN BIRMINGHAM

For members of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and their guests all roads lead to Birmingham on Saturday, January 30th. LeRoy Collins, Director of the Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Commerce will be the featured speaker at our annual meeting on that date.

The meeting will be held in the Dinkler Room of the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham. It begins at 10:00 A.M. Luncheon will be served in the Ballroom at 12:30 ($3.00 per person). Governor Collins will deliver his address at 1:30.

Collins, who was governor of Florida from 1955 until 1960, is well known as a dynamic speaker and an effective administrator. A native Floridian, he was elected governor of Florida after serving for twenty years in the legislature of that state. From 1961 to 1964 he was President of the National Association of Broadcasters, a position he resigned to accept President Johnson's appointment to his present post.

The Community Relations Service was set up by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to help secure a constructive response to the new law and to help solve any problems arising because of its requirements. Under Collins' leadership the new agency aims at more than "compliance" and purposes more than trouble-shooting. Governor Collins has pointed out that the new civil rights law will not by itself stop racial strife. The problem of civil rights is "almost invariably" bound up with that of poverty, he has said. Militant demonstrations "could even get worse" unless something is done about "conditions...under which people are penalized."

"It is not our job just to go into a town," Collins said in a recent TV interview, "and settle a dispute about a theater or a restaurant. We go prepared, beyond putting out the dispute, to tell the people what programs are available to help eradicate the causes."

"We don't do much if we just bring peace at any price. We must develop sound compliance with the law."

Governor Collins has served as chairman of both the National Governors" Conference and the Southern Governors' Conference. He is a member of the Honor Corps of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He has been Chairman of the Southern Regional Education Board and a member of the Commission on Goals for Higher Education in the South.

Members and friends of ACHR are urged to fill out the registration form on the last page of this Bulletin and mail it in or hand it to the president or secretary of their local council. This will help us to know how many lunches to order! Bring a guest!

---

DON'T MISS PAUL ANTHONY'S "TUSKEGEE AND THE GOOD LIFE" IN THE OCTOBER ISSUE OF "NEW SOUTH." (SUBSCRIPTIONS $2.50. 5 Forsyth St., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.)

# A STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS GROUP ?

(EDITOR'S NOTE: As indicated in last month's "Bulletin," one of the program--goals of ACHR for 1965 is the formation, in cooperation with the National Student Association, of a student council on human relations. The following article was written by M. Hayes Mizell, director of the Southern Human Relations Project of the United States National Student Association. Mr. Mizell, whose headquarters are in Atlanta, has been instrumental in the formation of intercollegiate councils on human relations in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Of the Georgia student group, which, like the other two, is affiliated with the state council on human relations, the Atlanta Constitution editorialized, "Georgia Students for Human Rights is a group that proves not all of the old idealism is dead....It is a worthy organization with worthy goals." Mr. Mizell has already been in touch with students and members of ACHR in several academic communities of the state.)

Why Alabama Needs
AN INTERCOLLEGIATE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
by M. Hayes Mizell

Now, more than every before, Alabama college students are needed to work for the development and prosperity of their state. For those who are sincerely interested in the future of Alabama, the issues of poverty, unemployment, education, state government, racial discrimination, and civic responsibility await discussion and action. If Alabama students are to assume positions of leadership in the development of their communities and state, they must have an opportunity to learn the problems of all major groups and races who constitute the population. Unfortunately, there is presently no program or organization in Alabama which can bring together students from all of the colleges so that they can relate to each other and deal with the problems of their state. To this end, we believe that a state-wide college human relations group can provide the necessary structure for students representing all of Alabama's colleges to meet together in pursuit of a more prosperous and open Alabama society.

1. Who is interested in creating this Alabama Intercollegiate Council on Human Relations? .... Many students and faculty members of colleges throughout the state, the Alabama Council on Human Relations, and the Southern Student Human Relations Project.

2. What would be the structure of the Council? .... Initially, it would be a state organization designed to sponsor a state conference in which students representing as many Alabama colleges as possible would participate. It is hoped that students would then be able to form informal student "chapters" on their campuses in order to deal with problems on the local level. The Council would be affiliated with the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

3. What would be the students' role in the Council? .... It would be entirely student run, with student officers and student committees.

4. What is the anticipated response to the Council? .... Hopefully, a great number of students will recognize the need for this organization and will respond enthusiastically. In the light of the climate of opinion still prevalent in Alabama, the initial response may not be large -- but a beginning is necessary to Alabama's future.

5. Would this be a permanent organization? .... Yes. It will exist as long as there is a need for it. It will operate from school year to school year, and the Alabama Council on Human Relations will provide the necessary stability and continuity for its long range operation.

6. Are there such organizations in other Southern states? ..... Yes. In 1960 the South Carolina Student Council on Human Relations was organized and has held two state conferences each year since that time, as well as initiating many other programs. The North Carolina Intercollegiate Council on Human Rights was formed in the spring of 1964, and it is engaged in a dynamic tutorial project. The Georgia Students for Human Rights was organized in the fall of 1964 and held their first state conference in October 1964. Each of these student groups is affiliated with their own state human relations council.

7. What can the Alabama Intercollegiate Council on Human Relations actually do? .... The nature and direction of the Council program will be determined entirely by

(continued on page 5)

# MEMBERS, FUNDS DRIVE

Our 1965 campaign for members and funds is well under way! Begun in mid-December, it is to be completed before the annual meeting in Birmingham. Hopefully, the annual meeting thus will be the crowning achievement, not just the good beginning, of our efforts to enlist people for ACHR's year-round work to improve human relations in Alabama.

Our goal for this year is to enlist at least 800 members and to secure at least $12,500 (including membership fees) from within Alabama. A plan of campaign has been drawn up, quotas have been set for each local chapter, and local campaign committees have been organized.

"Challenge meetings" -- special meetings of each chapter to "kick-off" the general membership-funds solicitation-- have been scheduled. In many instances these will be dinner or luncheon meetings. The Mobile and Montgomery councils will both be having their challenge meetings on Wednesday, January 13. The Talladega district council will have a luncheon meeting on Saturday the 16th. Lee-Macon Council will meet at Tuskegee on Monday, January 18. The Tuscaloosa meeting is to be on Thursday the 21st. Dates have not yet been set for Huntsville, Birmingham, and the Tri-cities, but their committees are at work.

At each challenge meeting members and friends will be given opportunity to renew their membership and make a pledge (or a statement of intent) for the financial undergirding of ACHR. Following each meeting a team of visitors will receive instructions and, within the next two or three days, will call upon every old member or prospective member whose membership application and/or pledge was not received at the Challenge Meeting.

The executive director reports excellent cooperation all over the state. Many local-council leaders are working hard, even though the effort had to be started at a time that was inconvenient -- especially for those in the academic communities. Mrs. Peggy Fuller is heading up the drive in Birmingham. In Florence it is Father Brice Joyce and Phillip Huckaby. In Huntsville, Dr. Ralph Lee, who is also the new president of the group, is the drive chairman. Mr. Jerry Roden and the Rev. J. C. Wilson are jointly leading the Lee-Macon effort. Mr. Gordon Decoudres chairs a strong committee in Talladega. Mrs. James Wood in Mobile, Mr. Moreland Smith and Mrs. A. W. West in Montgomery, and Dr. Ray Fowler in Tuscaloosa complete the roster local campaign leaders. Meanwhile, Mr. Nat Welch, our treasurer, is hard at work on special gifts.

# LOCAL COUNCILS NOTES

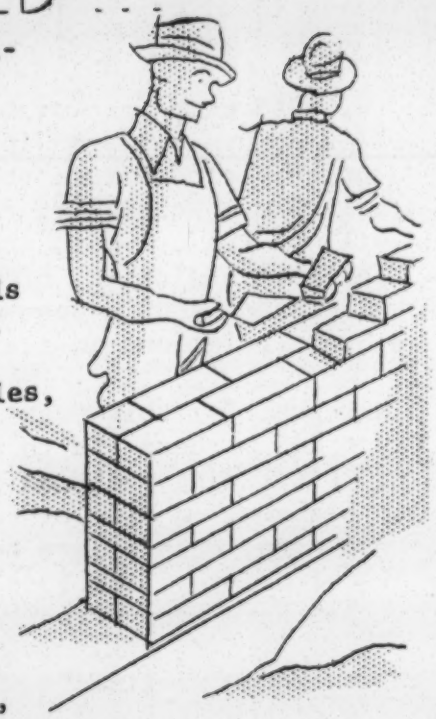
At their November and December meetings the Birmingham chapter had approximate attendances of 35 and 60, respectively. Mr. Alfred Cowles, Executive Director of the Grand Rapids, Michigan, Human Relations Commission spoke at the November meeting, giving suggestions for council activities. He emphasized the importance of fact-finding about school dropouts, housing situations, employment practices, police practices and the like. In December Dr. Herman Long, President of Talladega College, spoke on psychological aspects of racism.

The Muscle Shoals council gave their annual Christmas party for children on December 17. About 50 persons attended the party, held at Our Lady of Grace Catholic Church. There were songs, stories, food, and gifts for the children.

Approximately 35 persons attended the Annual Dinner of the Huntsville group. After an address by Attorney David Vann of Birmingham, new officers were elected.

At their October 26 meeting the Mobile council had 50 in attendance to hear an address by Mr. John McConnell, a local attorney and a member of the state Democratic Executive Committee. A meeting planned for early December fell through when the expected speaker (whose familiar name we won't mention!) "stood them up."

# JOB CORP RECRUITS WANTED ...



The Economic Opportunity Act provided for the formation of a Job Corps. The Corpshas now been started and the recruiting process is underway. About 40,000 young men and women can be enrolled in the first year and 100,000 in the second year.

The recruiting of Job Corpsmen will depend largely on referrals by interested individuals and agencies. This is where ACHR comes in -- and this is where you come in!

Plans are being made to set up in several communities, through our local councils and in cooperation with some other groups, speakers bureaus on the Job Corps. We hope thus to show a filmstrip about the Job Corps and to provide information on it to churches, schools, civic groups and the like

But after all is said and done, the youngsters who most need and will benefit most from the Job Corps will be reached by an alert, informed, and interested friend, perhaps a teacher or school principal, minister, social worker, club leader, or simply a thoughtful and responsible citizen like you. So, while ACHR and other agencies and groups are getting organized, here some basic facts. If you know youngsters who would be helped by the Job Corps, tell them about it.

What is the Job Corps?

The Job Corps is a national voluntary program that will give disadvantaged youngsters a new chance to help themselves.

Young people from the ages of 16 through 21 who are largely unemployable because they lack education and job skills to move ahead will be placed in Job Corps Centers where they can develop skills and self-confidence. The youngsters are carefully screened and must be willing to work hard to improve themselves.

Some centers will be located on public lands operated by conservation agencies such as the Departments of Agriculture add Interior. Other larger centers will be in unused federal government facilities near metropolitan areas. They will provide a new educational approach.

This approach offers a residential environment and a total learning experience tailored to develop new habits and attitudes. Young men and women will receive basic education, skill training, and sound work experience.

The purpose is to enable youngsters to obtain and keep jobs in which they can advance, return to school, or join the military service.

Who may join the Corps?

The Job Corps is aimed specifically at one million young people who have not completed secondary education, who have been unable to find a satisfactory job, and whose reading and arithmetic skills range from the 4th to the 7th grade levels. Some high school graduates will be enrolled in exceptional cases.

The Corps will include members of different religious, racial and ethnic groups. Criminals, addicts, and others with serious emotional or psychological disorders will not be eligible for the Job Corps

In general, the Job Corps is for young people who have normal intelligence but whose achievement is stifled by poor environment and poor habits.

What will the Job Corps Centers be like?

Centers in rural areas will be composed of 100 to 200 corpsment and will perform needed conservation work on the nation's forests, parks, and national resources. There will be about 21 staff persons, including administrative personnel, for every 100 corpsmen. Skills learned will be those appropriate to conservation work--such as surveying, forestry, weed and pest control, carpentry, masonry, maintenance and operation of equipment -- and those which can be learned in operating the center -- such as cooking and typing. There will also be basic education (the three R's) and instruction on how to get and hold a job, good work habits and attitudes, etc.

Near urban areas, centers of 1000 to 2000 will be housed in unused government facilities and operation will be contracted to colleges and universities. Here the training will include office machine operation, accounting, filing, and data processing. Youngsters can train as cooks, waiters, appliance or automotive repairmen, meat cutters, and so on.

Is the Job Corps for young women, too?

Yes, centers for women will be similar to those for men. But there will be special training in family responsibilities. They will be taught how to establish

(continued on page 5)

JOB CORPS RECRUITS WANTED (continued from page 4)
a stable home atmosphere and to rear emotionally and physically healthy children. They will learn many money-management skills, good purchasing practices, and good personal and family health practices.

Will Corpsmen be paid?

Normally a young person will spend about a year in the Job Corps. Whenever he leaves the Corps he will be paid a "terminal allowance" of $50.00 for every month spent in the Corps. If he chooses, he may allot up to $25.00 per month to a dependent, and the government will match such allotments with an equal amount. In addition, the trainee will receive $30.00 per month in daily pocket money and his room, board, clothing, and medical and dental care.

What about job placement?

The Corps cannot guarantee a job, but employment chances will be greatly increased. The placement effort begins at the time an enrollee enters the Corps. The Job Corps works closely with industry and private agencies to develop job-opportunities specifically for corps graduates.

Will there be any free time?

Corpsment and staff will receive periodic home leave. Supervised recreation will include participation sports, hobby activities, and other projects. Job Corps sports teams may be developed to compete with local teams. Men will be allowed time to attend religious services, to take special courses, and to work as volunteers in local community projects.

How can a young man or woman find out more about the Job Corps?

Just write to JOB CORPS, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506.

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A STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS GROUP? (continued from page 2)

the students. However, programs initiated by the student groups in other Southern states show that they can successfully do the following:

A. Develop local chapters on college campuses to help solve local problems.

B. Work with the program of the local adult human relations council where such groups exist.

C. Initiate and operate tutorial programs and programs aimed at correcting cultural deprivation.

D. Publish a newsletter to inform students about programs and problems on other campuses in the state.

E. Encourage interested students who are active in human relations work to become involved in summer human relations programs and volunteer services.

F. Present educational programs to inform students about the complex problems confronting their campuses and state; encourage discussion of these problems; find ways in which students can help to solve these problems.

G. Present programs to encourage and assist Negro high school students in enrolling in recently desegregated colleges in the area.

H. Give students of both races the opportunity to relate to one another and to discover that they have a common heritage and common problems.

I. Give students who tend to be isolated on their campus because of their views an opportunity to meet other students of like mind, so that they can band together to solve problems.

J. Provide an opportunity for students to boraden their horizons by holding state conferences where they can discover new ideas and new personalities, as well as learn new dimensions of old problems.

8. What can I do to facilitate the development of the Alabama Intercollegiate Council on Human Relations?

A. Discuss the proposal with your friends and faculty members.

B. Send us the names and addresses of other students who you think would be interested in this organization.

C. Communicate your ideas, suggestions, and questions about this proposal to either:

Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, SW
Huntsville, Alabama 35805
or
Southern Student Human Relations Project
Room 701, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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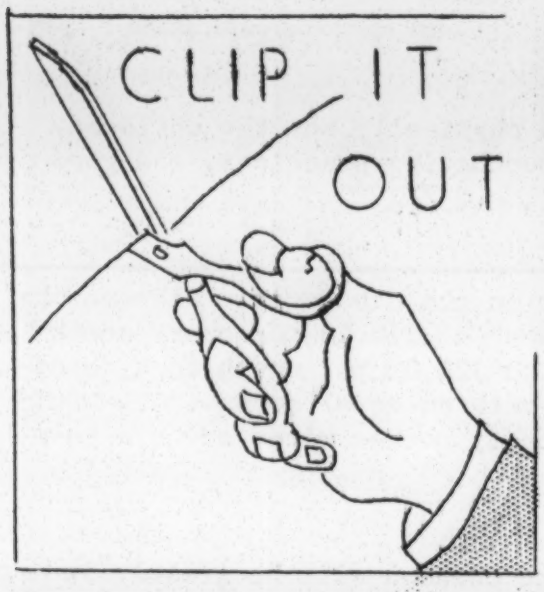
DON'T FAIL TO NOTICE THE CHANGE IN THE DATE OF THE ANNUAL MEETING -- FROM FEBRUARY 6TH TO JANUARY 30TH -- A CHANGE MADE TO ACCOMODATE GOVERNOR COLLINS.




ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, SW
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Please reserve _____ plates for me and my guests at the luncheon at the Dinkler-Tutwiler on January 30, 1965. I understand that $3.00 per plate is payable upon arrival at the annual meeting.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

Number Seven
2809 Governors Drive, SW
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Non-profit Organiz.
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HCHR NEWSLETTER

The Huntsville Council on Human Relations
Jan. 18, 1965

DEGEMBER DINNER MEETING

In our december meeting, we were fortunate to have as our guest speaker Mr. David Vann, noted attorney from Birmingham. Mr. Vann discussed the accomplishments that have been made in Birmingham in the past year in the area of race relations, and helped to give us faith in the proposition that seemingly insurmountable tasks can be accomplished by men of good will who are willing to work at it.

Also, the following business was conducted: The by-laws were amended to the effect that our business year will now coincide with the calendar year. The following new officers were elected for 1965:

Pres.....Ralph H. Lee
Vice Pres.....John Norwood
Corr. Sec'y...Jane Reed
Rec. Sec'y....Gloria Penn
Treasurer.....Mary Pandow
Rep. to State Board....
...Joan Cashin and
Jane Reed

# # #

NEXT MEETING: THE CHALLENGE

To new members, inactive members, interested friends, curious people, and even old members:

*If you would like to find out about the past, present, and future (1965, at least) activities and purposes of the Alabama Council on Human Relations,

*if you are interested in working constructively with other people who care about improving the condition of race relations and economic conditions in Alabama,

*if you have constructive ideas as to how we can work to improve the social and economic conditions in our state,

*if you would like to meet others with similar concern about the maintaining of human dignity among all men,

*or, if you are just plain curious about what we are doing and can do,

THEN YOU ARE INVITED TO ATTE OUR NEXT MEETING, which will be held at 8:00 p.m. Monday, Jan. 25 in the Fellowship Hall of Trinity Methodist Church, 607 Airport Road.

Our main speaker will be J. Edwin Stanfield, Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

# # #

ANNUAL STATE MEETING

The annual meeting of ACHR w be held in Birmingham on Jan. 30, 1965, at the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hot The main feature of the meeting will be an address by the Honorab Leroy Collins, past governor of Florida and director of the Commu nity Relations Service of the U. Dept. of Commerce. The meeting schedule will be: 10:00 a.m., business meeting; 12:30, luncheon 1:30 p.m., Mr. Collins' address. All who are interested are welcom to attend. # # #

MAILING LIST REVISION

We are now in the process of revising our mailing list. We wo appreciate hearing from those who addresses have changed and others who may wish to have their names added. Also, we would like to be notified by those who, for any reason, may wish to have their na removed from the mailing list. This would help us considerably in ou budget for postage. Call Ralph H. Lee (home:534-5054; offi 852-6111, ext. 42) or Jane Reed (536-8289), or write Ralph Lee, Box 255, Normal, Alabama 35762.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

# CIVIL RIGHTS UNDER FEDERAL PROGRAMS

## An Analysis of Title VI

*CCR Special Publication—Number 1*

*January 1965*

*"As far as the writ of Federal law will run, we must abolish not some but all racial discrimination . . . All members of the public should be equally eligible for Federal benefits financed by the public."*

State of the Union Message
of
President Lyndon B. Johnson
January 8, 1964

The Civil Rights Act of 1957, as amended in 1960 and 1964, authorizes the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to review Federal laws and policies with respect to denials of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution. The 1964 Civil Rights Act directs the Commission to serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information. Pursuant to these directives, this Commission publication is designed to explain Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which requires non-discrimination in federally assisted programs, including:

* the kinds of discrimination prohibited
* the Federal programs covered
* compliance procedures under Title VI

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

## SUMMARY OF RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY TITLE VI

All persons in the United States shall have the right to receive any service, financial aid or other benefit under the federally-aided program regardless of their race, color or national origin.

Specific discriminatory practices prohibited include:

* *Any difference in quality, quantity or the manner in which the benefit is provided*
* *Segregation or separate treatment in any part of the program*
* *Restriction in the enjoyment of any advantages, privileges or other benefits provided to others*
* *Different standards or requirements for participation*
* *Methods of administration which would defeat or substantially impair the accomplishment of the program objectives*
* *Discrimination in any activity conducted in a facility built in whole or part with Federal funds*
* *Discrimination in any employment resulting from a program established primarily to provide employment*

All Federal offices responsible for federally-assisted programs must implement Title VI by issuing regulations approved by the President.

Any persons who believe discrimination because of race, color or national origin exists in a federally-aided program have the right to challenge such discrimination by making a complaint to the officials responsible for that program.

* *Prompt investigations will be made of complaints received.*
* *If discrimination is found, negotiation and persuasion will first be used in an effort to eliminate the prohibited practices.*
* *Should these efforts fail, Federal assistance may be terminated or discontinued after a fair hearing.*
* *Other means authorized by law, including court action, may also be used to enforce nondiscrimination.*

*(For a complete text of Title VI, see page 15)*

## "... SIMPLE JUSTICE ..."

President Lyndon B. Johnson, explaining the basic reasons underlying the principle of equality under Federal programs, stated on December 10, 1964:

> "It is simple justice that all should share in programs financed by all, and directed by the government of all the people."

Simple justice has not always governed the operation of Federal aid programs. As has been amply documented by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, many of our citizens, because of their race, color, or national origin, have not been free to participate equally in programs supported by Federal funds. For example, the Commission has found that in some circumstances:

* *Libraries receiving Federal aid either have not allowed Negroes to use the facilities or have subjected them to segregation or discrimination.*
* *Elementary schools built and operated with Federal aid have discriminated in the admission and treatment of students.*
* *Hospitals constructed with Federal funds either have refused to admit patients because of their race or have discriminated in their placement after admission; they also have refused to allow Negro physicians to practice there.*
* *Vocational training programs established with Federal funds have not been available to all students.*
* *Employment offices financed entirely by Federal funds have refused to refer all job applicants to available openings on a nondiscriminatory basis.*
* *Agricultural Extension Service offices operating with Federal funds have been established on a segregated basis and have provided unequal service to Negroes.*
* *Dormitories have been built with Federal grants in colleges that have discriminatory admission policies.*
* *Employers receiving business loans from the Federal Government, designed to increase employment opportunities, have discriminated in their hiring policies.*

In addition to the legal and moral grounds for correcting such discriminatory practices, there are very practical reasons for moving promptly to eliminate them from Federal programs.

A Federal grant program which is enacted for the general welfare fails in its objectives if some citizens are intentionally excluded or provided inferior service. If a program is designed to promote better health standards, it will not achieve its purpose by allowing only white persons to benefit while Negro families are denied needed medical services.

In addition to frustrating the basic objectives of a given program, discrimination denies to those who are excluded an opportunity to improve themselves. For instance, both the Negro family and the economy suffer when the family's breadwinner is denied equal opportunity to participate in a federally supported job training program.

Federal payments to State and local governments, to private institutions and businesses play an important role in financing the many educational, health, welfare and economic programs required for our continued growth and development. When any person is denied the benefits of these programs because of race, color, or national origin, the fabric of our democratic society is weakened and our progress as a Nation is retarded.

## EVOLUTION OF FEDERAL POLICY

The principle of equality under Federal programs was reflected in presidential actions long before the Civil Rights Act of 1964 became law. In the past twenty years, every President of the United States has directed the elimination of discrimination in a number of Federal programs and activities. Areas covered by presidential orders include: equality of treatment in the Armed Forces; employment by the Federal Government, by Government contractors and on construction projects financed with Federal funds; and equality of opportunity in federally-aided housing.

Other actions taken through departmental regulations have prohibited discrimination in particular programs. These include the Manpower Development Training activities, teacher-training institutes, mental health and mental retardation projects, apprenticeship programs, and employment in State agencies administering certain Federal programs.

Prior to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, all of these orders and regulations depended on executive initiative which was supported by a growing body of judicial decisions. These court rulings, based on constitutional requirements, held that no person, because of race or color, could be denied the benefits of a program receiving Federal assistance. However, these presidential orders, departmental regulations, and court rulings were limited to particular Federal activities or to only parts of Federal programs. In addition, in recent years attempts made in Congress to amend specific Federal aid proposals in order to prohibit discrimination have been unsuccessful.

By adopting Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, Congress has now written into law the right of all persons to participate in and receive the benefits of *any* federally-aided program or activity without discrimination on account of race, color, or national origin. The application of Title VI to federally-assisted programs is uniform and all-inclusive.

## SCOPE OF FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

Congress has enacted many programs providing Federal funds to support public and private activities in such areas as health, education, employment, individual welfare, and the economic well-being of the general society.

Many citizens are not fully aware of the nature or extent of Federal assistance provided State and local governments, private institutions, businesses and individuals. The average citizen is likely to know about Social Security, veterans benefits, and a few other programs involving direct Federal administration. However, many significant Federal aid programs are administered at the local level by the States, localities and private institutions which share in their costs. As a result the degree of Federal support is not usually apparent.

Federal financial assistance includes grants and loans of Federal funds, donations of equipment and property, detail of Federal personnel, proceeds from Federal property, and any other arrangement by which Federal benefits are provided.

In all, more than 190 aid programs are sponsored in whole or in part by the Federal Government and there are many 'sub-programs' within these. Major areas of Federal involvement include:

*Aids to Education*

- College Facilities Construction
- College Dormitory Construction
- Research Grants and Equipment
- Surplus Materials Distribution
- National Defense Education Activities
- Impacted Areas School Construction and Assistance
- School Lunch and School Milk Programs
- Vocational Education Activities
- Economic Opportunity (Anti-Poverty) Programs
- Loans to College Students

*Aids to Communities*

- Accelerated Public Works
- Urban Renewal Projects
- Public Housing Projects
- Airport Construction
- Library Services and Construction
- Economic Opportunity (Anti-Poverty) Programs

*Aids to Health*

- Vocational Rehabilitation Grants
- Hill-Burton Hospital Construction
- Research Grants
- Nurses Training Programs
- Loans to Medical Students
- Mental Health and Retardation Programs
- Public Health Programs

*Aids to Employment*

State Employment Offices
Manpower Training Activities
Area Redevelopment Grants and Training
Loans to Small Businessmen
Highway Construction Projects
Public Works Acceleration Projects
Other Construction (Schools, Hospitals, etc.)
Economic Opportunity (Anti-Poverty) Programs

*Aids to Welfare*

Old-age Assistance Programs
Services to the Blind and Permanently Disabled
Maternity and Infant Care Projects
Child Welfare Services
Other Public Welfare Programs
Economic Opportunity (Anti-Poverty) Programs

*Aids to Agriculture*

Extension Services
Watershed/Flood Control
Conservation Projects
Rural Electrification
Forest Protection

In short, citizens in all walks of life derive benefits directly or indirectly, from the services and assistance provided by the Federal Government.

During the fiscal year 1963, payments by the Federal Government to public and private recipients totaled nearly $11 billion or ten percent of all Federal expenditures. Federal payments average 14% of the total revenues collected by States and localities; in some States these payments reach as high as 32% of all revenues.

## TYPES OF DISCRIMINATION PROHIBITED BY TITLE VI

The effective administration of Federal programs depends on the cooperative efforts of both the Federal Government and the recipients of Federal aid. The aims of these programs cannot be fully achieved until they are equally available to all citizens. Thus it is vitally important that aid recipients and the Federal Government work closely together to eliminate segregation and discrimination in the programs for which they share responsibility.

In drafting the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Congress attempted to provide every possible means for voluntary compliance with the Act. Regulations, issued pursuant to Title VI, reflect this congressional intent by directing Federal officials

to seek the cooperation of recipients and to provide guidance and assistance to help them comply voluntarily with the Act.

As a first step in the process of voluntary implementation of Title VI, all concerned should fully understand the types of discrimination which must now be eliminated.

In order to be eligible for assistance under Federal programs, a recipient must give assurances that

**NO PERSON SHALL BE EXCLUDED FROM PARTICIPATION, DENIED ANY BENEFITS, OR SUBJECTED TO DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF RACE, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN.**

Type of discrimination prohibited by Title VI are best illustrated by specific examples.

A recipient of Federal financial assistance violates his assurance to comply with Title VI if, *because of race, color, or national origin*, the recipient:

(1) denies an individual any service, financial aid or other benefit under the program;

*EXAMPLES:* *A federally-supported State Employment Office refuses to place a qualified job applicant because of his race.*

*A redeveloper of land in an urban renewal project area denies an apartment or office space to an applicant because of his race, color or national origin.*

*A National Guard Unit refuses to accept a volunteer because of his race, color, or national origin.*

(2) provides an individual with a service, financial aid or other benefit which is different, or is provided in a different manner from that which is provided to others under the program;

*EXAMPLES:* *An Agricultural Extension Agent encourages and teaches white farmers, but not Negro farmers, to grow a variety of crops to increase their income.*

*A library receiving Federal aid requires some readers, because of race, to request books through a branch librarian rather than allowing the direct access available to others.*

(3) subjects an individual to segregation or separate treatment in any matter related to his receipt of any service, financial aid, or other benefit under the program;

*EXAMPLES:* *A federally-aided State Employment Office, Agricultural Extension Service Office, or airport maintains racially separate waiting rooms.*

*The aided program assigns employees of a certain race or color to serve only persons of the same race or color or to process job applications only from such persons.*

(4) restricts an individual in any way in the enjoyment of services, facilities, or any other advantage, privilege, or benefit provided to others under the program;

*EXAMPLES:* *A federally-aided college admits students of a particular race but discourages their attendance at sports events and other college gatherings.*

*An aided hospital admits all patients but discourages use of the recreation room or specifies certain hours for use to patients of one race.*

(5) treats an individual differently in determining whether he satisfies any admission, enrollment, quota, eligibility, membership, or other requirement or condition which is a prerequisite to the service, financial aid or other benefit provided under the program;

*EXAMPLES:* *A federally-aided hospital refuses to permit doctors of a particular race to practice in the hospital because such doctors are not members of a medical association which discriminates.*

*A State Employment Office refuses to send a Negro applicant to fill a job request because he is not enrolled in an apprenticeship program which discriminates against Negroes.*

(6) uses any criteria or methods of administration which would defeat or substantially impair accomplishment of the program's objectives for

individuals of a particular race, color, or national origin, or which would subject such individuals to discrimination;

*EXAMPLES:* *In selecting or approving projects or sites for the construction of public libraries which will receive Federal assistance, a State agency uses standards which will have the effect of limiting use of the facilities by members of a particular race.*

*In a district where students are assigned to schools on the basis of their race, free and reduced-price lunches are not provided on an equitable basis.*

(7) discriminates against an individual in any program or activity which is conducted in a facility constructed in whole or in part with Federal funds;

*EXAMPLES:* *A hospital constructed or improved with Federal funds segregates patients by race or discriminates in the selection of interns or student nurses. A hospital caring for indigent patients under contract with a welfare agency that receives Federal funds discriminates in like manner.*

*A federally-aided public housing authority either excludes tenants from a project or segregates them within a project because of their race, color, or national origin.*

(8) subjects an individual to discriminatory employment practices under any Federal program or activity whose primary objective is to provide employment:

*EXAMPLE:* *Employers receiving Area Redevelopment loans hire on a discriminatory basis.*

The above illustrations do not reflect the full scope of possible discriminatory practices. Nor do they include all the programs which are subject to Title VI. Whatever the federally-aided programs may be and whatever form the discrimination may take, the language of Title VI and the intent of Congress is to assure to every individual equal opportunity and access to Federal benefits.

It should be noted that if the *final* Federal payment for a project was made to a recipient *before* applicable Title VI regulations went into effect, the recipient is not covered by Title VI for that particular project. On the other hand, *after* applicable Title VI regulations went into effect, all Federal aid recipients had to agree to comply with these regulations in order to receive or to continue to receive Federal assistance.

*EXAMPLE:* *A hospital received approval in 1963 for Federal funds to pay part of the cost of a new addition and Federal installment payments were still forthcoming when Title VI regulations became effective. As a condition to receipt of these additional installment payments, the hospital must agree to administer the entire facility in accordance with Title VI nondiscriminatory requirements.*

## COMPLIANCE UNDER TITLE VI

Title VI regulations provide the necessary framework for protecting the rights guaranteed to the recipients and to the ultimate beneficiaries under federally-aided programs. Compliance will first be sought by affirmative and voluntary means whenever possible. But in addition, provision is made for complaints, field reviews, investigations, informal adjustments, and, when necessary, more formal proceedings.

### 1. AFFIRMATIVE MEASURES

Recipients of Federal aid are to be given guidance and assistance to help them comply voluntarily with Title VI regulations. In public and private meetings and in instructions which accompany required nondiscrimination agreements, Federal aid recipients are to be assisted in making the changes necessary to bring their operations into compliance with Title VI.

### 2. COMPLIANCE REPORTS

Records and other information designed to show the extent of compliance with Title VI agreements must be maintained by recipients and reports sent to program administrators on a regular basis. A recipient is also required to inform the ultimate beneficiaries, participants and other interested persons of the provisions of Title VI regulations and of their applicability to the aid program.

### 3. PERIODIC FIELD REVIEWS

Reviews by designated officials are to be conducted on a scheduled basis to ensure compliance by aid recipients. Compliance reports, books, and other records may be reviewed during these regular field visits.

## 4. COMPLAINTS

An individual or organization may challenge any unlawful discriminatory practice in a Federal program or activity. All complaints must be filed with the appropriate Federal agency and should include sufficient information to serve as the basis for an investigation.

## 5. INVESTIGATION AND ADJUSTMENT

When a field review, complaint, or any other information indicates a possible violation of Title VI, an investigation is ordered. If any violation of the regulations is found, informal persuasion and conciliation will be used to secure the elimination of the prohibited discriminatory practices. During this entire process, names of complainants will be kept confidential to the extent possible.

No recipient or other person may intimidate, threaten, coerce, or discriminate against any individual because he has made a complaint, testified, or assisted in a Title VI investigation, proceeding or hearing.

## 6. FORMAL ENFORCEMENT PROCEEDINGS

If informal efforts at persuasion have failed to correct the situation, formal means for resolving violations of Title VI regulations are available.

**a. Termination of Funds**

Title VI authorizes "the termination of or refusal to grant or continue assistance" under any Federal program in which there has been a violation of nondiscrimination requirements. This action may be taken only after:

(1) the recipient has been given an opportunity for a fair hearing and a finding is made that Title VI has been violated, and

(2) appropriate congressional committees have been notified 30 days before any termination of assistance.

A recipient may seek judicial review of the final order issued by the agency.

**b. Other Formal Actions Authorized by Law**

Rather than follow internal administrative proceedings, an agency may take other formal actions authorized by law, including:

(1) Referral to the Department of Justice for appropriate legal action.

If there is a formal contract with a nondiscrimination agreement between the Government and the recipient, the appropriate legal action may be a civil suit to enforce the agreement or to invoke any other contractual remedies.

If the recipient is a public institution, such as a public hospital or a public school,

the appropriate legal action may be a civil rights suit to secure a court order barring the unlawful practices under Title III or IV, respectively, of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

(2) Referral to State or local authorities responsible for enforcing similar nondiscrimination standards.

When a recipient's violation of Title VI involves discriminatory employment practices, the case may be referred to a State or local Fair Employment Practices Commission or comparable body.

## 7. LIMITATIONS ON COMPLIANCE PROCEEDINGS

Compliance proceedings may only be directed against 'recipients' of Federal aid who are conducting a program for the benefit of others. A 'recipient' does not include the individual who ultimately receives the service, financial aid or other benefit under the program.

A farmer receiving Federal aid is not required to adopt nondiscriminatory policies in the operation of his farm.

An individual receiving unemployment insurance is likewise not a recipient. However, the State unemployment insurance office is a 'recipient' of Federal aid and must not discriminate against applicants for assistance.

In addition, any compliance activities must be limited to:

a. the particular recipient found to be in violation of Title VI; and

b. the particular program or activity in which noncompliance is found.

## WHEN TITLE VI DOES NOT APPLY

The statutory language in Title VI specifically excludes programs involving "a contract of insurance or guaranty." Activities such as the FHA home mortgage insurance program are thereby excluded. However, Executive Order 11063, which prohibits discrimination in all Federal housing programs, continues in full force and effect.

## CONCLUSION

The administration of Federal grant-in-aid programs over the years has been marked by a high degree of cooperation among the Federal, State and local agencies and private institutions involved.

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 affords an additional opportunity for these agencies and institutions to improve the administration and efficiency of cooperative programs. The President expressed confidence in the future when he signed the first set of Title VI regulations on December 4, 1964:

> "The broad and encouraging compliance with the Public Accommodations Title of the Civil Rights Act has demonstrated the overwhelming desire of the people of this Nation to accept and to comply with the law of the land. I am confident that the provisions of the Civil Rights Act to be implemented by these regulations will be received in the same spirit of acceptance and cooperation."

* * * * *

## U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

*John A. Hannah, Chairman*
*Eugene Patterson, Vice Chairman*
*Frankie M. Freeman*
*Erwin N. Griswold*
*Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.*
*Robert S. Rankin*

The 1964 Civil Rights Act directs the Commission on Civil Rights to serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information. Accordingly, Commission resources are available to assist interested persons seeking information on Federal laws and programs and applicable civil rights policies.

The Commission is collecting data on successful patterns of compliance with Title VI. It is also developing information on major Federal programs operating in particular cities and localities. Recipients of Federal aid, State and local officials, private citizens and other groups may all benefit from this information and assistance.

Interested persons may also obtain information from Federal, State and local officials and from other recipients of Federal aid responsible for the administration of particular programs.

For further information, write to:

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

# TITLE VI—NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

Sec. 601. No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

Sec. 602. Each Federal department and agency which is empowered to extend Federal financial assistance to any program or activity, by way of grant, loan, or contract other than a contract of insurance or guaranty, is authorized and directed to effectuate the provisions of section 601 with respect to such program or activity by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability which shall be consistent with achievement of the objectives of the statute authorizing the financial assistance in connection with which the action is taken. No such rule, regulation, or order shall become effective unless and until approved by the President. Compliance with any requirement adopted pursuant to this section may be effected (1) by the termination of or refusal to grant or to continue assistance under such program or activity to any recipient as to whom there has been an express finding on the record, after opportunity for hearing, of a failure to comply with such requirement, but such termination or refusal shall be limited to the particular political entity, or part thereof, or other recipient as to whom such a finding has been made and, shall be limited in its effect to the particular program, or part thereof, in which such noncompliance has been so found, or (2) by any other means authorized by law: Provided, however, That no such action shall be taken until the department or agency concerned has advised the appropriate person or persons of the failure to comply with the requirement and has determined that compliance cannot be secured by voluntary means. In the case of any action terminating, or refusing to grant or continue, assistance because of failure to comply with a requirement imposed pursuant to this section, the head of the Federal department or agency shall file with the committees of the House and Senate having legislative jurisdiction over the program or activity involved a full written report of the circumstances and the grounds for such action. No such action shall become effective until thirty days have elapsed after the filing of such report.

Sec. 603. Any department or agency action taken pursuant to section 602 shall be subject to such judicial review as may otherwise be provided by law for similar action taken by such department or agency on other grounds. In the case of action, not otherwise subject to judicial review, terminating or refusing to grant or to continue financial assistance upon a finding of failure to comply with any requirement imposed pursuant to section 602, any person aggrieved (including any State or political subdivision thereof and any agency of either) may obtain judicial review of such action in accordance with section 10 of the Administrative Procedure Act, and such action shall not be deemed committed to unreviewable agency discretion within the meaning of that section.

Sec. 604. Nothing contained in this title shall be construed to authorize action under this title by any department or agency with respect to any employment practice of any employer, employment agency, or labor organization except where a primary objective of the Federal financial assistance is to provide employment.

Sec. 605. Nothing in this title shall add to or detract from any existing authority with respect to any program or activity under which Federal financial assistance is extended by way of a contract of insurance or guaranty.



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Paul - I thought this exceptionally good for a local council newsletter. Tuscaloosa is showing signs of real life. Ed

T C H R

N E W S L E T T E R

February, 1965

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## COLLINS GIVES PRINCIPAL ADDRESS

The featured speaker at the annual meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations was the Honorable LeRoy Collins, Director of the Community Relations Service of the United States Department of Commerce. As many of you know the Community Relations Service was established by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to help communities with civil rights problems and seek creative compliance with the law. The agency seeks peaceful solutions to social problems by negotiation and conciliation. We are certain everyone who heard the former Florida Governor felt that he was a superb choice for this position.

Mr. Collins was governor of Florida from 1955 until 1960. He was elected Governor after 20 years of service in the two houses of the Florida Legislature. Throughout his entire career in public office in Florida Mr. Collins was a segregationist, and he shared the views of the majority of his fellow southerners. The past few years have been a period of re-examination for Mr. Collins and his description of his gradual change in philosophy, expressed in highly personal terms, was both moving and deeply encouraging. Mr. Collins stated, and we are paraphrasing him, "throughout my entire life I have tried to do right. I have not changed in this respect but I have changed in my view of what is right."

## ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations was held in Birmingham on Saturday, January 30th. This 10th annual meeting was held at the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham. For many members, this meeting represented the fulfillment of a goal. Long accustomed to searching for "safe" places to meet the organization was, by virtue of the changed social and legal climate in Alabama, able to meet publically without incident.

The attendance at the meeting was considerably above expectations. It ranged from 300 in the morning to approximately 500 in the afternoon. The morning session featured reports from treasurer on the current status on the membership and fund drive (doing well) and reports from the individual chapters in the state. The state goal is to double the membership. Tuscaloosa is doing its part; we would like to do even better.

Mr. Albert Ulmer, an intern in the Field Services Department of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, described the activities in other councils in the southeast. He had a number of excellent suggestions for activities of our task forces. Some of these will be discussed at the next meeting (February 18th).

Mr. Hayes Mizell, Director of the Southern Human Relations Project of the National Students Association, discussed his progress in setting up human relation councils on college campuses. He plans to visit Tuscaloosa soon.

Mr. Nat Welch of Auburn, former Treasurer, was elected President of the Alabama Human Relations Council. Dr. Lucius Pitts, out-going President, is now First Vice-President.

Mr. Ed Stanfield, whom many of us met at the January meeting, did an excellent job in planning the annual meeting, and performed feats of wizardry in obtaining our outstanding speaker.

## THE LION TURNS

At a meeting of the Tuscaloosa Council shortly after the period of racial disturbances in Birmingham, Dr. Lucius Pitts described racism as a "lion in the streets" and a discussion followed of ways to control the "lion". One of the listeners asked if the newspapers in Birmingham could not help control the lion and Dr. Pitts replied, "Those are the lion-est newspapers I ever saw." The following editorial from the Birmingham News, Monday, February 1st, 1965, may suggest that the newspapers are ready to help.

## COLLINS VISIT

Governor LeRoy Collins, director of the Community Relations Service, has paid Birmingham a visit. While here he made an address to a human relations group and had a meeting with several Birmingham business and professional men, this arranged through the mayor's office. The session was held at the Chamber of Commerce building.

While here, Governor Collins, former Florida chief executive and president of the National Association of Broadcasters, spoke in simple terms about some facts of the Civil Rights Act, and about the challenge before all people to live in justice and under law.

It was a speech written from deep feelings on the subject of relations each of us with the others. All who might wish a copy can get it from the Community Relations Service, Department of Commerce, Washington. Though several hundred were present for the address, more might profitably know what is in it, in detail.

The governor is a native Southerner, understands the region and its people and indeed is one of them. We are glad to know a number of Birmingham people have had the opportunity to see and hear him firsthand. It can be of continuing value that this has been so.

## ATTENTION TASK FORCES

At the January meeting a group of task forces were organized to study major problem areas in the community. These task forces have shown signs of considerable activity during the last three weeks, and we shall devote most of the February 18th meeting to discussing their recommendations. Each task force will report on its meetings and we shall discuss the actions recommended to the membership.

## REPORT FROM TASK FORCE I: EDUCATION

The school board of Tuscaloosa is presently considering the Federal Intent to Comply forms they have been asked to sign. These forms indicate that the school board will obey the laws of the land in administering the schools. Essentially this means a desegregation of school facilities. If these forms are not signed, the Tuscaloosa schools will lose all their present federal support which amounts to several hundred thousand dollars a year.

There is reason to believe that the school boards will sign these forms. But they have not done so yet. They need your encouragement and support. A personal letter from you to any or all

of the men listed below would be a tremendous factor in their decision. Do not underestimate the influence of personal letters. The Human Relations Committee is asking 100 people to write letters.

Your letter or letters should be addressed to:

Mr. Harry H. Fritchett
520 Queen City Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

In your letter, you might make the following points:

(1) You support signing the Federal Intent to Comply forms because our schools cannot afford to lose federal support.

(2) These men can count on you to support their signing of the forms.

(3) You appreciate the work and effort of the school board and of the school superintendents.

(4) You will continue to support all efforts by the school board and the superintendents to improve the educational facilities for all the children of Tuscaloosa.

Please write now. The deadline for signing these forms is March 1.

## CALLING ALL EXPATRIATES

Do you know any distinguished (or just successful) Alabamians living outside of Alabama? Mr. Nat Welch, President of the Alabama Council on Human Relations would like to have their names. He plans to write to them to aquaint them with the progress which is being made in human relations in Alabama and to request their support of the activities of ACHR. If you think of some such people (surely you know one!) drop a line to Mr. Nat Welch, Box 1192, Auburn, Alabama.

## VOLUNTEER NEEDED

Mr. Ed Stanfield needs volunteers to provide a clipping service for the Human Relations Council. Since newspapers reflect the attitudes and directions of their communities, it is important that the Executive Director be in close touch with news items, letters and editorials relating to racial relations. If you are an inveterate cover to cover newspaper reader please volunteer your services at the February 18th meeting.

## EDITORIAL COMMENTS

It is our impression that community feeling is markedly improved in Tuscaloosa. In recent weeks people have come to believe that Tuscaloosa will be more mature than some of its sister cities around the state. Individuals in responsible positions in Tuscaloosa do not want to see this community receive the nationwide notoriety that other communities have received. It is our feeling that most Tuscaloosans would rather that we be viewed as a mature city where people can reasonably negotiate with each other. For this reason, the time appears ripe for groups to present the issues to the community and through various means, appeal to the community to behave in an acceptable manner although we may face some periods of emotional stress. We hear much about the danger of "moving too quickly" but we must consider the danger of moving too slowly or not at all. It may be better at this time to take some decisive actions than to simply deliberate. People in Tuscaloosa seem ready to accept change at this time and are more open to reasonable negotiation.

## THE NEWSLETTER

The TCHR Newsletter is a new venture — and consequently rough around the edges. We need aid and contributions. Letters to the editor, guest editorials or news items are solicited.

Mail them to: T C H R Newsletter
P. O. Box 6142
University, Alabama

DON'T FORGET * * * * * * * * The next T C H R meeting is in the Batchelor Building at Stillman College, Thursday, February 18, 1965, at 7:30 P.M.

BRING AT LEAST ONE FRIEND.

## MEMBERSHIP

Are you a member? You are not unless you have filled out an application like the one below. Will you join us—do it now, while you have an application handy. Just fill out the form and mail it to the address shown, or to:

T C H R
P. O. Box 6142
University, Alabama

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APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, S.W. HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA

YES, I am for the principles and aims of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and I would like to lend my support to the 1965 program of the Council by becoming:

1. A Single Member ($5.00).....( ) New ( ) Renewal ( )
2. A Joint Member, Husband and Wife($8.00) ( ) Check enclosed ( )
3. A Student Member ($3.00).....( ) Cash enclosed ( )
4. A Contributor ($ ).....( ) Bill me ( )

NAME_____ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ZIP CODE_____COUNTY_____

OCCUPATION_____DATE_____

NOTES: Memberships and contributions to ACHR are Federal Income Tax deductible. We would like to have as many members as possible before March 1, 1965.

# THE ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, WEST
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA 35805

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

March 15, 1965

# MEMBERSHIP-FUNDING CAMPAIGN PROGRESS REPORT!

## RESPONSE TO CAMPAIGN "OVERWHELMING"

"Overwhelming" is almost the right word! The big bottleneck in our membership-funding campaign has been the state office, which simply was not set up to handle the unexpectedly large response to the drive. (Maybe we are like the old lady who prayed for rain, but carried no umbrella.) At any rate, we found an efficient, full-time secretary, Mrs. Lili L. Rogers, who started work on February 22, so here--a bit belatedly--is a report on the results of our campaign to date:

> 302 single memberships, 227 joint memberships, and 29 student memberships give us a total of 785 members. (This compares with a total 1964 membership of 336.) On the financial side, a total of $16,052 in cash and pledges has been raised. Of this amount, only $1832 came from outside Alabama. (Our annual grant-in-aid from the Southern Regional Council is not included, of course.)

## EAST ALABAMA SETS THE PACE, BIRMINGHAM STRONG SECOND

Under the vigorous leadership of Jerry Roden, Lois Reeves, Rev. J. C. Wilson, and Nat Welch, the East Alabama Council had the most successful drive. They were given a goal of 150 members and $1,500. They set for themselves a goal of 200 members. To date, they have exactly 300 members and have raised a total of $3,468! How's that for quota-bursting?

Birmingham was a strong second. They have 140 members and a total of $3,439 raised. Their goal was 150 members and $1500.

## TUSCALOOSA COMES ON STRONG

Because the Tuscaloosa Chapter had been "in the doldrums" for a couple of years, they were given a quota of only 75 members and $750. They now have 103 members (all but nine of them dues-paid), and raised $1079 ($789 of it in cash)! A lot of credit goes to Dr. Ray Fowler, temporary chairman of the group. But, as with East Alabama and Birmingham, the secret was good organization--plus enthusiasm.

## OTHER CHAPTERS WEAK ON MEMBERSHIP

The other chapters did well raising money, but "poor to middlin'" at enlisting people. Here are the figures:

Huntsville: 28 members, $1,569.
Mobile: 59 members, $1,196.
Montgomery: 48 members, $1,176.
Muscle Shoals: 42 members, $1,142
Talladega: 24 members, $622.

Each chapter reached or exceeded the figure listed in the campaign plan as "Financial Goal (over-and-above membership fees)." But some chapters, if you should subtract the amount of the membership fees not obtained, would be short of their financial goal.

We have done well. But we should not consider the job completed--especially on membership. We cannot rest on our laurels. In most cases, it is a matter of finding the people who "are with you but just never have joined"--and signing them up!

# ANNUAL MEETING A SUCCESS

Two-hundred fifty-one (251) members and friends of ACHR attended the luncheon at the annual meeting in the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham on January 30. Only 210 meals had been ordered, and some of our old-timers surrendered their places to guest, and dined in the coffee shop.

After the luncheon, more than 400 heard the featured address by LeRoy Collins, Director of the Community Relations Service, U. S. Department of Commerce. Collins was interrupted fourteen (14) times by applause, and the audience gave him a standing ovation at the conclusion of his speech.

Mr. Nat Welch, Auburn, was elected President of the Alabama Council. Mr. Welch, a native of Selma, is the President's Representative to the Southern States Nuclear Board. He is one of twelve Alabama members of the National Citizens Committee of the Community Relations Service. For many years, he has served outstandingly as Treasurer of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council.

Other officers elected were: Vice Presidents, Dr. Lucius Pitts, Rev. J. C. Wilson, and Father Brice Joyce; Secretary, Mrs. Lois Reeves; and Treasurer, Mrs. Moreland Smith.

Other speakers were: Mr. Hayes Mizell, Director of the Southern Human Relations Project of the National Student Association; and Mr. Albert Ulmer, Eleanor Roosevelt Intern with the Southern Regional Council. Mizell talked about plans for an Alabama Inter-collegiate Council on Human Relations. Ulmer outlined a number of projects being carried out by local councils in other states. (We shall go into more detail about both of these matters in another bulletin, to be issued soon.)

# EXCERPTS FROM COLLINS' ADDRESS

. . . . As I am sure you are aware, there is hardly anything more useless, and sometimes even harmful, than a human relations group, or a community relations agency, which is off on the wrong foot or which--to be blunt about it--is no more than a sham.

To succeed, a community relations group must represent the entire population and thus merit the confidence and support of all groups in that community. Otherwise, it becomes either an ineffectual pleader for a worthy cause, or an all-too-effective defender of the status quo. A community is better off with no agency than with one of this type.

A human relations committee's aims must be to bring about change--peaceful, constructive and lawful change, but change nonetheless.

. . . . Somewhere along the line as I was growing up in the small southern town of Tallahassee some people who took an interest in me as a little boy--my parents, teachers, a lot of people--somehow instilled in me a strong feeling that, to state it in its simplest terms, the right thing to do was to do the "right" thing.

. . . . Now there is nothing so special about this. Most southerners are brought up this way, just as are most Americans everywhere I suppose.

. . . . Yet, I am the first to admit that over the span of my life I have been quite inconsistent in positions I have taken, both public and private, concerning civil rights and the place of the place of the Negro in our American society.

. . . . I admit that I have looked at segregation through the eyes of a man who was raised from a boy on the privileged side of a racially segregated social system. In the past I have even rationalized that Negroes actually preferred it that way. And I have embraced other comforting justifications which the segregated society has held out to salve the consciences of its worried white participants.

I am not ashamed to admit that my thinking has changed over the years as I have been able to see this question more from the other man's point of view.

. . . . But with all the change I tried to remain steadfast in my determination to do what was "right." I keep emphasizing this because I know there have always been many, many others who have felt exactly the same way.

PICTURES FROM ANNUAL MEETING

UPPER LEFT: OUT-GOING PRESIDENT, DR. LUCIUS PITTS, OPENS THE MILESTONE 1965 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS.

UPPER RIGHT: LEROY COLLINS, THE FEATURES SPEAKER.

RIGHT: GOVERNOR COLLINS PAUSES FOR A CHAT WITH PRESIDENT PITTS AND OTHER MEMBERS OF ACHR.

BELOW: PART OF THE CROWD OF 250 WHO ATTENDED THE LUNCHEON IN THE BALLROOM.

This is the point I want to get across to my fellow southern whites:

No one is asking us to abandon our moral values, to give up principles of "right" and "wrong" which we and our families and our neighbors have cherished for generations.

What is being asked of all of us as Americans these days concerning civil rights is to be faithful to our obligation continually to renew our assessment of what is "right"--to look about us and ask, in quiet and personal candor, is it really "right" that some people in our land should be treated as belonging to a separate caste, and relegated to second-class status, because of their appearance, or who their parents were, or where they came from? Can the denial to millions of our citizens of their right to be judged on merit alone be reconciled with our American ideals?

. . . . To many white southerners, it is still not wrong for white persons to occupy superior positions in our society solely because of their color, and to use this advantage to the disadvantage of the Negro in many, many ways.

And yet, when you come right down to it, for the Negro the differences between the ordinary manifestations of this attitude and brutality must really seem one of degree only.

For to be relegated to a second-class school, to find only second-rate jobs available, to be restricted to a slum or a second-class neighborhoos, to be excluded from so very much of the main current of the life of your community and nation, to be reminded in countless big and little ways every waking hour that one is considered "inferior"--in short, to be a Negro in such a society--must really be like being lynched a little bit over and over again every day of a lifetime.

And this is just what segregation and discrimination do to these fellow Americans of ours who happen to be Negroes. And I come back to my basic contention that this simply is not "right."

Our problem here in the South, I think, has not been that we have lacked a proper commitment to do what is "right," or not to do what is "wrong," as much as it has been that we have failed to see how the realities of being a Negro in a racially segregated society relate to "right" and "wrong."

*

. . . . Finally, I made my last payment. I never will forget it. I got my deed, took it to the courthouse and had it recorded.

And then I went back out there to my real estate. I never have had such a feeling of exhilaration in all my life. I sat down, right in the middle of that lot, and I got my hands down as deep in the dirt as I could dig them. And with tears streaming down my face, I cried in great joy, "It's mine! It's mine!"

Friends, we have many millions of Americans in this country who have been paying and paying on the installment plan to achieve the full rights of American citizenship, and I say it is time for them to get their deed.

Before I was introduced you were singing "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Let us all help Americans to get their deed to full participation in American citizenship.

Then can everyone feel "it's mine!"

Then can all sing:

"Glory, glory hallelujah . . .
His truth is marching on."

*(Mr. Collins related how, as a boy in Florida, he "accidently" found himself top bidder on two plots of ground sold at auction. Over a period of months, he paid on his mortgage.)

# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

2 ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

March 30, 1965


## LOCAL COUNCIL PROJECT IDEAS

For more reasons than one, it is practically impossible for an "outsider" to tell a local human relations council exactly what they should do and how they should do it. The most important of such reasons is the fact that local folks are more apt than anyone else to know the ins and outs, the needs and problems, the resources and opportunities of their community.

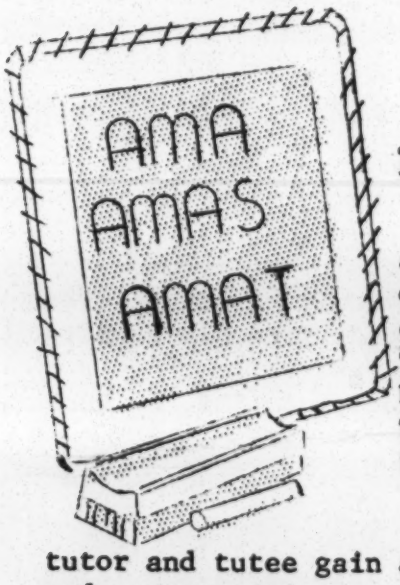
But right now, three areas of concern stand out as needing some earnest attention in every community in Alabama.

First, there is education. In Alabama's public schools, there are 549,543 white students, 293,476 Negro students. Of 118 school districts, only 8 are desegregated. Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act provides a lot of leverage for desegregation. But even where there is technical desegregation, there is little of it in fact. Only 94 Negro students are in formerly all-white schools in all of Alabama.

Second, there is employment. On July 2, the section of the Civil Rights Act having to do with equal employment opportunity goes into effect. Ultimately every company employing as many as 25 people will come under the provisions of this law. It is important that preparation be made to take advantage of this opportunity.

And then, of course, there is voter education. It now appears that new Federal legislation will soon be passed to pave the way for all citizens to vote. But having a right to vote is one thing, exercising it is often something else, and exercising it well may be still a third.

Accordingly, listed below are "pump-primer ideas" for local council projects in each of these three areas of concern. These are adapted from a list prepared by Albert Ulmer of Southern Regional Council. Al gave us some of these ideas at our annual meeting. We hope that some of them will fire your imagination--and that you will fire your local council with enthusiasm!




### EDUCATION

**Tutorials**

As the name suggests, a tutorial project involves arranging for volunteers who have competence in some academic field, such as math or English, to give regular coaching to one or two students who need it in that field. The student may be planning to enter college next year or he may simply be having difficulty with his school work. The basic purpose is to help students overcome an educational disadvantage, whatever the cause.

A tutorial is not a one-way street, however. Both tutor and tutee gain a better awareness of their community, history, culture, and opportunities.

A tutorial project requires very careful planning. There are some pitfalls you would want to avoid. Be sure to get as much information as you can. An excellent handbook may be obtained from Southern Student Human Relations Project, Room 701, 41 Exchange Place, Atlanta, Georgia 30303. (Continued on Page 2)

Extra academic classes

These differ from tutorials in that a special course is offered to 15-20 students. This project requires a qualified teacher in a subject specialty. Classes may be offered one or two nights per week.

Pre-school nursery

This one is a big undertaking. Ordinarily a nursery school would be a half-day program. Not a kindergarten, it need not operate five days a week, but should operate three days per week. It can be staffed with volunteers, provided they are tops, but a professional director is desirable. (You could charge a modest tuition, then ask business men and various groups to provide "scholarships.") Someone may have a suitable basement room, or a church might make an arrangement with the council. (Note: Under some circumstances, government funds are available for such a program--but the program should be started and going strong before you think about this possibility.)

A supervised study hall

This is the easiest of all academic aids to operate. Its purpose is to provide a comfortable, well-lighted place to study for students whose homes may be crowded or noisy. In addition to the place, the council would need to provide volunteer supervisors. They would need to know or learn a little about good study habits.

Field trips

Often school pupils have surprisingly little acquaintance with facilities of great educational value within their own city or nearby. Trips to local points of interest--museums, libraries, the court house, the capitol--can be arranged, using rented buses or cars. Perhaps arrangements can be made for a brief meeting with certain officials.

A cultural enrichment program

Our East Alabama Council (Auburn-Tuskegee) has such a program operating under the leadership of Mrs. Grace Hooks. People who have some talent, or a portable phonograph and suitable records, or a worthwhile hobby are enlisted to "perform" for school children and church groups. One group of council members are getting a short play together. This program is helpful particularly--but not only--in rural areas. Its purpose, of course, is to help close the "culture-gap" of disadvantaged children.

A survey of local educational facilities

Gather and bring to light information on textbooks (Are they up-to-date? Do they have an obvious bias?), library materials and facilities, school buildings and equipment, the size of classes, etc. Plans should be made to report the facts obtained to school administrators, PTA groups, etc. A comparison of white and Negro schools might be interesting.

Recruiting

This project is especially needed at this time and in Alabama. Be sure that the appropriate committee of your council is keeping up with the provisions of your district's desegregation plan (which it must have to receive federal funds). Find out why Negro students do not transfer to formerly all-white schools, if they do not. (Fear of physical or economic reprisal? Fear of academic competition?) Encourage transfers and provide friendly support. For further information on school desegregation procedures, write to Miss Constance Curry, American Friends Service Committee, Room 502, 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

## E M P L O Y M E N T

Surveys

Find out which businesses in your community have government contracts or are sub-contractors for government contractors. Or conduct a survey to find out which businesses cater largely to Negroes. Then, inquire as to how many Negroes they hire and at what levels. (Continued on Page 3)

Employment readiness program

This is a "crash" program aimed at preparing individuals for job applications and interviews. Such a program would require careful thought and planning. Don't undertake it unless you mean business! But as July 2 approaches, its potential benefits are so great that we want to go into some detail about it.

People are sometimes thought to be apathetic when they are really only suffering from disappointment and hopelessness. Frequently these individuals are skilled, personable men and women whose failure in job application can be traced to two sources: testing and personal interviews.

Following is an outline for an eight-session course. It can be adapted to meet varied needs. You would need to make imaginative use of the resource-persons available in your community.

SESSION ONE: OPPORTUNITIES. New opportunities are rapidly becoming available for victims of poverty and for members of the minority group. This is especially true for young high school graduates. This first class can be used to point out academic and employment opportunities in the area.

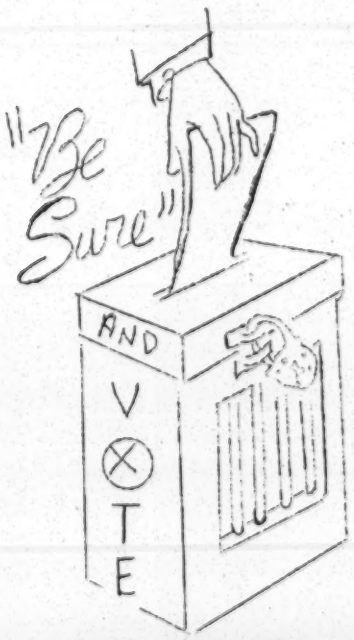
SESSION TWO: PERSONAL APPEARANCE. This session would concern itself with the minimum requirements for the all-important job interview. Proper dress, general physical appearance, eye contact, alertness, and speech could be dealt with.

SESSIONS THREE AND FOUR: TESTING. Many persons applying for jobs have never endured a testing situation before. They may be unfamiliar in following written instructions and unused to thinking in a timed situation. These two classes would provide instruction on test-taking and actual practice in taking sample tests.

SESSION FIVE: INTERVIEWS. Local businessmen and personnel managers could be asked to give "practice" interviews under as nearly actual conditions as possible. Interviews could be tape-recorded and played back later.

SESSION SIX: REVIEW. This session is for review and concentrated work on areas needing more attention.

SESSIONS SEVEN AND EIGHT: TRIAL RUNS. Trainees could actually select a job possibility and go through a complete trial run. This will probably take two sessions, depending upon the number of persons involved. Dress, attitude, speech, testing, and interview should be evaluated at this time and general ratings given.




## VOTER EDUCATION

Registration effort

When the new federal voting law is passed, there will still be need for a continuing effort to get every potential voter registered. Committees responsible for specific geographical sections can report monthly progress. Follow-up phone calls and house calls before local elections are needed.

Voter education

Your council might provide a one-session course on the use of a voting machine and other basic mechanical techniques.

Much better would be a course on citizenship, two hours per night, one night a week, taught by a political science instructor from the nearest college. Sessions might go somewhat as follows: (1) Short history of the development of the Constitution in our American Democracy. (2) The Bill of Rights and rights of each citizen. (3) Federal government, executive branch. (4) Federal government, legislative branch. (5) and (6) The state government. (7) County government. (The probate judge or chairman of the county commission might be asked to be guest lecturer.) (8) City government. (The mayor or a councilman might be guest speaker.)

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AN APOLOGY: We failed to credit Mr. Chris McNair of McNair Studio, Birmingham, with the pictures from the annual meeting which were printed in our March 15 bulletin. Mr. McNair took these photos and provided us with prints. We are very grateful.

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# TUSCALOOSA COUNCIL MAKES NEW START

We have mentioned before the "revival" of the Tuscaloosa Council on Human Relations. In less than three months, the Tuscaloosa Council has changed from a rather disorganized handful of members to a working organization of well over 100 members! It is such an interesting story that we want to tell you more about it.

In December, when plans for our membership-funding drive went out, Dr. Ray Fowler, who was temporary chairman for the group (they had no regular organization, executive committee, etc.), convened a nucleus of workers and they began calling on people they thought would be interested. At their "Challenge Meeting" on January 21, about 50 people were present--the largest attendance in the memory of those present.

Nothing was planned for this meeting except the speeches and the offering of an opportunity to join and make contributions to the work of ACHR. Organization would come later. But the folks there were in a different mood. After the speeches, they started talking about the things that concerned them--not even token desegregation of the public schools, the absence of a surplus food program in Tuscaloosa, lack of Negroes on the police force and in other city jobs, hospital desegregation, etc.

Finally, someone suggested that sheets of paper be prepared, each with a "task force" name--such as "Education" or "Federal Programs"--written at the top. Then those present could sign up to work on one or more of the "task force," according to their interests. Thus, the task forces or committees set up simply represented each of the concerns that had been expressed that evening. Here were the task forces they came up with:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Federal Programs | Law Enforcement | Surplus Food |
| Education | Health | Newsletter |
| Voter Registration | Employment Opportunities | |

At the next meeting, on February 18, there were about 70 people present. There was an informative program featuring a review of Charles Silberman's book, Crisis in Black and White. Mrs. Esther LaMarr of the USVA, who is investigating employment practices at federal installations, also spoke briefly. Then there were reports from the various "task forces." The task force on education asked members to encourage the school board to comply with Title VI and sign the required compliance forms. (We note that Tuscaloosa city and county were among the first school systems to sign the forms required by The Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Who knows? Maybe the letters and phone calls helped.) The group concentrating on employment outlined plans for a skill bank. Another possibility is tutoring for those who have failed civil service examinations.

At the March meeting, about 55 people were present to hear a speech by local attorney Charles Wilson on urban redevelopment needs and plans in Tuscaloosa. Among other things, he urged support for a stringent building code. Again, there were progress reports from the task forces.

It remains to be seen, of course, just how effective the Tuscaloosa Council will be. But we think they are off to a good start and provide us all with a worthy example of sensible organization and an orderly approach to a community human relations problems.

# EDITORIAL COMMENTS

The secret is organization.

Improved organization is a must for all of our local councils. Despite the shocking actions of desperate men now being reported in our newspapers, we are convinced that a new day is fast approaching for Alabama and the Alabama Council on Human Relations. The question is, Can we "change gears"? We have been accustomed to operating as a very small, very beleaguered group of dissenters from the prevailing opinions and customs. We were too busy defending to be creative. We were fighting for opportunities, and had no time or need to organize for anything but struggle. There was little use talking about organization: frequently you wouldn't have had more than one or two good-sized committees in the whole council! We don't say times have changed. But we do say times are changing. And one thing that change brings to us is the necessity of more effective organization.

Over the years, we have fallen--perhaps of necessity--into the committee-of-the-whole method of operation. That is, we go to our monthly meetings, somebody brings up a human relations problem, and the whole group proceeds to try to hammer out a way of approaching it. As we said, this was not so very bad when the whole group made one good committee--of people who knew each other very well!

But when there are 40 or 50 people at a meeting, things get chaotic unless a committee has wrestled with the problem, ferreted out the facts, studied and argued about it, and come up with a clear recommendation for the approval or rejection of the whole group. For one thing, such meetings are usually ineffective: the matter will likely have to be referred to an ad hoc committee anyway--because some information will be needed before a decision is reached. For another thing, such meetings are apt to be boring for the majority there, since only the most interested and knowledgeable can participate actively. (If it is exciting, it usually is so in an undesirable way!) In the third place, things can get downright embarrassing if there is no way to say things that have to be said except to say them in public.

On the other hand, consider the benefits of good organization. (1) It distributes the satisfaction of accomplishment--and the blame for failure. We have seen too many overworked, harassed local council presidents! (2) It provides an outlet for the urge of every member to be doing something useful to improve human relations. If every new member can be immediately assigned, on the basis of his interests, to a needed committee that is meeting and reporting regularly, his talents and energy are used most constructively. (3) An ongoing responsibility helps concentration. One person can look for and spot materials and ideas on housing, for example, but he can't be an expert on everything. (4) Effective organization makes it possible for the state office and local members to channel information to the right person--instead of swamping the president or secretary with everything. (5) It is a means of "indirect recruiting." A lot of people who see no need for joining the human relations council will be quite willing to help instruct a voter education class or to give a trial job interview or to help conduct a survey by the education committee.

The genius of a human relations council is the utilization of the human resources available in a given community--the peculiar interests, talents, and energies of whatever people happen to be concerned about human relations--to meet the peculiar needs of that community. The kind of things that we shall need to be doing more and more are not such as can be accomplished by sudden inspiration and spontaneous leadership. They will require careful planning and steady, continual work. And that means careful organization.

We hope that the suggestions for organization and program contained in this issue of the Bulletin will encourage local officers to review their organizational structure and to look closely at the corporate habits of their group. And, we hope they will help make "ordinary" members aware of the need and receptive to organizational efforts and requests for help from the officers.

* * * *

The new secretary to the Executive Director is Mrs. Lili Lockhart Rogers, a native of Birmingham, and a graduate of the State Vocational Trade School in that city. Prior to this position, Mrs. Rogers was secretary in the Division of Home Economics at the Alabama A. and M. College, Normal, Alabama. She is married to Mr. Benny J. Rogers of Birmingham.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, S. W. HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA 35805

I would like to lend my support to the program of the Council by becoming:

1. A Single Member ($5.00) . . . . . ( ) New ( ) Renewal ( )
2. A Joint Member, Husband and Wife ($8.00) . . . ( ) Check enclosed ( )
3. A Student Member ($3.00) . . . . . ( ) Cash enclosed ( )
4. A Contributor ($ ) . . . . . ( ) Bill me ( )

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZIP CODE _____ COUNTY _____

OCCUPATION _____ DATE _____

NOTE: Memberships and contributions to ACHR are Federal Income Tax deductible.

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Number Seven
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Bulk Rate
U. S. Postage
P A I D
Permit No. 346
Huntsville, Ala.

RETURN REQUESTED

T C H R NEWSLETTER

March, 1965

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## THE FEBRUARY 18th MEETING

The second meeting of the Tuscaloosa Council on Human Relations was exceptionally well attended. Some 70-75 people were present, some for the first time. Also, during this meeting, Mrs. Esther LaMarr attended as a visitor, representing the Equal Opportunities Program of the Federal Government. Mrs. LaMarr was in Tuscaloosa investigating equal employment opportunities, especially in federal installations. She responded quite favorably to what was going on in Tuscaloosa and reported to the Council that for the most part Tuscaloosa was making some progress in terms of equitable employment.

During the meeting each of the several task forces reported. Task Force I, Education, reported about the Federal Compliance Form that the local school system has to sign in order to get federal subsidy. The members of the TCHR were asked to write to members of the Board of Education urging their signing. Additionally, they were asked to assure the members of the Board of Education that they would have their support if they signed. It was also requested that the mem-

bers who did write to the Board state that they would continue to support improved educational facilities for all children within this school system. The committee reported that there were University students who were willing to spend time with high school students who wanted to go to college and would give them some time each week for tutoring. This is a meaningful program and should be expanded. Emphasis was placed upon preparing students for integration within the total community at the elementary, high school, university, and trade school levels.

Task Force Number II, which had been involved with a study of the Surplus Food programs, report that there was very little hope for reviving this program. It was felt that this was unfortunate since within our community there were many people of both races who could profit from this program.

Task Force III, interested in the study of Federal Programs available to communities, had no report.

Task Force IV, which was studying Employment Opportunities, reported that they were considering establishing an index where they could record potential employees for known and available jobs in the community. Particular skills and training would be sought out and a detailed catalogue of these people would be established so that when a position was available a candidate could be found. Test batteries that have been administered to these people would need to be available to make sure that a person was a candidate for a particular position. Essentially

this is an attempt to coordinate available employees with available positions. It was commented that tutoring might be made available to people who have failed Civil Service Exams. Since the federal government has displayed its leadership in the attainment of equal opportunities through executive order on several occasions, it is believed that this would be a good avenue to begin seeking a more balanced employment picture in Tuscaloosa. It was felt that we need to know the details of the Civil Service Procedure for evaluating discrimination in federal agencies. Our visitor, Mrs. LaMarr, indicated that the President's committee on Equal Employment Opportunities could help but that the most adequate procedure was dealing directly with the central office of the agency involved.

Task Force V, interested in the study of Health Programs within Tuscaloosa, reported principally about mental health programs. They felt that discrimination was occuring in some of these programs although it was very difficult to determine at what level. Their report was principally focused on their plans for the future in terms of investigating discriminatory practices. It was their intention to meet with representatives of each of these agencies to discuss their findings after considerable study and careful weighing of their data.

Task Force VI, the task force interested in Law Enforcement activities, was organized at the meeting. A number of people joined, and the group will have an initial meeting this week.

Task Force VII, the Newsletter task force, requested additional help for the Newsletter. It is felt that we need people to bring in information and a request was made for people who receive literature that is not widely circulated in Tuscaloosa to cut out or duplicate a part of these materials and forward it to the Newsletter staff. Requests were made for local reporters. Another request was made for people to start a clipping service from the local Tuscaloosa paper to forward to the State Human Relationships Council who have little opportunity to survey the local newspapers.

REMINDER!

ALL TASK FORCES ARE EXPECTED TO REPORT AT THE NEXT MEETING (MARCH 18). If you have not met at least once since the last monthly meeting, please call a meeting as soon as possible. Two meetings are highly desirable. Leaders: If you cannot be present at the March 18th meeting be sure to designate someone to present your report.

LOCAL SCHOOL SYSTEM SIGNS COMPLIANCE FORMS

It is felt that in signing the Federal Compliance Forms, the Tuscaloosa school system made a big step forward to insure reasonable progress in integration of local schools. We are pleased and proud that Tuscaloosa signed. It is felt that the members of our organization should contact the local Board and

approve of their action and assure them their continued support. It is felt that communities who did not sign these compliance forms made a tragic mistake in that funds may not be available to them for future expansion of schools, purchases of educational materials, and certainly would handicap the federal school lunch programs. While it may be resented by many, there is no doubt that the federal government is deeply involved and invested in community school systems and will continue to be. For this reason, compliance is mandatory.

NEXT MEETING

Please note that the next meeting is at 7:30 on Thursday, March 18, 1965, at the Alabama Power Company auditorium. (How about that!) As was requested last meeting, please bring all friends and interested parties to these meetings. Actually there is no need to bring only people who think as we do, but we should begin to think about involving people from within the community who do not think exactly like the members of this Council. If this Council is to serve the purpose of sharing views, then it seems wise to exchange views with other people in the community.

The focus of our March meeting will be on housing. Instead of a book review, we have a speaker on the topic of urban revewal and slum clearance, and we will encourage open discussion on the problems associated with housing in Tuscaloosa.

## CONTROVERSIAL COMMENT

Readers with different views are
offered equal space for a reply

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For what it's worth, this Newsletter is firmly opposed to the investigation of the Klan by the House Un-American Activities Committee. As a matter of fact, we do not believe this Un-American Committee should investigate anyone. We are not impressed or moved by the sudden willingness of HUAC to investigate our neighbors in the Alston Building. We are not of the opinion that leopards cannot change their spots—maybe they can, but if you were chosing a reliable protector, would you choose a leopard?

We believe that the HUAC invades the privacy and rights and self-respect of all of us when it appropriates the powers of the U. S. Congress to make a quasi-judicial investigation of any private organization. If an organization is dangerous, the Justice Department and the Federal Court system exists to indict, and to establish guilt or innocence. Even if no crime has been established, the Justice Department is vested with investigative powers. We submit that the HUAC is no investigative body. Rather, it is an agency designed to slander and discredit. The Klan long been discredited—and perhaps it thrives on discredit since it draws to itself a segment of the population with few feelings of self-worth.

If we applaud the improper use of congressional powers to discredit our enemies, can we complain when they are next used to discredit our friends?

ON THIN SKINS AND HARD HEADS

From time to time we hear complaints from our friends in the Council on Human Relations. These complaints are usually associated with hurt feelings — another Council member has said something in a tone or manner that offends our friend.

We are not unsympathetic with our friend. Most of us have sensitive spots and when they are prodded or stepped on, they hurt!

We would like to suggest two ways to deal with this problem.

First, we must communicate our sensitivities so that others can know where not to prod.

Second, we must all be alert to words, phrases and pronounciations which may hurt or embarass others.

White people who are trying to help may feel hurt and isolated when they find themselves classified indiscriminately as "Southern whites" or "so-called white liberals", or regarded as people who cannot understand since they are "outside".

Negros may sometimes resent the rejecting phrases such as "your people" and the various mispronounciations of Negro.

What we are calling for is some delay of judgement. Lets don't be too thin skinned when we are referred to in ways that

make us uncomfortable. But lets also avoid being to hard headed and insensitive about the other fellows sore spots. We can avoid using those phrases which hurt, isolate or disparage.

We have enough problems with the people who are not with us. We must be careful not to alienate each other.

## A DAY IN SELMA

Several white Tuscaloosans participated in the march by Concerned White Citizens in Selma on Saturday, March 6. One of the participants has described his experience and his feelings in the following report for the Newsletter.

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Eleven Tuscaloosians drove in two cars to Selma on Saturday March 6, to participate in a "walk" by a group calling themselves "Concerned White Citizens of Alabama." We arrived at the Reformed Presbyterian Church about 11:00 and registered by city. Besides our group, there were people from Birmingham, Huntsville, Montgomery and Auburn; 70 persons in all.

The idea had originated in Birmingham, with Rev. Ellwanger as leader. We were deliberately demonstrating as an all-white group in order to emphasize our message to those who would dismiss out of hand any integrated demonstrations. Thus, our Negro hosts were much in the background at this point, as we waited nervously and talked and wondered what the afternoon would bring. Rev. Ellwanger called the group to order, made

introductory explanations while a TV camera whirred, and announced that leaders and "marshals" would meet to make final plans while the rest of us ate the lunches we had brought. Around noon the plans were complete and the leaders emerged to inform us. We would walk in groups of four (that is, two and two) separated by 30 feet. Local officials had agreed that this would not constitute a "parade" (there had not been enough time to obtain a parade permit).

Once assembled in a long line on the sidewalk in front of the Dallas County Courthouse, we would be handed our signs and Rev. Ellwanger would read our statement through a hand megaphone. Meantime, our "leafleteers" would distribute their wares from the two neighboring corners. At all times our seven marshals (identified by a patch of yellow cloth pinned to their lapel) would direct the movement in the march and be on hand in case of crisis.

An SCLC field worker explained in great detail exactly how we would carry out our demonstration. His calm manner did much to prepare the nervous demonstrators for their task. The pace was now quickening. We read out loud the ten points of the "Non Violent Disciplines for Concerned White Citizens of Alabama", (1. Don't strike back or curse if abused. ...), sang two stanzas of "America" again and bowed our heads for a final blessing.

My wife and I were near the end of the column. After going several blocks, waiting for lights, etc., we approached the courthouse. With surprise we saw smoke coming from a car in the intersection. The crowd was shouting. What was happening? Our marshals appeared and guided us through the crowd (which elbowed us as we passed). We crossed the street, took up our position and were handed our signs. The courthouse steps were filled with sherrif's deputies. The crowd shouted and jeered. One fellow came walking along pointing at each of us and saying, "You're a communist". He was hustled off by a deputy. Rev. Ellwanger read our statement (sans megaphone, which had not been allowed). We sang all four stanzas of "America", trying to be heard above the crowd. Then as we turned to march back with our signs, a most wonderful thing happened. Just when we felt most alone, frightened and undignified, from across the street, many strong voices began "We Shall Overcome". . ."we are not alone". . ."hand in hand together.

Back in the church, with its congregation now sitting among us, we assessed our activity. Various members of our group spoke of incidents that had occured, the "burning" car, the harassments, the SNCC photographer being attacked. Several persons in the Movement spoke to us, including Rev. T. Y. Rogers, about the history of the demonstrations, and the turning point our own demonstration represented. For the first time we began

to see the magnitude of the march. We had chosen to make our stand on ground hallowed by the courage of many Selma Negroes before us, and thus to give our testimony to be understood throughout the country that their struggle is our struggle, and that struggle is for a nation in which justice and opportunity would truly exist for all.

Our final business was to formalize our group, with leadership rested in the original Birmingham leadership, plus one person representing each city with members in our group. The leadership will evaluate the suggestions made by our members and plan future activities.

## MEMBERSHIP

Are you a member? You are not unless you have filled out an application like the one below. Will you join us—do it now, while you have an application handy. Just fill out the form and mail it to the address shown, or to:

T C H R
P. O. Box 6142
University, Alabama

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## APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, S.W. HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA

YES, I am for the principles and aims of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and I would like to lend my support to the 1965 program of the Council by becoming:

1. A Single Member ($5.00).....( ) New ( ) Renewal ( )
2. A Joint Member, Husband & Wife ($8.00)..( ) Check enclosed....( )
3. A Student Member ($3.00).....( ) Cash enclosed.....( )
4. A Contributor ($ ).....( ) Bill me.....( )

NAME_____ ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZIP CODE_____ COUNTY_____

OCCUPATION_____ DATE_____

NOTES: Memberships and contributions to ACHR are Federal Income Tax deductible. We would like to have as many members as possible.

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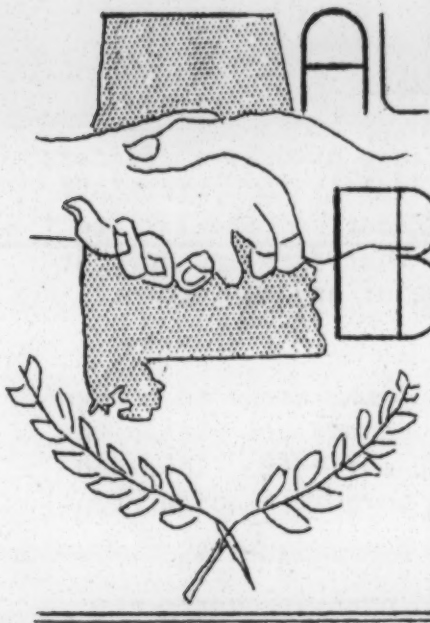

# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

April 23, 1965

## ACTIONS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

At a meeting held at Miles College on March 27, the executive committee of ACHR took several important steps. Among them were the following:

1. Authorized the executive director to apply to the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials for an Eleanor Roosevelt Intern for a period of one year. "Eleanor Roosevelt Interns" are young men and women who have finished their college work and are interested in intergroup relations as a career field.

2. Approved the employment of Mrs. Lili L. Rogers as secretary in the office of the executive director.

3. Adopted a recommendation of the executive director that ACHR follow the policy of refunding to local councils $1.00 for each paid single membership and $1.50 for each paid joint membership. The purpose of this move is to provide local councils with some money for postage and other small needs without requiring officers and other individuals to bear this cost.

4. Adopted a recommendation *"that the executive committee call the attention of all local councils to the provisions of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and recommend strongly that securing compliance to its provisions be a major program activity throughout 1965, with particular attention to desegregation of schools and hospitals and the employment practices of federal agencies, contractors, and installations." (See article below.)*

5. *Strongly recommend that local councils appoint at least the following committees or their equivalents and send the names and addresses of the committee chairmen to the ACHR office: EDUCATION, HOUSING, FEDERAL PROGRAMS, VOTER REGISTRATION AND EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT, HEALTH, MEMBERSHIP, AND FINANCE.* The purpose of this action was to establish some interested and likely person in each chapter who would concentrate on one particular area of concern and, with the aid of the committee, recommend actions to the entire local group. Not the least of benefits of such a system is that the state office would then have someone in each chapter to whom some splendid materials could be sent without "swamping" the president or any other one person.

"ONE GREAT MONTH OF PROGRESS"

## A.C.H.R. APPEALS TO STATE LEADERS

On Thursday, April 22, the executive committee released for publication a statement which called for "one great month of progress" in Alabama. The committee stated that they believed "the great majority of white citizens of Alabama are now ready to accept and facilitate change" (love "hopeth all things"!) and suggested simultaneous action by leaders in industry, business, labor, government, the churches, the professions, the press, and all civic groups, so that fair-minded people could speak and act for change in Alabama with some hope of mutual support.

By coincidence, the statement was in the process of preparation simultaneously with the statement released one week earlier by the Alabama Chamber of Commerce and its affiliates. It is hoped the momentum of this "movement for improvement" will increase.

8755-5813

ACHR APPEALS TO STATE LEADERS (Continued)

The committee made the following specific recommendations:

(1) That within the next thirty days the appropriate executive officers at all levels of government--state, county, and municipal--take appropriate action to remind all law-enforcement officers that officers of the law are the impartial servants of all citizens under the law, that firm law enforcement is not incompatible with courtesy, and that abuse of any citizen will not be tolerated.

(2) That legislative and administrative leaders of the state take cognizance of the urgency of the current situation in Alabama and act within the next thirty days in response to those complaints about our voting laws and the administration thereof which may seem to them, on earnest consideration, to be justified.

(3) That within the next thirty days all city and county governments publicly commit themselves to definite plans to employ and/or upgrade minority-group citizens in law enforcement and other community services, and to appoint to official planning commissions, zoning commission, housing boards, and the like, Negro citizens accepted as leaders by the Negro communities.

(4) That within the next thirty days all church judicatories, ministerial associations, clergymen, and local church boards declare themselves anew, by endorsement of this resolution or a similar one, in support of those laws, governmental policies and social customs which affirm the worth of every person; and that they affirm or reaffirm that their houses of worship and church programs are open to all.

(5) That within the next thirty days businessmen, industrial leaders, and labor leaders take steps both jointly and severally to eliminate discrimination in employment in response to the spirit of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, mindful that Title VII takes effect on July 2, 1965.

(6) That within the next thirty days owners and managers of business establishments of the same category, such as department stores or bowling alleys, meet to arrange simultaneous changes of policy designed to remove discriminatory practices in employment and service.

(7) That within the next thirty days chambers of commerce, bar associations and other professional organizations, civic clubs, and women's groups endorse this or a similar resolution and, in order to facilitate inter-group communication, open their organizations to members of minority groups.

(8) That within the next thirty days biracial groups be formed, either as municipal commissions or voluntary associations, through which Negro and white citizens may work together as peers on community problems; and that such groups seek the guidance of the Community Relations Service, U. S. Department of Commerce.

(9) That within the next thirty days all communications media begin or continue to facilitate orderly transition in Alabama by means of constructive editorials and thoughtful review and correction of any prejudicial policies.

The committee's statement concluded, *"Our concern is for better human relations. The Alabama Council on Human Relations seeks for all persons that human understanding and sympathy without which any life is blighted indeed, and which lie beyond all that good laws can require. Convinced that Alabama is shortly to be compelled to go the mile of justice under the law, our concern prompts us to offer so ambitious a program and to ask of our fellow citizens thoughtful consideration of it. Let us go the second mile."*

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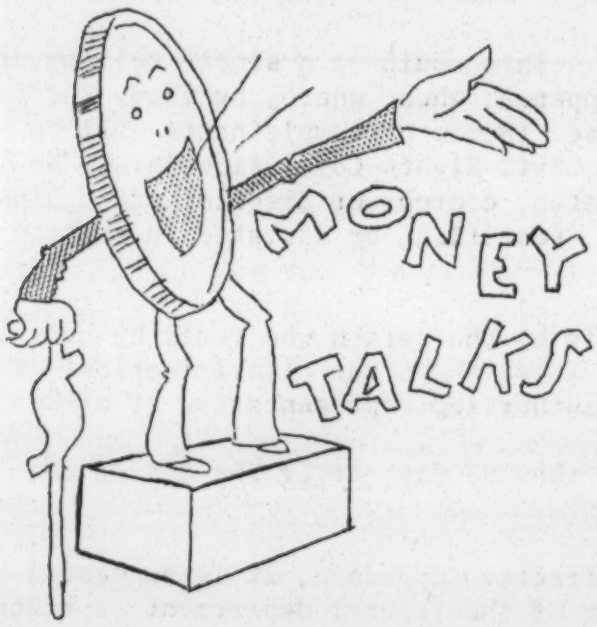
ANOTHER GOOD LOCAL COUNCIL PROJECT IDEA

Start a "Human Relations Library." Many people have not had opportunity to read the excellent books available. They are often expensive. With the help of someone who knows a little about libraries, start collecting books in the field. Some members might wish to buy one or more as a memorial for a relative or friend. Books could be displayed at one monthly meeting and loaned until the next. You might consider a small fee, perhaps 50¢ for the month, to help buy new books. Occasionally you might wish to give a book award to an outstanding contributor to local human relations; this would enable you to invite prominent progressive citizens to your meetings and get them to come.

# IMPORTANT: TITLE VI




Yes, indeed, money talks! And from now on it is going to have a lot to say to agencies and institutions which want to use public funds but are not inclined to serve all of the public alike.

You have probably begun to hear a lot about "Title VI" recently. You will hear a lot more. The reference is to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It went into effect on January 3, 1965. It is a powerful weapon in the struggle against the system of segregation. As you have noted, the ACHR executive committee has urged local councils to concentrate on securing compliance to Title VI throughout this year.

Mr. James M. Quigley, assistant secretary of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, told attendants at a conference on Title VI in Atlanta on April 14, that it means "the elimination of discrimination in all federally assisted programs." He added: "That's it. It's flat out and it's all-inclusive. You cannot interpret it any other way, and you're wasting your time if you try."

The federal government means business on the provisions of Title VI. President Johnson has said, "As far as the writ of Federal law will run, we must abolish not some but all racial discrimination . . . All members of the public should be equally eligible for Federal benefits financed by the public."

WHAT IS TITLE VI?

Briefly, *Title VI says that no one may be denied participation or be subjected to discrimination while participating in any program which receives federal money or other federal assistance.* If any recipient of federal funds or assistance is found to be discriminating on the basis of race, color, or national origin, the funds will be cut off unless the practice is changed. And no funds for new programs will be provided unless non-discriminatory use is guaranteed. *One hundred ninety federal programs are covered by the provisions of Title VI.*

Libraries receiving Federal aid may not refuse to allow Negroes to use the facilities or subject them to segregation or discrimination while using them. Schools built and operated with Federal aid may not discriminate in the admission or treatment of students. Hospitals constructed with Federal funds may not refuse to admit patients because of race; neither may they discriminate in placing them after admission; neither may they refuse to allow Negro physicians to practice there. Vocational training programs established with Federal funds must be available to all students. Employment offices financed wholly or partly by Federal funds may not discriminate in referring job applicants to available openings. Dormitories may not be built with Federal grants if the receiving college has a discriminatory admission policy. Employers receiving business loans from the Federal Government, if the loan is designed to increase employment opportunities, may not discriminate in their hiring practices.

These are only a few examples. They give us a general idea of the provisions and purpose of the law. Fuller information has been sent to the president of your local council and to members of the ACHR Board of Directors.

WHAT TO DO ABOUT NONCOMPLIANCE

Detailed information on how to secure compliance with the law has been sent to your local council president in the form of a booklet titled "The Federal Dollar and Nondiscrimination." It tells what programs are covered, how to conduct a survey in a community, who to write to about violations, etc. Copies may be obtained from our office or from the publisher, The Potomac Institute, Inc., 1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Exact procedures for complaints vary from department to department of the Federal Government. It is obvious that complaints must be soundly based and reflect

(Continued on page 4)

a legitimate and well-documented case. The most useful complaints are those that establish a pattern of discrimination. In preparing a complaint, remember the following points:

1. The complaint must be in written form. This could be a simple telling of the act or pattern of discrimination: what happened, when, where, by whom, and to whom. The complaint should be signed, of course, (Names of complainants will be kept confidential to the extent possible. The Civil Rights Commission says, "No recipient or other person may intimidate, threaten, coerce, or discriminate against any individual because he has made a complaint, testified, or assisted in a Title VI investigation, proceeding or hearing.")

2. The complaint may be submitted not only by the person who feels he has been discriminated against, but also by someone who knows about the discrimination, or someone (including an organization) who is an authorized representative of either.

3. The complaint must be filed not later than 90 days after the act of discrimination occurred, unless the time is extended.

4. As the most direct, and likely most effective approach, it is suggested that the complaint be sent to the chief officer of the federal department or agency administering the particular program--the Secretary of Agriculture, the Administrator of Veterans Affairs, etc. In most cases, you would write to the Secretary of (Agriculture; Commerce; Defense; Health, Education and Welfare; Interior; Labor; State; Treasury) Washington, D. C. Exceptions, as well as a list of what-program-comes-under-what-Secretary, are in the booklet mentioned above.

You will probably wish to send a copy of the complaint to the local or state official in charge of the program. It is also recommended that a copy of each complaint be sent to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, which will follow through with inquiries about its progress.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN YOU FILE A COMPLAINT?

An investigation of the complaint is conducted ("promptly," says the regulation) by the concerned federal agency. If it fails to substantiate the complaint, the complainant must be notified in writing. If it substantiates the complaint, efforts are made informally to end the discrimination. If that fails, there is a process (rather lengthy) of hearings and appeal which will finally end *either in proof that the complaint is not well-founded, in cessation of the discriminatory practice, or in a cut-off of Federal funds.*

*The complaint procedure was established to enable private citizens and organizations to start this administrative process of enforcement. In many cases, perhaps most, it will not get started until a private citizen or group files a complaint. This local initiative is very important. The government will welcome your cooperation.*

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APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W. Huntsville, Alabama 35805

I would like to lend my support to the program of the Council by becoming:

1. A Single Member ($5.00) . . . . . ( ) New ( ) Renewal ( )
2. A Joint Member, Husband and Wife ($8.00) . ( ) Check enclosed ( )
3. A Student Member ($3.00). . . . . .( ) Cash enclosed ( )
4. A Contributor ($ ) . . . . . .( ) Bill me ( )

Name_____ Address_____

City_____ Zip Code_____ County_____

Occupation _____ Date_____

Note: Memberships and contributions to ACHR are Federal Income Tax deductible.

# JET

MAY 6, 1965

ALABAMA

## HOW NEGRO TOWN IN ALABAMA FIGHTS POVERTY

Here is the story of Hobson City, Alabama – a town caught up in poverty – and how the Urban League is helping the citizens of that community to lift themselves out of despair. Hobson City is one of ninety-seven communities in which the Urban League is giving professional guidance and direction in attacking the massive problems of poverty. The National Urban League is grateful to the editors of JET for permission to reprint this article.

**The Urban League's goal is to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination in American life; and to give guidance and help to Negroes and other similarly disadvantaged groups so that they may share equally the responsibilities and rewards of citizenship.**

***HOW NEGRO TOWN IN ALABAMA FIGHTS POVERTY***

# LIVING BELOW POVERTY LEVEL:

If federal anti-poverty and allied program funds for reclaiming communities and individuals are for depressed areas, without a doubt all-Negro Hobson City, Ala., should head the list of areas earmarked for such aid.

Born of frustration and bigotry, nurtured in despair, and denied even the hand of fellowship from its neighboring cities (or even aid from the state or federal governments), the 66-year-old community is a city without kith or kin. It is a city showing the signs of death but with a hardy crop of pioneer-types determined to beat back that

*Starting city tour, Mayor Striplin (2nd l) briefs group including (l-r) policeman Willis Ward, VISTA's Dr. Maurice Dawkins and National Urban Leaguers James Johnson and Heman Sweatt.*

# WAY OF LIFE IN ALL-NEGRO TOWN

*League staffers Frank Stanley Jr. and Sweatt (l) show residents how to complete applications for poverty self-help program.*

*In effort to keep surroundings neat and presentable, youths erect fence around one of better homes in 66-year-old community*

## Except For Six Churches, There Is No Place To Go

specter—if it can garner the badly needed financial and professional assistance it needs to do the job.

In the heated battles for civil rights in Selma, Montgomery and in other large Alabama communities, Hobson City, with a population of 1,500 persons in 250 families, has gained few headlines. But they are there. All one needs to do is but glance in that community's direction.

Massive illiteracy, sub-standard housing, and unemployment are problems, and nearly 50 per cent of the families are fatherless. One industry (for making ladies' underwear) exist in the city (only 15 local citizens are employed among the crew of about 50).

The town has two grocery stores, two gas stations, one garage, one washateria with 12 washing machines, one barber shop, one beauty shop, one cafe and six churches.

"If it weren't for the churches," City Clerk Margaret Ball told JET, "we wouldn't have any place in the world to go."

There is no movie house (in neighboring communities,

*Main link with outside world is letters from friends, relatives. Town has no local paper and is snubbed by white radio, press.*

*Caught up in throes of poverty, small business, Hobson City style, seeks special anti-poverty loan to effect improvements.*

Negroes still must enter through side entrances, cannot use YMCA facilities in Anniston); the town has a swimming pool which "most of the time hasn't enough water in it for swimming."

Result: The youths have only one place to recreate themselves—at a local skating rink which is inadequate.

Last year, "at least" 25 young girls gave birth to babies out of wedlock. The annual average is quite similar, a city official told JET. "The youths simply have no place to go and just hang around the streets."

One dubious distinction which the city has is that the only school in Calhoun County for Negroes is situated there. There are between 900 and 1,000 Negro students overcrowded at Calhoun County Training School. There are 30 teachers. Many of the children are bused and, in the winter, they leave home before day and return home after dark.

The people "do what they can but the battle is hopeless unless wide-scale assistance is forthcoming. For many of the men there is nothing but the idleness of sitting around town and waiting, perhaps for fulfillment of dreams which are surely slipping even farther away.

Some of the men work in foundries in Anniston and

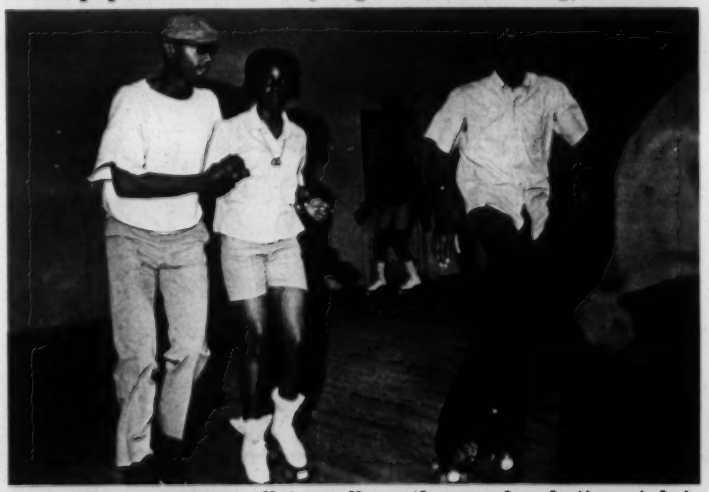
## Median Income Is Nearly $2,000 Below Poverty Level

some work at the military installations at Bynum or at Ft. McClellan. Some women work as domestics in white homes outside the community.

Hobson City Mayor Joseph R. Striplin indicated that he needs help from the anti-poverty program to attack his city's massive problems.

Accompanied by his national and regional aides, Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, recently held anti-poverty workshops in the Anniston-Hobson City area and, following the sessions, he declared that if the people of these communities were given the "tools," they could rehabilitate themselves.

Young called on the federal government to establish a special demonstration project out of the poverty conditions existing in Hobson City. Median per family income in the city is $1,128.20 annually. Less than ten per cent of the population have any high school training, and more



*Generally featuring wall-to-wall youths, creaky skating rink is lone recreational facility available for town's teens.*

*Pitching in to help, members gather about Welcome Chapel CME Church on Saturday to spruce up building for Sunday services.*

*Deserted mother of seven children stands barefoot with six of her brood on decayed porch of squalid house that lacks plumbing and electricity.*

## City Founded By Negroes 'Not Wanted' In Nearby Town

than 50 per cent are unemployed, according to Frank L. Stanley Jr. of the National Urban League.

The Anniston-Hobson City workshop sessions of the League were attended by 200 persons. It was one of a series which the League has held across the South. More are scheduled. A total of 88 per cent of those attending the Anniston-Hobson City workshop earn less than $3,000 a year, the present poverty-level definition.

Hobson City was founded by several Negroes in 1899 after officials of nearby Oxford reportedly said they did not want "colored people there." The several Negroes obtained a charter, City Clerk Ball explained, and started the city.

The town has some 240 buildings, including housing units and the few small businesses. Three years ago, Clerk Ball asserted, "city officials forced the residents to hook onto the sewage system. About 90 per cent of the homes now have proper sanitation.

Clerk Ball declared that the city gets no financial as-

*At public poverty workshop in Hobson City, Southern Regional official explains how relief under program can be attained.*

*Stanley (l) and NUL Executive Director Whitney Young Jr. converse with Hobson City delegation at Anniston, Ala., airport.*

## Urge Special Poverty War For Ignored Alabama City

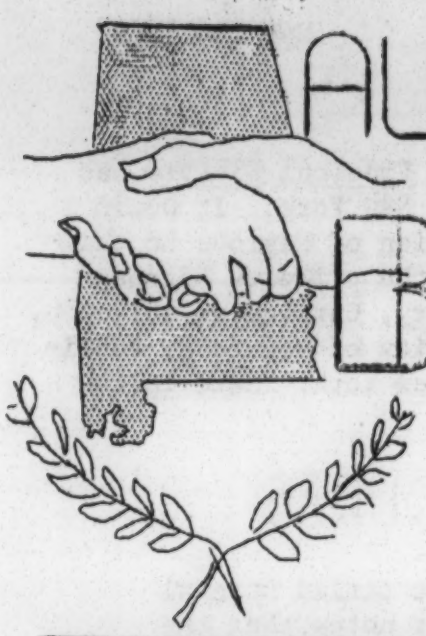
sistance from Calhoun County or from the federal government but reported that "twice a year, we get a $200 check from the ABC (state liquor authority). And that is about the sum and substance of any aid we get," she ended.

Mayor Striplin gets no invitations to join meetings of the state's mayors, is asked no advice either by neighboring community officials or those at the state or federal levels. The same goes for city councilmen and other town leaders.

Sixty-six years is a long time for any community to survive. But then add the elements of being treated by other officials and areas as non-existent, as Hobson City. In the fact of current living conditions, the solution lies in the programs which have been made possible by the federal anti-poverty program, to rehabilitate the individuals, and such additional programs as the Appalachia program to raise the physical condition of the city.

Otherwise, the hull of Hobson City, and its people, may disintegrate into a memory of another tragedy of segregation.

PAV
BPV
MM



# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

May 18, 1965

## STUDENT CONFAB

Attorney Charles (Chuck) Morgan told sixty-five students at a human relations conference in Birmingham that the injustice and prejudice which dominate Alabama leave them with only three choices: "(1) You can live here and do nothing--and accept full responsibility. (2) You can live here and fight it as much as you can for as long as you can. (3) You can move." He cited several examples of gross miscarriages of justice and told the students that they were probably unaware of the number of times they had been denied the privilege of seeing "controversial" television programs and reading accurate accounts of events in Alabama.

Morgan's subject was "Politics, Race and Irrationality." Three things, he said, will change the present state of affairs: (1) the achievement of voting rights by Negroes; (2) the achievement of justice; and (3) "constant, constant, constant pressure."

Morgan was speaking to an Alabama Student Human Relations Conference at the Bankhead Hotel in Birmingham. The one-day affair was held May 15, 1965. Called by an eleven-student committee of sponsors, it was sponsored jointly by the Southern Human Relations Project of the National Student Association and the Alabama Council on Human Relations. At least eleven colleges and universities were represented.

Other speakers were Dr. L. H. Pitts, President of Miles College, whose subject was "Education's Challenge to Alabama," and Mr. Kenneth Dean, Executive Director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. Mr. Dean, a Southern Baptist minister, spoke on "The Relevancy of the Church in the South's Revolution and Reconciliation." (The speech was not as bad as the title!)

The students engaged in seminars on the poverty program, Alabama politics, the 1964 Civil Rights Act (emphasis on Titles VI and VII), and Alabama education. Resource persons in the seminar groups, in addition to the speakers, were Dr. Stanley H. Smith, Professor of Social Science at Tuskegee Institute; Mr. Erskine Smith, Birmingham attorney and chairman of the Birmingham Area Committee for the Development of Economic Opportunity; and Mr. Louis L. Mitchell of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission.

The conference was planned at the urging of a considerable number of seniors from various campuses who were eager to "see something started" toward an intercollegiate council on human relations before they were graduated. Two non-seniors from each campus represented at this conference will form a steering committee to plan an organizational meeting for early fall.

## LOCAL COUNCIL NOTES

### REV. OLIVER LEAVING BIRMINGHAM

Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, president of the Birmingham Council, will leave Birmingham in early June, having accepted a call to serve as Pastor of the Bedford Central Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, New York. He is to be honored by the Birmingham Council at a dinner on Tuesday, May 25. Mr. Oliver is also president of the Inter-Citizens Committee, and in that capacity has worked extensively against police brutality in Alabama.

(Continued on Page 4)

# FOR STUDY GROUPS

An excellent and inexpensive text titled The Negro In American History has recently been published by the Board of Education, City of New York. It would be good for use by study groups. Shows that the contribution of Negroes to this country is something to command the respect of whites and the pride of Negroes. Price: $1.00 per copy. Order The Negro In American History, Curriculum Bulletin, 1964-65 Series, No. 4. From: Board of Education of the City of New York, Publications Sales Office, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn 1, New York. Make checks payable to "Auditor, Board of Education."

# DISCRIMINATION IN FEDERAL COURTS

Southern Regional Council has recently issued a report titled "Racial Discrimination in the Southern Federal Courts." The report notes that the federal court system in the South, "guided by the Supreme Court and the Courts of Appeals, has slowly demonstrated the ability of a frankly white-dominated institution to deal justly with the broad, crucial questions of race." But it observes that it is necessary to look at the racial composition of the courts themselves when you turn from matters of principle to the administration of justice to individuals.

According to this report, there are two Negro deputy U. S. Marshals in Alabama. There are no other Negroes appointed to or employed by any Federal judicatory having jurisdiction in Alabama, except in custodial, clerical and similar roles.

Here are the statistics for the whole South:

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICERS AND PERSONNEL
IN SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

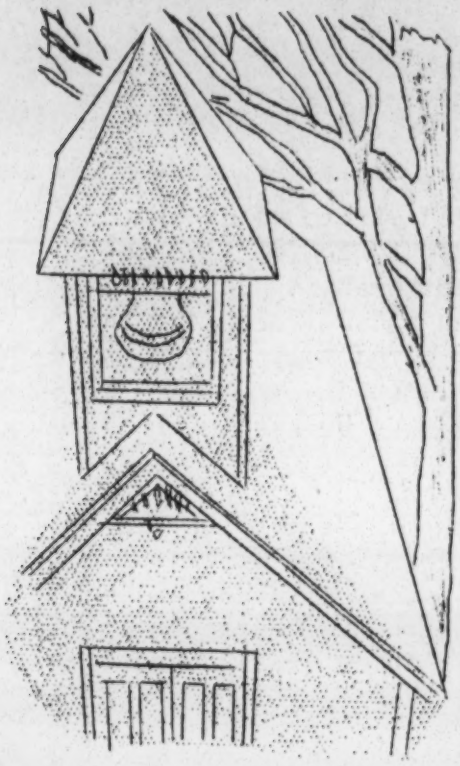
| | TOTAL | WHITE | NEGRO |
|---|---|---|---|
| Circuit Court Judges | 12* | 12 | 0 |
| District Court Judges | 65 | 65 | 0 |
| Referees in Bankruptcy | 55 | 55 | 0 |
| U. S. Commissioners | 253 | 253 | 0 |
| U. S. Clerks | 28 | 28 | 0 |
| Deputy U. S. Clerks | 321 | 321 | 0 |
| U. S. Attorneys | 29 | 29 | 0 |
| Assistant U. S. Attorneys | 158 | 153 | 5 |
| Jury Commissioners | 109 | 109 | 0 |
| U. S. Marshals | 29 | 29 | 0 |
| Deputy U. S. Marshals | 165 | 156 | 9 |
| Secretarial and Clerical | 364 | ** | ** |

*This is the number of judges of southern residence now serving on the 4th, 5th, 6th and 8th Circuits. The numbers respectively are 3, 7, 1 and 1.

**Exact number of Negroes not ascertainable. The number from observation is quite small.

SRC's concern about this problem had already been expressed in a resolution adopted by the Board of Directors at their annual meeting, and conveyed to the President. The resolution said in part:

> It is our strong conviction that only men of the highest professional competence and the fullest devotion to the declared principles of the Constitution should be charged with the judicial responsibility of enforcing Federal laws in the South. It is our further conviction that no appointment contrary to these qualifications however strongly urged by state or Congressional spokesmen, can satisfy the new politics of the South. In a situation where plain talk is desirable, we would report as plainly as we can that the progressive leadership of the South, both Negro and white, would find the appointment or promotion of any judge of well-authenticated segregationist views to be a severe blow to regional, national and democratic interests.



# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLANS

During the past month the Department of Health, Education and Welfare published a statement of policies for desegregation of schools under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In order to continue to receive federal money, school systems must desegregate at least four grades this fall, and must desegregate entirely by the fall of 1967. If a school system is not now desegregated, so that an Assurance of Compliance form could be given HEW (and no Alabama system is) and if it is not under a court approved desegregation plan, then a satisfactory plan of desegregation must be submitted to HEW by about June 30.

Three types of desegregation plans are being accepted: (1) geographic attendance areas, drawn without racial discrimination, with all children in a given area required to attend a designated school; (2) freedom of choice granted to and exercised by the pupil and his parents; (3) a combination of the two. At this writing twelve systems in Alabama have had their plans approved: Huntsville, Colbert County, Florence, Enterprise, Russellville, Tuscumbia, Muscle Shoals, Lauderdale County, Selma, Alexander City, Dothan and Tallassee.

All of the Alabama plans approved thus far (other than court-ordered ones) have been "freedom of choice" plans. The reason for this is probably that, under this plan, subtle (or not-so-subtle) community pressures and the force of habit will keep the number of Negroes choosing to attend formerly all-white schools to a minimum. However, the following from the HEW statement should be noted:

> *The responsibility to eliminate segregation rests with the school authorities and is not satisfied by rules and practices which shift the burden of removing discrimination to the class or classes of persons previously discriminated against.*

This seems to mean that, while a school system may use "freedom of choice" as a <u>means</u> by which to try to satisfy the requirements of the Civil Rights Act, the means must be effective. In 1967 and thereafter, it will be up to the local school board to satisfy HEW that they are not operating a dual school system. It is not up to parents to make them stop operating a dual school system.

Here are some of the cardinal points of HEW's policy with which all ACHRers should be familiar:

<u>Requirements which all desegregation plans must satisfy.</u>

(1) Provision must be made for desegregation of faculty and staff. Race of the pupils may not be a factor in determining assignments of teachers.

(2) Every plan must provide for the elimination of segregation in affiliated facilities, services, activities and programs--such as school buses and their routing.

(3) All plans must contain proposals for preparing pupils, teachers, staff personnel and the community for the changes.

(4) All plans shall provide for their publication "in a conspicuous manner in a newspaper having general circulation in the geographic area . . . reasonably in advance of the time for any action which may be taken by the pupils under the plan. All pupils and their parents must be given sufficient notice in time to enable them to take advantage of their rights to initial assignment, reassignment or transfer for the coming year.

<u>Additional requirements in "freedom of choice" plans.</u>

(1) "If overcrowding will result at a particular school from the choices made, initial assignment shall be made either by giving preference to the pupils residing closest to the school or on the basis of non-racial attendance zones. If no choice is made, they shall be assigned to the school nearest their homes or on the basis of non-racial attendance zones." Similarly, if a pupil asks for reassignment (for example, to a previously all-white school), and crowding of the school results, he is to be given preference over pupils who live farther from the school than he does.

(2) New residents shall be assigned to schools without regard to race, color or national origin.

(3) "The exercise of free choice shall not be restricted by transportation practices."

(Continued on Page 4)

LOCAL COUNCIL NOTES (Continued)

MUSCLE SHOALS COUNCIL SUCCESSFUL IN HOSPITAL DESEGREGATION

More than 100 persons attended the April meeting of the Muscle Shoals Council. Interest is at a high pitch because of a three-or-four-month effort to secure desegregation of local hospitals. Committees were appointed to confer with administrators and board members at Colbert County and Coffee Memorial Hospitals. Letters were written to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the Civil Rights Commission. As a result, Coffee Memorial has completely desegregated: what was the Negro ward has been converted to a pediatrics section, and the staff integrated in composition and assignments. Work on the Colbert Hospital situation continues.

A committee chosen to work on school desegregation has conferred with the superintendents of schools in all area cities and the two counties. It was discovered (before the announcement) that "freedom of choice" plans of desegregation were to be used. Groups of visitors have already toured Negro neighborhoods to explain to parents how their children may take advantage of their local desegregation plan.

EAST ALABAMA'S CULTURAL ENRICHMENT COMMITTEE ACTIVE

The "Cultural Enrichment Committee" of the East Alabama Council on Human Relations has staged a little theatre production of "Cinderella" in at least four schools in the area. They have also held art exhibits at four schools. Members of the committee, of which Mrs. Grace Hooks is chairman, have also been going to the various schools for story-telling sessions and after-school instruction in arts and crafts.

The council's "Literature Review Committee," of which Mr. Daniel T. Williams is chairman, has published an attractively mimeographed eleven-page booklet containing quotations on human relations and a bibliography of recent publications.

## ABOUT "NEW SOUTH"

*Members of ACHR are reminded that subscriptions to* New South, *the Southern Regional Council magazine, are no longer included in membership dues. This policy was adopted by the Board of Directors last October, at the request of the Southern Regional Council. If you wish to receive* New South, *you should send the subscription price of $2.50 to that publication, c/o Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia 30303. (NOTE: Unfortunately, issues of* New South *have not been coming out on time. The January and February issues were not mailed until early May. If you did not receive them, your subscription has expired.)*

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLANS (Continued)

(4) All notices respecting initial assignment, reassignment or transfer to or within schools shall (a) state simply and clearly what the pupil is entitled to do, (b) give the times, dates, and places at which parents may exercise their rights under the desegregation plan, (c) include an assurance that school personnel will neither favor nor penalize any pupil because of the choice he makes.

Please be advised that this brief article contains only some of the more important points of the policy set forth by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Copies of the full text have been ordered by ACHR and will be sent to the president and the chairman of the education committee in each local council. (The May issue of Southern School News also contains the full text.) Before filing any complaints you should study the full text.

The next two months are crucial in school desegregation. Keep informed. Be sure you know what your local school board's desegregation plan provides (if one is submitted). Be sure that there is a committee of your local council at work to check for compliance with the law, to inform the parents of pupils of desegregation provisions, to encourage transfers to closer or better schools, and to prepare the public for the changes to be made.

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Here is another simple (?) project for your local council. Schedule members to "monitor" all meetings of your city council and school board (especially important right now). These meetings are normally open to the public, but frequently without observers. Why not schedule one volunteer couple for each body each month and have them report at the next council meeting? The same could be done for Recorder's Court.

# ACHR APPLIES FOR "HEAD START" CENTERS

The Alabama Council on Human Relations has applied for a "Project Head Start" grant to operate nine child development centers in Lee and Colbert counties. The eight-week program of pre-school education, medical care, nutrition and social services will cost approximately $97,000. Our application is for about $83,000--the balance to be paid in contributed space and volunteer services.

If the application is approved, four of the centers will be sponsored by the East Alabama Council on Human Relations in two rural areas of Lee County. These will be located at Wacoochee Consolidated School, Smiths Grade School, Sandford High School, and Loochapoka School. Five centers will be sponsored by the Muscle Shoals Council on Human Relations. Two will be in Tuscumbia and three in Sheffield.

Plans are being made for 565 children. A total of 53 full-time professionals will be employed, including 47 teachers. There will be approximately 28 part-time employees. In addition, we shall need to recruit 75 volunteers. Employees and volunteers will be sought to the fullest extent possible among parents and other residents of the locales. But many will be needed from members and friends of the two councils.

DEVELOPMENT CENTERS ARE DESIGNED FOR CHILDREN FROM IMPOVERISHED FAMILIES

Project Head Start is a "crash" program of the Office of Economic Opportunity to accelerate the development of children from under-privileged homes who will enter the first grade next year. (No others are eligible.) Through play, story-telling, art activities, field trips conversation, and many other activities efforts will be made to increase verbal skills, social skills, manual dexterity, and to provide many of the ordinary experiences which our middle-class schools take for granted, but which many children have never had.

The program also emphasizes medical attention--including a thorough physical and dental examination for each child, a nutritional program which will include at least one good meal each day, and social services. The centers will be "in session for twenty hours each week. But teachers and other employees will use the remainder of the time in work with the families of the children.

Location of the centers was determined after investigation showed that applications had been made for comprehensive Head Start programs in all other places where we have local councils. Because ours was a "last minute" application, made to keep children in the two areas from missing the benefits of the project, it could not be processed in time to be approved with others from the state. We hope to receive approval soon.

# WRITE YOUR LEGISLATOR--RIGHT

With more than 300 bills already in the hoppers of the state legislature, this is a good time to remind our members of the value of expressing to their senators and representatives their opinion on the bills which interest them. Believe it or not, on many issues of vital importance very little mail or other expression of opinion is received by representatives in the state or national legislatures. If your opinion is not that of the majority, that is all the more reason to communicate with your senator or representative. Even if you are very sure that your man has a mind-set on a given issue, it may be possible to modify his position. Few politicians are impervious to thoughtful, well-informed expressions from their constituents. Below are a few pointers to use in writing letters or (in the case of state senators and representatives) calling or visiting.

1. Be sure you are well-informed. Then, write a reasoned letter, stating why you advocate your particular position. If you have personal experience on the matter, write about that. Acknowledge any problems or shortcomings in the legislation and state why you favor it anyway, or make suggestions for correction.

(Continued on Page 6)

WRITE YOUR LEGISLATOR--RIGHT (Continued)

2. The best times to write are while a bill is being considered by a house or senate committee and immediately after it is reported to the floor.

3. The letter should be brief and should deal with only one issue. If possible, refer to the accurate title and number of the bill.

4. Whenever possible, be positive. It might be difficult, but compliment the legislator on some recent action, vote, speech, etc. whenever you can. In fact, one of the most effective things you can do is to write letters of support, appreciation, and encouragement whenever a legislator or public officer makes a move in the right direction (whichever way you think that is). "Thank-you" letters are sort of rare, and therefore make an impression.

5. You can sometimes establish a regular correspondence with your senator or representatives (state or national). If you would like a personal response, ask a thoughtful question about the issue. You might conclude, "I am concerned to know what your present opinion is on this bill" or "Can I count on your support regarding this vital matter?"

Letters to U. S. Senators or Congressmen should use the following forms of address:

The Honorable _____ __. _____
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20002

Dear Senator _____:

The Honorable _____ __. _____
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20003

Dear Mr. _____:

State senators and representatives may be addressed in similar fashion and the letters sent to State Capitol, Montgomery, Alabama, or to the home address or office of the legislator. (We will send local address of any legislator on request.) Listed below are the names of state senators and representatives from counties in which most ACHR members reside.

STATE SENATORS

Lauderdale, Limestone: James E. Horton, Jr. Madison: Roscoe O. Roberts, Jr.
Talladega: Bill Nichols. Tuscaloosa: William C. McCain.
Jefferson: Lawrence Dumas. Macon, Bullock: Ed Reynolds.
Lee Russell: Joseph W. Smith. Montgomery: Vaughan H. Robison.
Colbert, Franklin, Marion: W. Emmett Oden.
Mobile: John M. Tyson.

STATE REPRESENTATIVES

Colbert: Berry L. Cantrell. Jefferson: George L. Bailes, Jr., Barron Bathea, Malcom Bethea, Quinton R. Bowers, Norman K. Brown, Donald L. Collins, Richard Dominick, Foster B. Etheredge, Eddie H. Gilmore, John H. Hawkins, Hugh A. Locke, Jr. J. Paul Meeks, Jr., Hugh Morrow, III, Walter E. Perry, Jr., Holt Rast, Tram Sessions Paschal P. Vacca. Lauderdale: Chester Boston, W. C. Hannah. Lee: Pete B. Turnhar Macon: Andrew J. Cooper. Madison: N. L. Reynolds, James W. Baker, Harry L. Pennington. Mobile: William H. Dermott, Mylan R. Engel, C. M. A. Rogers, III, Clara Stone Collins, Robert S. Edington, Coy Smith, Elwood L. Hogan, Maurice A. Downing. Montgomery: Alfred W. Goldthwaite, O. J. Goodwyn, Tandy D. Little, Jr., J. J. Pierce. Talladega: Lyndol Bolton, Ashley L. Camp, Jr. Tuscaloosa: A. K. Callahan, William D. Campbell, Jr., Ralph D. Brown.

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APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W. Huntsville, Alabama 35805

I would like to lend my support to the program of the Council by becoming:

1. A Single Member ($5.00) . . . . . ( ) New ( ) Renewal ( )
2. A Joint Member, Husband and Wife ($8.00) .( ) Check enclosed ( )
3. A Student Member ($3.00) . . . . . ( ) Cash enclosed ( )
4. A Contributor ($ ) . . . . . .( ) Bill me ( )

Name_____ Address_____

City_____ Zip Code_____ County_____

Occupation_____ Date_____

Ala. Newsletters

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# TCHR

# NEWSLETTER

May, 1965

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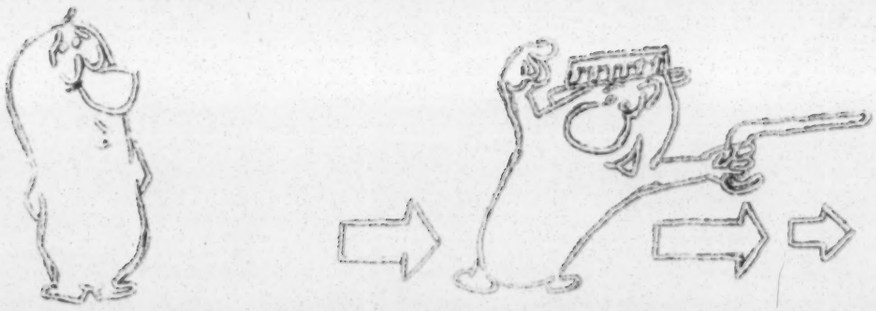
## ANNOUNCEMENT

The next meeting of the Tuscaloosa Council on Human Relations will be June 17, at the Alabama Power Company Auditorium at 7:30.

Many organizations disband in the summer because of the difficulty in getting people to attend meetings. We are not that kind of organization. In the summer many sacrifice time, money, safety and even more.

Come -- and bring at least one person who has not come before.



THE MAY MEETING

The May meeting of the Tuscaloosa Council on Human Relations was the best attended meeting to date: almost 100 people attended. The guest speaker was to be Rev. C. T. Vivian who could not attend however because of other duties which came up unexpectedly. However, in his place Rev. T. Y. Rogers of Tuscaloosa came and discussed a proposed tutorial program for Tuscaloosa. More about this at the June meeting.

Ed Stanfield, the state director of ACHR came to the meeting to tell us about the statewide HEADSTART project. This is a cultural enrichment program. Seventy-five per cent of the families participating are impoverished based on a federal definition. The Alabama Council on Human Relations was asked to participate in these programs where a county could not demonstrate compliance with the civil rights act and allow its participation in further headstart. Principally, Headstart attempts to focus on medical care and cultural enrichment of youngsters before they attend school. Additionally, a large scale nutritional program is arranged. The vast majority of the time is, however, spent in an enrichment program to prepare the youngster for school. Many social service agencies are essential to this program.

In Tuscaloosa, it was reported by another speaker, the city schools are trying to establish a Headstart program for 280 children. Additionally, the university Headstart training program has been approved to train people who in turn will train volunteers starting June 14. This program at the university will last one week and then the people will return to their

home towns all over the Southeast to start the project.

The Task Force on Federal Programs reported on various actions that it might take. It suggested for example that it become a clearing house for complaints in the community and secondly, that it would investigate complaints. The point was made by members of the audience that the complaints should be of significance and not minor points.

VISION

Our guest speaker, Rev. T. Y. Rogers, spoke of the tutorial program entitled, VISION. It is an attempt to prepare high school students for college entrance, to bring them up to their age levels in terms of intellectual functioning, to make them aware of the advantages of learning, and to prepare them for education in general. This is being sponsored by the St. Louis Council on Religion and Race through the SCLC chapters in Alabama. Students who are in grades 9 through 12 who desire a college education are able to participate in this program. Tutors will be provided in Tuscaloosa under the supervision of capable professors and teachers. There will be a one week orientation program for the staff, which will be integrated. The curriculum is to be established by the professor but will be taught by the tutors. Additionally, it was brought up at this meeting that it would be good if people from the University and Stillman College participated in this program in an effort to show community support.

## HISTORIC FIRST

At the commencement of the University of Alabama, Miss Vivian Malone was awarded her Bachelor's degree. This was done quietly and in the best of academic spirits. It should be noted that Miss Malone has compiled a distinguished academic record and has become an accepted figure on campus. She has managed herself well and has been a source of inspiration for members of her own race and to the general student body at the University of Alabama. Our very best wishes go to this young woman for a very fine future.

## SOCIAL SERVICE CLUB

On May 6, members of the Steering Committee of the Tuscaloosa Council on Human Relations presented a program to the monthly meeting of the Social Club. The Social Service Club includes the directors of most of the education, health, recreation and Social Service Agencies in Tuscaloosa. By unanimous agreement the club invited several Negro agency personnel to become members, and invited them to attend the May 6 meeting. The new members attended, as did the largest number of old members ever seen at one of the monthly luncheon meetings. We should congratulate the Social Service Club for their quiet lowering of old barriers.

THE NEXT MEETING OF THE TUSCALOOSA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS WILL BE JUNE 17, AT THE ALABAMA POWER COMPANY AT 7:30

MEMBERSHIP

Are you a member? You are not unless you have filled out an application like the one below. Will you join us-- do it now, while you have an application handy. Just fill out the form and mail it to the address shown, or to:

T C H R
P. O. Box 6142
University, Alabama

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APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 Governors Drive, S. W. Huntsville, Alabama

YES, I am for the principles and aims of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and I would like to lend my support to the 1965 program of the Council by becoming:

A Single Member ($5.00).....( ) New ( ) Renewal ( )
A Joint Member, Husband & Wife ($8.00)..( ) Check enclosed...( )
A Student Member ($3.00).....( ) Cash enclosed....( )
A Contributor ($ ).....( ) Bill me.....( )

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ CITY _____

ZIP CODE _____ COUNTY _____

OCCUPATION _____ DATE _____

NOTES: Memberships and contributions to ACHR are Federal Income Tax deductible. We would like to have as many members as possible.

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# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

June 18, 1965

## ENTERPRISE-COFFEE COUNTY GROUP FORMING

About two dozen citizens of Enterprise, Alabama, have had their first meeting in preparation for formal organization of a council on human relations in Enterprise and Coffee County. This initial meeting was held in the Enterprise city hall on June 9th.

Temporary officers were elected and were asked to serve as the constitution committee to draw up a formal statement of purpose and a set of by-laws. The Rev. J. L. Nutt, Rector of the Episcopal Church, was elected temporary chairman. Mr. Bernest Brooks was elected temporary vice-chairman. Mrs. Schuyler L. Mathews was elected temporary secretary, and Mrs. Brooks, temporary treasurer.

Following brief remarks by Rev. Nutt, Mr. Brooks, and Ed Stanfield, those present discussed the purposes of the proposed organization and also the specific objectives. The promotion of inter-racial understanding and the promotion of equal job opportunity were the two objectives most often mentioned. Some members of the group had already had a meeting with Miss Jean Fairfax of the American Friends Service Committee to familiarize themselves with the nuances of the local school desegregation plan.

Several of those attending expressed the feeling that just the existence of a council on human relations in Coffee County would go a long way toward promoting understanding. Except on the post at Fort Rucker, there is little opportunity for two-way communication in the area.

In an effort to establish from the start a good working relationship with city officials, both the Mayor and the Chief of Police were invited. Neither was able to attend, but a meeting room in the city hall was made available to the group. Four members of the police force did attend briefly at the start of the meeting.

## HEAD START PROGRAM AMENDED

Plans to operate five Head Start centers under the sponsorship of the Muscle Shoals Council have had to be scrapped, but the East Alabama Council is to open four centers in Lee County at the end of this month. This will reduce the net grant to the Alabama Council on Human Relations for Head Start centers from $83,000 to approximately $38,000.

Mrs. William D. Spears of Auburn is the superintendent for the Lee County centers, which will be located at Smiths Grade School, Sandford High, Loachapoka, and Wacoochee. Governor Wallace has waived the thirty-day period during which he may veto the proposal under the law. The teachers are to begin a week of training at Tuskegee on June 21, and the centers will open the following week.

About 200 children are expected to be enrolled. All will be in the first grade this fall. There will be buses to transport them to and from the centers. Each will receive a medical examination. There will be a nutrition program. And lots of individual attention from some 15 teachers and 30 paid and volunteer assistants.

Plans for the five centers in Sheffield and Tuscumbia had to be abandoned when it proved impossible to obtain the cooperation of the two school boards. ACHR's application for centers in these two cities was made just before the deadline when

(Continued on Page 2)

HEAD START PROGRAMS AMENDED (Continued from Page 1)

it was discovered that the two school boards had made no provision for Project Head Start. It was hoped that they would at least allow use of some of the school buildings. This proved not to be the case, however.

In addition, it was Governor Wallace's policy to approve Head Start programs for which the applicant agency could secure the approval of the probate judge of the county in which they were to be located. Judge Hale of Colbert County took the position that he could not approve a program unless the appropriate school superintendent okayed it. Since Superintendent Brewster opposed our use of the school buildings, it became very doubtful that he would have approved our operating centers elsewhere. At any rate, the matter had become so involved and the time so short that the executive director thought it best to cancel that part of the program.

## MEMBERSHIP TOPS 900

As of June 15, the dues-paid membership of the Alabama Council on Human Relations had grown to 931!! This represents an increase of nearly 200% over last year!! And there is a significant number of friends who, we are sure, intend to be members and think of themselves as members (some of them--oh, horror!--are even on the board of directors!), but who for reasons shrouded in inscrutable mystery have neglected to pay their dues. Yet.

With just a little effort, we could exceed 1,000 members for the first time in the history of ACHR! Besides the thrill of it all, it could win us SRC's George Mitchell Award for the state council having the largest percentage increase in membership for the year. The award amounts to $1,000.

So use the application form on the last page, if your renewal is overdue. And enlist a friend.

## LOCAL COUNCIL NOTES

### EAST ALABAMA HEARS RICHMOND FLOWERS

At the meeting of the East Alabama Council on Human Relations on June 3, about 200 persons heard Attorney General Richmond Flowers speak on civil rights problems and politics in Alabama. The large number of people attended the meeting, which was held at the Episcopal Church in Tuskegee, despite a last-minute change in date to accommodate the speaker. The next meeting is scheduled for September. Many of the members will be hard at work on Project Head Start during the summer, of course.

### MOBILE COUNCIL ELECTS NEW OFFICERS

The Mobile Council on Human Relations has elected new officers as follows: Mrs. Roberta Williams, President; Rev. Powers McLeod, Vice President, Rev. A. S. Foley, S. J., Secretary; Mr. Arthur Whitfield, Treasurer.

In addition, chairmen have been appointed for all of the areas of concern (employment, housing, voting, etc.) as requested by the ACHR executive committee.

### VOLUNTEER WORKER AT MOBILE

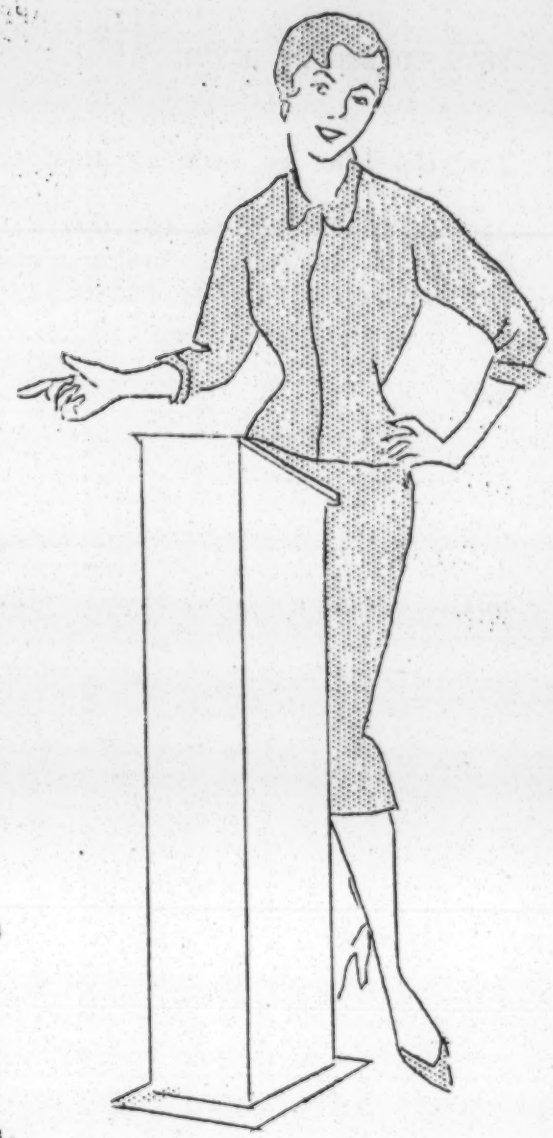
Mr. Will Turner, a veteran of the Peace Corps, is working with the Mobile Council for five weeks as a volunteer. Will was with the Peace Corps for two years, stationed in Togo, West Africa. He is a native of North Carolina and a graduate student (mathematics) at the University of North Carolina.

### TUSCALOOSA COUNCIL WORKING QUIETLY, EFFECTIVELY

On May 6, members of the Steering Committee of the Tuscaloosa Council on Human Relations presented a program to the monthly meeting of the Social Club. This club

(Continued on Page 3)

# WOMEN'S CONFERENCE



"Women of both races now are making history which will stand out later as great. The old myth that woman's place is only in the home has been exploded. The home has burst its bonds. It has become the city, the state, the world. Woman's place today is every place."

The speaker was Mrs. Esther Peterson, Assistant Secretary of Labor for Labor Standards. The occasion was a conference for women at Tuskegee Institute, sponsored jointly by the Southern Regional Council, the Alabama Council on Human Relations, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The conference was held on May 22, and had as its theme, "Communication and Community--Building the New Alabama Image." It was attended by 150 women and a few men (who were not discriminated against).

Mrs. Peterson, who is also special assistant to the president for consumer affairs, told her audience that the new Alabama will come about through the efforts of educated, committed citizens who "keep their eyes on the good old ballot box." The answer, she said, is through men and women of both races who will involve themselves in American life and commit themselves to one another as human being. People must be educated and informed of their power as voters, purchasers, and human beings, she said.

Mrs. Peterson emphasized consumer education as well as political education. "The poor do pay more," she said. "The people who have least must pay most for their purchases. Silver-tongued, glib people take advantage of them."

Other speakers included Mrs. Velma Strode of the Community Relations Service and Miss Mary Grice of the Office of Economic Opportunity, who told the conferees of the government resources available through their agencies for anyone working to improve inter-group relations and economic conditions. A panel on the role of the churches was composed of Rabbi Irving Bloom, Dr. Powers McLeod, and Bishop William M. Smith, all of Mobile.

There were workshops on "The Synagogue and Church," "Education," "Civic and Professional Organizations," and "Politics."

Most of the planning for the conference was done by Mrs. M. E. Tilly of the Southern Regional Council, who is familiar to many women throughout the South as the moving spirit of "The Fellowship of the Concerned," and by Mrs. Luther H. Foster, who represented the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and presided at the sessions.

LOCAL COUNCIL NOTES (Continued from Page 2)

TUSCALOOSA COUNCIL WORKING QUIETLY, EFFECTIVELY (Continued)

includes the directors of most of the education, health, recreation and social service agencies in Tuscaloosa. By unamimous agreement, the club invited several Negro agency personnel to become members, and invited them to attend the May 6 meeting. The new members attended, as did the largest number of the old members ever seen at one of the monthly luncheon meetings.

At the May meeting of the Tuscaloosa Council, Rev. T. Y. Rogers told nearly 100 members about "VISION"--a tutorial project being conducted by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in ten Alabama cities this summer. Sponsored jointly with the St. Louis Council on Religion and Race, VISION will bring ten professors to Alabama to supervise one hundred college students in tutoring Negro high school students who desire to go to college.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, S. W. HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA 35805

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2. A Joint Member, Husband and Wife ($8.00) ( ) Check enclosed ( )
3. A Student Member ($3.00) ( ) Cash enclosed ( )
4. A Contributor ($ ) ( ) Bill me ( )

NAME_____ ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZIP CODE_____ COUNTY_____

OCCUPATION_____ DATE_____

NOTE: Memberships and contributions to ACHR are Federal Income Tax deductible.

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# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

July 20, 1965

## WELCH TO MOVE TO ATLANTA

Nat Welch, president of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, has announced that he will move his office and family from Auburn to Atlanta in late August. Nat tendered his resignation to the executive committee, but he was asked to continue as president until the annual meeting in February and he agreed to do so.

Nat is Federal Representative to the Southern Interstate Nuclear Board, which has offices in Atlanta. (Much of his travel is between Atlanta and Washington, which is a major reason for his move.) He is also a member of the National Citizens Committee for Community Relations.

Nat's association precedes the formal organization of ACHR in 1955. In 1951, he served as a member of the Executive Committee, Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council, predecessor of ACHR. He has served on our Board of Directors since 1959. He was Treasurer from 1960 through 1963, and became a Vice President in 1964. It was only last January that he was elected President.

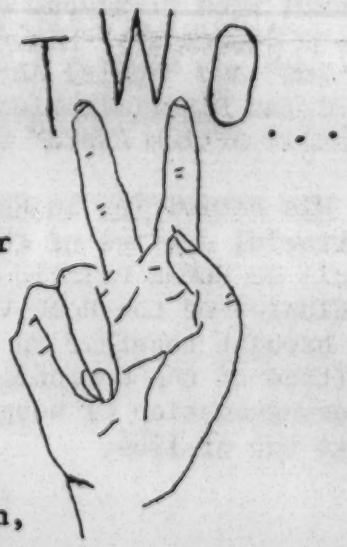
Mrs. Welch ("Gloria") is no mean citizen herself. She is a charter member of the Auburn League of Women Voters. She has served as president of the local League and is now on the board of the state organization.

On July 4, 1965, The Birmingham News editorialized:

> The Lee County Bulletin has reported an impending loss of one of Auburn's good citizens. Nat Welch . . . will become an Atlanta resident late in the summer . . . .
>
> Mr. Welch has been a useful citizen in many ways, some reported, some not. He . . . is a member of the National Citizens Committee for Community Relations; as such he has been a very useful contributor to federal understanding in Southern meeting of civil rights problems. He is also president of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, which similarly has worked for better understanding of some very tough problems.
>
> Mr. Welch has also been a worker for better state-federal relations, a chore which he performed well and in tangible benefit to Alabama. He is the kind of citizen a state suffers from losing.

## ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR NAMED

We are happy to announce that Mr. Robert S. Valder has been employed as our Associate Director for a period of one year. He reports for duty August 1.




Bob comes to us as an "Eleanor Roosevelt Intern in Human Relations" under a program designed to develop professional leadership in the field. Financed by the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation, the program is administered by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO), which will pay half of Bob's salary.

Valder was born in South Dakota but considers himself an Iowan. For the past five years he has lived and worked in New Orleans. He is married to the former Janice Fox ("--as in clever," says Bob) and they have two children, Stephen, 2, and Patrick, 10 months.

(Continued on Page 2)

# A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

Dear friends:

This has been a great year for the Alabama Council . . . our greatest, I think. Two tangible yardsticks are our record membership and our all-time-high budget. We are fortunate in having an able Executive Director, Ed Stanfield. And now--for the first time--we have a second man on the staff. We welcome Robert Valder, an Eleanor Roosevelt human relations intern, as Ed's full time associate for a year.

*Our organization has emerged as one we can all be proud of.* In years past ACHR has been a small organization of kindred spirits who met together to console each other. My greatest exhiliration has been to see us this year break out of this small shell into a vibrant and dynamic group. This "break-out" has resulted in the involvement of many bright and dedicated people. We old-timers welcome you virile and able newcomers. No longer is ACHR an underground organization. We are an organization of public record, one which outstanding leaders like Governor Collins, Attorney General Flowers, and Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Peterson are willing to speak to with reporters welcomed. This is a source of great satisfaction to each one of us, I am sure.

*ACHR has become a working organization.* Recently from our able staff have come these important projects . . . an intercollegiate conference in Birmingham, the Conference for Women in Tuskegee, effective mailings to hundreds of leaders in Alabama, and our "30 Days of Great Progress" appeal carried by the state press in April.

*We have become "doers" at the local level* . . . 200 kids in four Project Head Start schools in Lee County, the Tri-Cities chapter leading the way for hospital and school desegregation in their area, the desegregation and presentation of the first integrated program for the Tuscaloosa Social Service Club, and the Cultural Enrichment Program in the Macon County rural schools.

One of my tenets is this. When you get up and start leading on a moral issue where you are right . . . people will willingly and enthusiastically follow. You have shown such leadership. I congratulate you!

Sincerely,
Nat Welch

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR NAMED (Continued from Page 1)

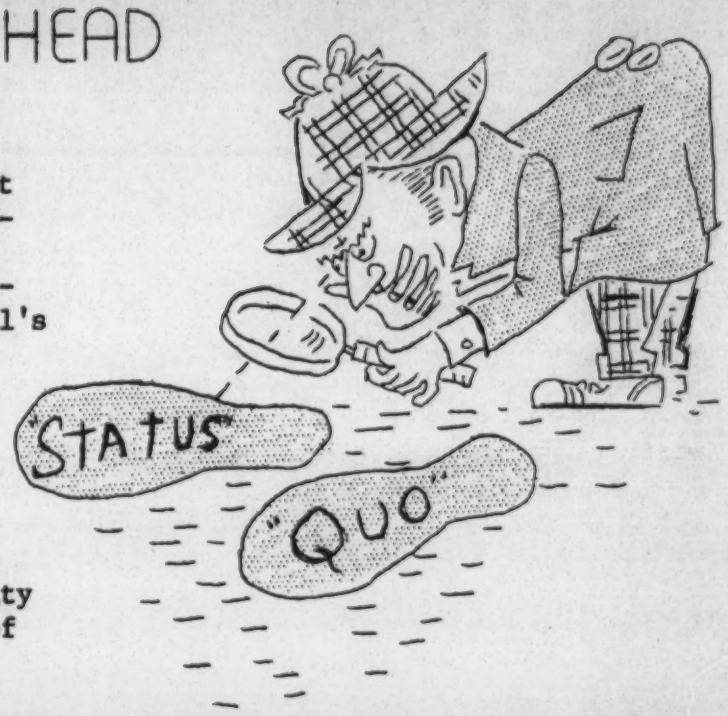
Bob arrives with an impressive record. He received his B. A. degree from Loras College, Dubuque, Iowa, in 1960. He has a major in American History and minors in English, Education and Philosophy. He has attended night school at Tulane University and Loyola University and summer school at the University of Minnesota. Altogether he has 14 post-graduate hours in law and 12 in sociology.

He taught for two years at Xavier University Preparatory School and three years at St. Augustine High School, both in New Orleans. His "summer job experience" includes laborer in a cheese factory, maintenance man in a high school, two summers as a carpenter, one as a cookware salesman, and two as a taxi driver.

Valder is experienced in the human relations field. In college he served as National Vice President of Social Action Affairs (National Federation of Catholic College Students). His duties included the writing of two booklets concerning the "Sit-ins" and "Social Action," and direction of the writing of five other booklets, all titled Discrimination Today in the U. S. A. As a senior he received the annual "Catholic Action Award" and was in Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities.

His activities in New Orleans included: Chairmanship of the Committee on Interracial Justice of the New Orleans Adult Sodality; work with the Coordinating Council on Human Relations on various projects, including voter registration; coordinator of the Home Visit Program for two years--by which whites and Negroes were brought together in homes for frank discussions; and chairmanship of the committee of the Community Relations Council of Greater New Orleans which worked for desegregation of hospitals and other institutions under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

# DISCRIMINATION IN "HEAD START" INVESTIGATED




Results of a survey of 14 Head Start programs in Alabama show that racial discrimination in the government-sponsored anti-poverty effort is widespread. A 12-page report issued by the Alabama Council's executive director on July 13 indicated that racial considerations particularly affected the ways in which teachers and other staff members were selected and assigned to centers.

The inquiry was directed to 14 programs being operated by city and county school systems in Alabama. Only seven of the 14 have a biracial staff at any of their centers; only two of those seven have Negroes on the staff of a "white" center; and those two have a total of four Negro "aides" working in white centers. The other five of the seven programs which had any sort of biracial staff at any center accomplished this by assigning two or three white teachers and aides to Negro centers.

Project Head Start regulations clearly stated, "Both professional and non-professional staff must also be recruited, selected, and assigned without regard to race, color, creed or national origin."

All of the approximately 60 centers covered by the 14 programs were technically "open" to children of either race, but only six actually had Negro children enrolled with white children.

Huntsville, Madison County, Opelika, and Russellville have no Negro children enrolled with whites and no biracial staff at any center. Decatur, Muscle Shoals, and Russell County have some Negro children in white centers, but no biracial staff. Enterprise, Lauderdale County, Phenix City and Tuscaloosa have some integration of staff, but none among the children. (In Tuscaloosa and Enterprise centers were located in Negro schools only and ho whites enrolled.) Auburn, Florence and Colbert County have the least discrimination. Each of these systems has at least a few Negro children enrolled in white centers and at least one biracial staff.

The report points out that the school boards whose programs were canvassed may be considered "among the least recalcitrant in Alabama in the matter of school desegregation." All but three of them are among the 35 school boards in the state which have had desegregation plans approved by the U. S. Office of Education.

Attempts by school officials in Tuscaloosa and Huntsville to discredit this report by the Alabama Council on Human Relations were widely reported in the press. The only inaccuracy discovered so far, however, was a misunderstanding of the enrollment figures in Tuscaloosa.

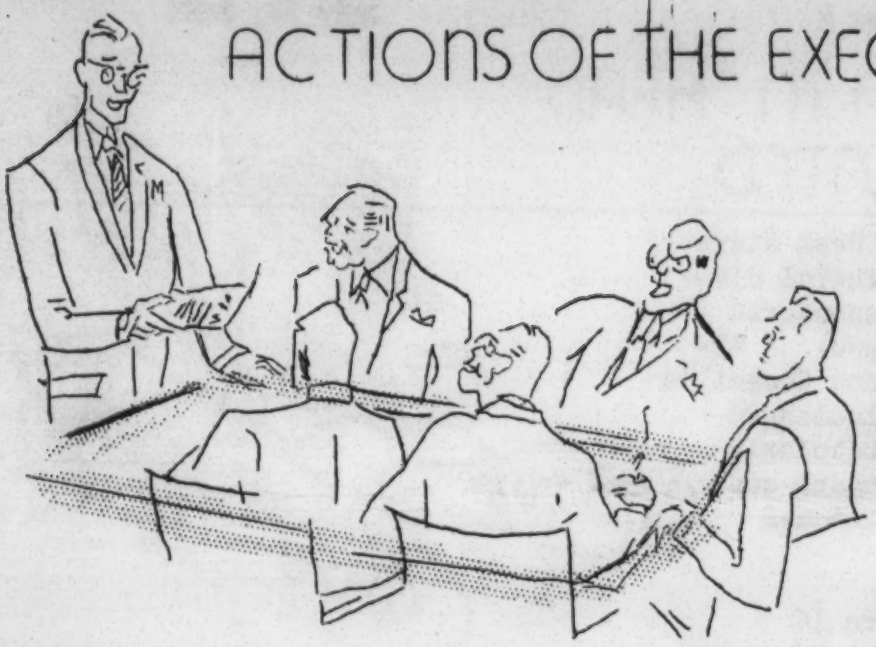
# LOCAL COUNCIL NOTES

## WORK ON EMPLOYMENT IN MOBILE

Mr. Wilfred Turner, a graduate student at the University of North Carolina and a Peace Corps veteran, donated his services for five weeks to help the Mobile Council begin a project on employment. Will left to return to school on July 13.

With the help of members of the Mobile Council, Will mimeographed a summary of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and a list of Mobile companies which employ 100 persons or more (compiled from Industrial Alabama, Alabama Chamber of Commerce). A list of Negro substitute teachers was obtained, on the theory that this is a likely source of qualified applicants for jobs in categories just being opened to Negroes under Title VII. Will then visited the substitute teachers to discuss the possibility with them. The Mobile Council plans a follow-up and continuation of this project. (Which seems like a good one for other councils, too.)

# ACTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE



The executive committee of ACHR's Board of Directors met at the Bankhead Hotel in Birmingham on June 26. In addition to the actions already reported elsewhere in this issue of the bulletin, relative to Nat Welch's moving and the employment of Mr. Valder, the committee took the following actions:

(1) Adopted a quarterly report which told of ACHR's growth in membership (954 as of the end of June) and program activity (see Nat Welch's letter to the membership, page 2).

(2) Adopted the following policy concerning membership dues: "On and after June 1 of each year, new members (only) may join the Alabama Council on Human Relations for the remainder of the calendar year for one-half the annual membership dues. Refunds to local councils shall be reduced proportionately. On and after October 1 of each year, annual dues paid shall be good for the following calendar year."

(3) Urged local councils to try to organize carefully and immediately in their respective communities, in cooperation with other groups, to secure maximum utilization of the provisions of local school desegregation plans this fall. The committee also urged that local council members offer their assistance to Negro leaders in surrounding counties and towns and recommended use of a "School Desegregation Kit" (how-to-do-it) obtainable from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia or the ACHR office.

The executive committee also took several other actions of a somewhat confidential nature. There will be a meeting of the full Board of Directors on Saturday, September 25.

LOCAL COUNCIL NOTES (Continued)

TUSCALOOSA COUNCIL WORKING ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

There were about 50 members present for the June meeting of the Tuscaloosa Council on the 17th. Dr. Al Nelson, a sociologist who has been active in local civil rights work, gave a talk on "What to Do When the Demonstrations Are Over."

During the past month, the Tuscaloosa group's education committee has been working with the school board on plans for school desegregation this fall. The group also did some work on Project Head Start, attempting to find white children to enroll in the centers (both of which are located in Negro schools).

* * * *

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, S. W. HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA 35805

I would like to lend my support to the program of the Council by becoming:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. A Single Member ($5.00) | ( ) | New ( ) Renewal | ( ) |
| 2. A Joint Member, Husband and Wife ($8.00) | ( ) | Check enclosed | ( ) |
| 3. A Student Member ($3.00) | ( ) | Cash enclosed | ( ) |
| 4. A Contributor ($ ) | ( ) | Bill me | ( ) |

NAME_____ ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZIPCODE_____ COUNTY_____

OCCUPATION _____ DATE_____

NOTE: Memberships and contributions to ACHR are Federal Income Tax deductible.

LBC
MM

COUNCIL NEWS

THE MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — Mobile, Alabama

Mrs. Roberta Williams, President
Mrs. George Lamb, Editor

Vol. 1, No. 1
July, 1965

## MEETING

| | |
|---|---|
| 7:30, July 27 | Mt. Olive Baptist Church<br>409 Lexington Avenue |
| Topic: | Equal Employment under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 |
| Speaker: | Mr. Earl Jackson, field worker for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund |

"WE DON'T HAVE TO ARGUE ANYMORE: NOW WE HAVE A LAW"

This comment summarized the feeling of Board members at the July Board meeting. Title Seven of the Civil Rights Act was under discussion. Contributing to community efforts to give meaning to these words is a most obvious and important direction for Council activities. The government has given us a tool to use in obtaining equal employment opportunity but, like any other tool, it won't work by itself -- we must work to make it work.

We have a wonderful start as a result of the work of Mr. Will Turner, a graduate student at the University of North Carolina who contributed a month of his vacation to the Mobile Council. Mr. Turner first compiled a list of all the companies in Mobile County hiring 100 or more employees. These businesses are now covered under Title VII and they should be the primary targets for those seeking employment at this time. 500 copies of this list have been mimeographed and distributed.

With the help of Mr. Will Franklin, Mr. Turner then made a list of Negro substitute teachers. This list represented a group of trained, educated men and women who might be interested in full-time employment, perhaps in areas other then teaching. 129 people were interviewed by Mr. Turner, informed of the provisions of Title VII, and given a copy of the list of companies hiring 100 or more people. From these interviews Mr. Turner made a card catalog showing the names, addresses and qualifications of each person interviewed. The Mobile Council can now provide a list of qualified people to employers seeking to comply with the new law.

WHAT NEXT? Our next step will be a survey of the businesses on our list. We need to learn from each company:

1. Which jobs have the highest employment turnover and therefore where job openings are most apt to occur;

2. What are the qualifications for these jobs.

WHAT CAN YOU DO? There are 53 firms on our list. Each one must be visited during regular business hours by a team of two or three Council members. This is a large project for the Mobile Council and we need your help. If you have any free time during the day which you would be willing to contribute please call our Employment Chairman, Dr. R. W. Gilliard, at 433-3104 or 473-6035.

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MARK YOUR CALENDAR

From now on Council meetings will be held on the fourth Tuesday of every month. Through the kindness and cooperation of Dr. A.J. Stokes and his congregation we also have a regular meeting place -- the Mt. Olive Baptist Church. Plan now to reserve the fourth Tuesday each month for the Council.

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COMMITTEES

Committees are now being formed to work in areas of particular interest to the Council as well as to attend to regular organization business and each Council member will be assigned a committee on which to serve. If you have a committee preference please telephone the chairman of that committee so that you may be assigned to the committee of your choice.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Education | Mrs. Joan Sage | 342-1531 |
| Employment | Dr. R.W. Gilliard | 473-6035 |
| Health and Hospitals | Rev. John W.B. Thompson | 479-7240 |
| Housing | Mr. Ernest Freeman | 433-8651 |
| Federal Programs - Title 6 | Rev. A.S. Foley, S.J. | 342-1531 |
| Local Government | Mr. Clarence Montgomery | 433-6481 |
| Police Practices and Law Enforcement | Mr. John Milton | 457-2101 |
| Voter Registration and Voter Education | Dr. A.J. Stokes | 473-3220 |
| Membership | Mrs. Kathleen Wood | 342-5627 |
| Newsletter | Mrs. Joan Lamb | 344-0030 |
| Finance | Mr. Arthur Whitfield | 478-1779 |

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INFORMATION WANTED

If you have information at any time concerning local discriminatory practices, you are asked to pass this information on to the chairman of the appropriate committee. Equally important, you are also asked to report any information you may have on new non-discriminatory practices so that we may keep our members informed of the good that is happening as well as taking action against the bad.

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CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Although it no longer rates as real news, perhaps some Council members have not heard that the Mobile Chamber of Commerce is now accepting Negro memberships. We congratulate the Chamber for this.

# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

August 20, 1965

## "SOUTHERN COURIER" BEGUN

The Southern Courier, a weekly newspaper primarily for Alabama and concentrating on the civil rights struggle, began publication in Atlanta, July 15.

A six-page newspaper with one full page of photographs, the Courier will be distributed mostly in Alabama by newsboys going door-to-door and through news stand sales. Subscriptions are $6 per year. Single copies are ten cents.

The paper is staffed by a competent staff of young journalists and is strictly professional in quality (if we may be permitted an un-journalistic subjectivism!). Most are from Harvard, but some are from other schools. The editor is Mr. Michael Lottman, who was graduated from Harvard in 1962, and has worked for three years as a reporter for the Chicago Daily News. He is on a six-month leave of absence from the Daily News.

Much of the credit for starting The Southern Courier goes to Pete Cummings, a Harvard senior who is taking a year out from his studies to work for the Courier. Cummings was a reporter for The Harvard Crimson in Mississippi last summer. Some of the civil rights workers urged him to "start a little paper in the Mississippi Delta this fall that will be fair to us." He didn't. But the beginning of the Courier this summer is the result.

The paper was started with the active help of Dean John U. Monro and Professor Mark De Wolfe Howe, both of the Harvard Law School.

The staff conscientiously follow instructions to interview members of the "white power structure" as well as civil rights workers in reporting racial difficulties. The prospectus for the paper said, "it is our hope that we can have more thorough coverage and wider circulation than the few Southern newspapers which now report racial news accurately."

All on the staff of seventeen persons are between the ages of 19 and 23. Nine reporters are assigned to Alabama, and there are two "regional correspondents." The paper also has several "stringer" correspondents. Everyone on the staff gets just $20 weekly subsistence.

We urge all who wish to be better informed about what is going on in Alabama to send $6 with a name and address to *The Southern Courier, 68 Electric Avenue, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30314*. It's really good! (There we go . . . editorializing again!)

## ACHR MEMBERSHIP PASSES 1000!

Shortly after the first of this month, we enrolled our 1000th dues-paid member for this year! This is the largest membership in the history of the Alabama Council and is triple that of last year.

The largest local council by far is East Alabama, with 335. Second is Greater Birmingham, 152. Third is Tuscaloosa, 124. Mobile and Muscle Shoals are fourth and fifth, respectively. Both are crowding 100.

All who have worked in our membership drive last winter and subsequently are due the thanks of the officers and staff--and the satisfaction of a job well done.

# ANTHONY TO DIRECT S.R.C.

Paul Anthony has been named by the Southern Regional Council to succeed Leslie W. Dunbar as executive director of the organization. Mr. Anthony is presently director of the field activities of the Council. Mr. Dunbar has resigned to become executive director of the Field Foundation in New York City. The staff chanve will occur September 30.

The announcement was made by John H. Wheeler of Durham, North Carolina, president of the Southern Regional Council, which is the parent organization of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Mr. Dunbar, 44, a native of Lewisburg, West Virginia, became executive director in March, 1961. He was previously director of research. Under his direction, the Council staff developed an expanded publications program on problems and developments in southern race relations, and administered the Voter Education Project, a south-wide effort to register Negro voters and study Negro enfranchisement.

Mr. Anthony, 37, a native Virginian, has been with the Council since 1956. He has worked in its research department and as an administrator, and since December, 1962, has coordinated activities with the state Councils on Human Relations and other field concerns of the Council. He is a graduate of the University of Miami, and worked previously as a school teacher in Virginia, and on the staff of the Wall Street Journal.

Mr. Wheeler said, "I believe that Paul Anthony will give distinguished leadership to our work in this crucial period of continuing change and great challenge in the South. He is widely known and esteemed all over the country by other workers and leaders in civil rights and human relations work. He also has the respect of government offices and officials. Best of all, he knows the South and its people, and he has friendships among our supporters throughout the region."

## DID YOU KNOW?

As of July 1, no Federal office or installation may permit the solicitation of employees or military personnel on the job on behalf of any voluntary health or welfare agency which has not satisfied nondiscrimination requirements. Among other things, this means that if your local United Fund solicits through a Federal agency or installation, every agency supported by the Fund must be desegregated--YMCA, YWCA, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, etc. Write us for further information.

# EFFORT TO REPEAL RIGHTS ACT?

The John Birch Society will soon launch a massive drive to repeal the Civil Rights Act of 1964, according to a memorandum of the Institute of Human Relations, American Jewish Committee. The memorandum, dated July, 1965, quotes Robert Welch, head of the Birch Society, as saying that the most important facet of this campaign will be "the setting up throughout the country of hundreds of local or regional ad-hoc committees" to be known as Truth About Civil Turmoil Committee (TACT) "for the specific purpose of telling truth about the civil turmoil which is now being made so unusual and unhappy a part of the whole American scene."

The purpose of the TACT committees, working under the guidance of the Birch Society, will be to pour into communities "a veritable flood of material consisting of books, pamphlets, tapes and films explaining the 'civil rights fraud'." According to the AJC memorandum, Welch believes that edposure of the "civil rights fraud" will break the back of the Communist conspiracy.

"The Communists," declares Welch, "have laid out their plans for the Negro revolutionary movement so fully, in print, and so continuously right up to the present time that no good American . . . can fail to be convinced that 'civil rights' is a communist slogan and a communist program for communist purposes."

The AJC memorandum observes that this concentration on one specific target at a time, instead of simultaneously engaging in such projects as "Support Your Local Police," and "Get U. S. Out of the U. N.," represents a "significant and fundamental change in Birch Society tactics.

(Any of our readers who know of any activity of the Birch Society or its TACT committees in Alabama are asked to keep the ACHR office informed. Samples of any literature like that mentioned will be appreciated.)

# THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT

by Robert S. Valder

On August 7, 1965, President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Since the Act can get confusing, we believe it will be helpful to summarize those provisions of particular interest to us in Alabama.

LITERACY TESTS AND FEDERAL EXAMINERS

Literacy test or other devices to determine voter qualifications in local, state or national elections are automatically suspended in any state or county which was using them on November 1, 1964 (the day of the Presidential election) if (1) less than 50% of the voting age population was registered on that date, or (2) if less than 50% of the voting age population voted on that date. This is called the "automatic trigger" provision since there is no need for court orders or complaints to determine where literacy tests cannot be used.

The entire state of Alabama is covered by this provision. This means that anyone in the state who meets the three objective requirements of age, residence and absence of a criminal record must be registered and allowed to vote. If the person is illiterate, the registrar, or Federal examiner, if there is one, will interview the applicant orally and fill out the registration form for him.

Federal examiners can be sent by the Attorney General to any state or county covered by the "trigger" for one of two reasons. (1) If the Attorney General believes that examiners are necessary to enforce the 15th Amendment guarantee of Negro voting rights or (2) if he has received 20 bona fide complaints from persons who, because of race or color, have been denied the right to vote. Apparently the Attorney General will decide what "bona fide" means.

The examiners will mail the names of those qualified to the local registrar who must place the names on the official voting rolls, and who must also make them available for public inspection. Where there are examiners, the Civil Service Commission, which appoints the examiners, can also appoint poll watchers to insure that the names of those who have been listed are allowed to vote and that their vote is recorded. If they are not allowed to vote, the Federal District Court can hold up the results of the election until their votes are cast and counted.

POLL TAXES

The Act directs the Attorney General to file suits attacking the constitutionality of poll taxes as prerequisites to voting in state or local elections. Texas, Alabama, Mississippi and Virginia have such laws. The Attorney General has filed these suits.

COURT JURISDICTIONS AND PROCEDURAL ASPECTS

This law transfers some court questions out of Southern courts and places them into the hands of Federal judges in the District of Columbia. If a state which is presently covered by the "trigger" wishes to come out from under that coverage, or if a state which is covered wants to add a new voter qualification, it can do so only with the consent of District of Columbia judges.

INTIMIDATION AND PENALTIES

Any person convicted of depriving or conspiring to deprive a person of his right to vote may be fined up to $5,000 or imprisoned for up to five years. The same penalties apply to anyone convicted of intimidating a person seeking to register or vote, or intimidating anyone urging another to register and vote.

The above are the provisions of the Voting Right Act of particular interest to us. What implications does this law have for Alabama and the South? Dr. Martin Luther King estimates that by the end of August there will be 900,000 additional Southern Negroes registered--a million by August of 1966. Studies of the 1964 Presidential election have shown that Negro voters definitely supplied the margin of victory for the Democratic party in four Southern states and were of great significance in two others.

A clear majority of Negro voters is not necessary to influence an election. All that is needed is enough Negro and liberal white voters to be a factor to be reckoned with--to provide the margin of victory. Probably no single interest group, such as labor, farmers or home owners, has a majority of all votes, but they are taken into account simply because they cannot be ignored. Thus, increased Negro registration of whatever proportion will at least have a moderating effect upon campaigns and policies. And as Negro registration increases political recognition will go up correspondingly. Nor is it simply a question of voting for or against a given candidate; obviously many issues such as poverty, schools, police, jobs, representation on public policy making boards, paved streets and others are intricately bound up in all of this.

# LECTURES IN EAST ALABAMA

The East Alabama Council on Human Relations has been sponsoring, jointly with the American Ethical Union, a series of lectures during July and August. The lectures have been held in the Westminister House, next to the Presbyterian Church in Auburn. Lecturers have included Mr. Robert Stein of the American Ethical Union Public Affairs Committee, speaking on "Separation of Church and State"; Richard Wasserstrom, Dean of Arts and Sciences at Tuskegee Institute, on "Civil Rights Legislation"; Dr. John Lovell, Education Department at Auburn, leading a panel discussion on "Anticipated Problems Occasioned by Public School Desegregation"; and Mr. Charles Morgan, southern regional director of the American Civil Liberties Union, who spoke on "Equal Justice Behind the Cotton Curtain." The lectures have been well-attended.

*The state office now has two telephone numbers; 539-4277 or 539-5496. If you sometimes have occasion to call, you may wish to write down the new number.*

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Huntsville, Alabama 35805

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# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

September 18, 1965


## YOU ARE INVITED
# ACHR TO HOST VOTING CONFAB

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is sponsoring a statewide conference on the Voting Rights Act of 1965, at the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery, on Saturday, October 2, 1965. The conference will convene in the Davis Room at 10:00 a.m., and will end at 4:30 p.m.

The purpose of the conference is two-fold: (1) to clarify the provisions of the Voting Rights Act, answering questions which participants may have; (2) to obtain from those attending information concerning compliance (or lack of compliance) in the several counties, problems and difficulties which have risen, information on the response among minority-group citizens or reasons for the lack of response, any reports of intimidation or reprisal, etc. We contemplate making a full report on the basis of the data gathered at the conference.

Among the speakers at the conference will be Mr. Wiley Branton, Executive Secretary of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity. Mr. Branton is an outstanding attorney, and was the Director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, 1962-1964.

Another participant will be Mr. William T. Atkinson, Director of the U. S. Civil Service Commission's federal registrars in Alabama.

Staff attorneys from the U. S. Civil Rights Commission and a battery of Alabama lawyers will serve as resource persons.

*Please do not wait for further invitation. Any member of ACHR or anyone interested in this conference will certainly be welcome to attend. Invite friends and associates if you wish. There is no registration charge, but lunch will be "Dutch Treat."*

## HOSPITAL SURVEYS

The local Health and Hospital Committee chairman or the local council president where such chairmen have not yet been designated recently received some material from the state office concerning hospital desegregation under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Title VI forbids all discrimination in any program which, in whole or part, receives Federal financial assistance. And nearly every hospital in the country is covered under one of the innumerable Federal programs. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), the Federal agency responsible for Federal assistance

(Continued on Page 4)

HOW THEY DID IT:

# BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL SPEARHEADS DRIVE FOR JEFFCO SCHOOL TRANSFERS

by Paul Berliner

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Paul Berliner, a student at Antioch College, worked extensively with the Birmingham Council this summer. He was in Birmingham under the auspices of the Lutheran Church. We are running his detailed account of the local school desegregation effort in the hope that it will be informative and suggestive to other local groups. Particularly do we hope that his concluding sentence will be taken to heart: "It is important to begin talking about next year's school desegregation now.")

In mid-July, shortly after the court approved Jefferson County's school desegregation plan, a special meeting of the Birmingham Council on Human Relations was called to organize a desegregation effort. Miss Jean Fairfax, National Representative for Southern Programs of the American Friends Service Committee, spoke and provided suggestions and guidance.

As a result of that session, a Coordinating Committee for the Acceleration of School Desegregation in Jefferson County was organized. Rev. Joseph Ellwanger was elected chairman. Members of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, the Birmingham Council on Human Relations, Concerned White Citizens of Alabama, and the NAACP represented their organizations in the coordinating committee. At their first meeting, the committee divided into three subcommittees.

The first subcommittee concerned itself with publicity. From studying the "freedom of choice" plans of the several school boards in the county, it was apparent that the school boards were not taking the initiative in desegregating the schools. The plans allowed a student to transfer to another school, but the responsibility for initiating any change rested on the shoulders of the Negro students or their parents. They had to be informed of the provisions of the plans and the procedures for transfer.

Steps were taken to disseminate the needed information and to encourage parents to take advantage of rights under the plans. Individual information sheets were printed for the four Jefferson County school systems, all of which were complying with court orders to desegregate: Bessemer, Birmingham, Fairfield, and Jefferson County. (Tarrant City's board refused to submit a plan to the Office of Education; the Mountain Brook system was not under court order and claimed that they had not accepted Federal money for years.) These information sheets included the school boards's desegregation plan, transfer procedures, and the names and phone numbers of individuals who could be contacted for assistance. The sheets were distributed at churches on a given Sunday.

Also included in the desegregation information sheets were the names of 37 community leaders and civic groups endorsing a statement of the importance of integrated education and urging parents to exercise their rights.

Local news media were contacted to further advertise the desegregation opportunities: The Catholic Week and the Birmingham World ran advertisements. Radio stations WENN and WJLD offered to announce the desegregation plans.

Members of the subcommittee spoke at Negro churches, mass movement rallies, and held desegregation workshops to arouse interest in the community. Mrs. Oscar Adams, one of the contact persons, spent many long hours encouraging parents to let their children transfer to better schools.

The second subcommittee was set up to select three Negro communities especially close to white schools for canvassing. The communities chosen were those in the vicinity of Elyton Elementary School, Graymont Elementary School and Ensley High School. These schools were chosen because they were known to have room for transfering students. Miss Eve McAlister and her group worked from Miles College canvassing each selected community, block-by-block, speaking to parents about school desegregation and offering any assistance needed.

The third subcommittee was set up to approach the boards of education for copies of the transfer application blanks in order to distribute them in the Negro community and to ask for better publicity for the plans. The boards insisted that each parent had individually to obtain a transfer application blank. Moreover, except for the Jefferson County board, which ran large ads in three editions of Birmingham dailies, the boards were negligent in publicizing the desegregation plans.

(Continued on Page 4)

# DID YOU SEE IN THE PAPER ....?

(IT'S STILL ALABAMA, AIN'T IT?)

The Black Belt legislators are not at all worried about the increase of Negro voters under the new law, according to Hugh Sparrow, a Birmingham News writer (8/15/65). They point out that most of the land on which Negroes live is owned by white landlords. In fact, Sparrow says, these landlords are urging their tenants to register. "In other words, there is nothing in the law to prevent a white land owner from urging his Negro tenants to vote for a certain candidate or for a certain issue to be decided in an election . . . In such cases bread and butter probably would have the stronger appeal."

* * * *

Just two days before an Episcopal minister was killed and a Roman Catholic priest gunned down by a "special deputy sheriff" in Hayneville, Alabama Public Safety Director Al Lingo had urged every sheriff and police chief in the state to form "sizeable reserves" of auxiliary police, firemen and deputies to combat "scheduled riots" which "will probably be in Montgomery, Mobile, Huntsville, Birmingham, and other major Alabama cities," and are "an outgrowth of civil disobedience taught by leaders of the Negro civil rights movement." (Birmingham Post-Herald, 8/18/65)

* * * * * * * * * *

The Alabama State Sovereignty Commission contributed $49,000 of our tax money to "Fundamental Freedoms, Inc.", which was a Washington-based outfit seeking to defeat the Civil Rights Act. The funds were contributed between January and May of 1964. Fundamental Freedoms, Inc. advertised heavily, attacking the civil rights bill, in newspapers in Wisconsin, Indiana, and Maryland during Gov. George Wallace's campaigns in presidential primaries in those states. The Alabama legislature, having appropriated $50,000 for each of the two years that the Sovereignty Commission has been in existence, voted recently to up the appropriation to $100,000 for each of the next two years. (Birmingham News, 8/29/65)

* * * * * * * * * *

A full-page ad in the Birmingham News (8/29), paid for by 95 alleged chapters of the John Birch Society in the greater Birmingham area, claimed that the whole civil rights movement is a Communist conspiracy. The ad asserts that the average American Negro's "security of person and assurance of honorable treatment by his fellow citizens in all of the utilitarian relationships of living, have been exactly on a par with those of his white neighbors," and avers that the American Negro is more fortunate than "at least ninety per cent of the earth's population."

* * * * * * * * * *

If Wallace signs a resolution passed by the Legislature on August 26, the administration building of each of the new junior colleges except one will be named "George Corley Wallace Hall." The exception is the college at Gadsden, where it will be "James B. Allen Hall"--for the Lieutenant Governor. However, the fine arts building at Gadsden will be Wallace Hall. (Birmingham News, 8/29/65)

* * * * * * * * * *

Governor Wallace, in his role as chairman of the State Board of Education, has announced the names of the 22 new trade schools and junior colleges. Six will bear the names of Confederate heroes. Two are named for Confederate statesmen. The school at Decatur was named for John C. Calhoun, famous champion of Southern interests in the early days of the republic. Three Negro schools were named for prominent Negroes: J. F. Drake (long-time president of A&M at Huntsville), George Washington Carver, and Booker T. Washington. (Birmingham Post-Herald, 9/1/65)

Representative William Dickinson has received from the office of Sheriff Jim Clark of Dallas County affidavits sworn by a one-armed Negro woman saying that she was promised $100 per month to participate in the Selma-Montgomery March, but got only three payments. Dickinson charged that many Alabama Negroes who participated in the march were misled and were "victimized by members of their own race for selfish purposes." Dickinson added that the Government Printing Office has received more requests for reprints of his speeches alleging widespread drunkenness and sexual irregularities in the Selma-Montgomery March than any other speech ever appearing in

(Continued on Page 5)

# "OPERATION RECLAIM"

The New York City Board of Education is sponsoring a program called Operation Reclaim which is directed at the problem faced by Southern Negro teachers who have been dismissed because of school desegregation problems. Under this program, the Board of Education will be equipped to place up to 500 such persons in teaching positions from pre-kindergarten through high school in the New York City school system (which has an attractive pay scale). If a teacher needs additional courses to get certified under state law, he will be sent to school at the Board's expense and, if time permits, work as a substitute teacher in his free time.

The plans of Operation Reclaim are to: (1) interview interested teachers in the teacher's own city or home, (2) pay the moving expenses of the teacher's family to New York City, (3) send the teacher to school or find him a full-time job depending upon his certification status , and (4) make every effort to find housing in accordance with the family's needs.

The ACHR has been asked to help by attempting to locate teachers who have lost their jobs due to school desegregation problems. If anyone knows of such a person you might explain the program to him, and if he is interested have him contact the state office or write to Dr. John King, New York City Board of Education, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, New York, expressing his interest in Operation Reclaim and asking for additional information. Applications will be confidential and no supervisor will be contacted without the written consent of the teacher.

HOSPITAL SURVEYS (Continued from Page 1)

to hospitals, is very eager for citizens groups and private organizations to take a survey of hospitals and make their findings known to HEW, if there are evidences of discrimination, which HEW must investigate. So we mailed some HEW checklists, a memorandum, two newspaper articles about HEW, Title VI and hospitals, and a copy of HEW's regulations to the above mentioned people suggesting that it would be relatively simple to carry out a program such as this. We also emphasized that the results could easily be far greater than any efforts expended.

Anyone interested in taking part in this might contact his Health and Hospital Committee chairman or his local council president.

BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL SPEARHEADS DRIVE FOR JEFFCO SCHOOL TRANSFERS (Continued from p. 2)

One of our greatest problems was lack of time. The period of time between the court's order and the school board's deadline for transfer applications was a little as two weeks, and in no case more than five.

In spite of this, the results of our work, together with the pressure exerted by the courts, were encouraging. In 1964 there were only seven Negro students in school with white children in Birmingham, none in Bessemer, Fairfield or Jefferson County. At the start of school this year, there are 13 in Bessemer, 54 in Birmingham, 28 in Fairfield, and 26 in Jefferson County--total of 121. Considered absolutely this is only tokenism, of course. But relatively this is significant progress.

At present, we are reorganizing the school desegregation project. Plans are to continue to work through the winter, spring and summer in preparation for next fall. As Miss Fairfax emphasized, the decision on the part of a Negro parent to send his child to a white school is not an easy one. There is understandably much fear and much apprehension. The parent's decision is one which can hardly be made in a day or even a week. For this reason, it is necessary to begin organizing a community toward desegregation well in advance of the coming school year. It is important to begin talking about next year's school desegregation now.

# BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Members of the Board of Directors of the Alabama Council are to meet at the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham at 10:00 a.m., on Saturday, September 25. This will be a full meeting of the Board, and we hope to have all members present.

# CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION, MEMPHIS OFFICE

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights recently opened a new field office in Memphis, Tennessee.

In announcing the opening of the office, William Taylor, staff director of the Comission, said that the office will serve nine states--Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky,

(Continued on Page 5)

# ABOUT KOINONIA FARM

Your attention is called to the price list from "Koinonia Farm" of Americus, Georgia, which is enclosed with your bulletin this month.

Koinonia Farm is a Christian community which has sought over a period of 23 years to reach beyond its borders to witness to the brotherhood of man in difficult surroundings. For example, they have conducted bi-racial Vacation Bible Schools; a bi-racial children's camp was closed in 1956 by court injunction; and in many other ways.

Until the Supreme Court Decision of 1954, the community was on friendly terms with neighboring citizens, but after that things became difficult. Negro members of the community found it necessary to leave because of threats to them and their relatives. Koinonia Farm had to close its roadside stand and now depends almost entirely on their mail-order business.

Many members of the Alabama Council are friends and acquaintances of the Reverend Al Henry, former pastor of Pilgrim Congregational Church, Birmingham, who with his family is now a part of the Koinonia Farm community.

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION, MEMPHIS OFFICE (Continued from page 4)

Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Texas.

Jacques E. Wilmore, a former Peace Corps official, will head the office and John Spence, a former newspaper reporter and editorial writer, will be the deputy director.

Information on Federal civil rights policies and programs will be available to persons in the nine-state region. The Memphis staff will also assist in carrying out the responsibility of the National office to collect and disseminate civil rights information, and to appraise the effectiveness of present civil rights laws.

DID YOU SEE IN THE PAPER . . .? (Continued from page 3)

the Congressional Record "with the exception of the eulogies to the late President Kennedy." (Birmingham Post-Herald, 9/1/65)

* * * * * * * * *

Governor Wallace signed the bill, passed by the legislature, which authorizes payment of up to $185 per year from state funds toward tuition in a private, non-sectarian school for any pupil whose parents feel that attendance at public schools would be detrimental to the child's "physical or mental health." $1,750,000 was appropriated for the first year of the program, $2,000,000 the following year. (Huntsville Times, 9/2/65) (The segregationist Citizen's Councils are sponsoring private schools in many cities in Alabama.)

* * * * * * * * *

The Alabama Board of Education, Gov. George Wallace, Chairman, adopted a resolution urging local school systems to go no further than the minimum required by federal laws and courts in school desegregation. Anything more, they said, "could jeopardize the continued support by the public of public education." After the meeting, a telegram was sent to Superintendent R. A. Thornton of Lauderdale County charging that more Negroes were enrolled with whites there than in Montgomery or Birmingham. The proposed eventual elimination of Negro schools in Lauderdale County, they said, "could do more to destroy the public educational system in Alabama than any action since the infamous 1954 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court." They called on Thornton to "align your policies with the minimum requirements of the law and of court orders." (Huntsville Times, 9/3/65; Birmingham Post-Herald, 9/4/65)

* * * * * * * * *

Addressing the state legislature at the opening of their special session on reapportionment, Governor Wallace attacked the Supreme Court, the Justice Department and the Federal Government in general. "The court," he said, "has sanctioned, authorized, condoned and encouraged the occupation of small communities and now large ones by thousands of our of state riff-raff, Communists and fellow travelers, crooks, beatniks, prostitutes and bums and has handcuffed local law enforcement personnel who seek to prevent depredations against the peace and order." And the pot said of the kettle, "it has pampered and encouraged the criminal to believe that he can commit any crime with little likelihood of conviction." (Birmingham Post Herald, 9/10/65)

hm

# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

October 4, 1965

## HEATED CHARGES AT VOTING MEET

Well over 200 people from more than three dozen different organizations attended the conference on the Voting Rights Act of 1965, sponsored by ACHR, in Montgomery on Saturday, October 2.

The acquittal of Tom Coleman, charged with manslaughter in the slaying of Jonathan Daniels, by a jury in Hayneville just two days before seemed to create an almost-tangible tension among the participants. The announcement, on the day before the conference, that Federal examiners would be sent to Montgomery mitigated the strain only somewhat.

The conferees, assembled in the Davis Room of the Jefferson Davis Hotel, heard representatives of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and other groups charge bitterly that the 1965 Act's provision of fines and imprisonment for those who intimidate prospective voters is practically meaningless. "Thousands of complaints have been properly written and properly placed," said one woman, "and nothing is done."

Others said that they could not encourage Negroes to go and register, knowing that they might be fired--if not shot--and knowing that there would be no recourse. "We certainly cannot look to local or state law enforcement officers. And if the Justice Department and the F.B.I. cannot do more than they have been doing, the protective provision of the law does not mean a thing."

Other participants replied that the charge that "nothing is done" is an unfair exaggeration--and cited the sending of Federal examiners to Montgomery.

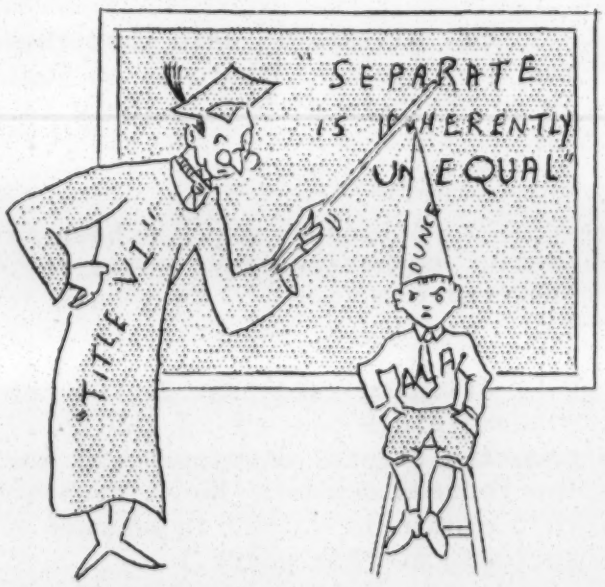
The three principle speakers at the conference were Mr. Wiley Branton, Executive Secretary of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity; Mr. Harold

(Continued on Page 2)

*AN ALABAMA COUNCIL "SPECIAL REPORT" SAYS--*

## SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLAN INEFFECTIVE

"Freedom-of-choice plans (for school desegregation) show little promise of effecting in Alabama the purpose and intent of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."




This is the major conclusion of a 17-page "special report" which has been sent to the U. S. Office of Education and to school superintendents in Alabama by the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Prepared by the staff, the report was adopted by ACHR's Board of Directors on September 25.

The report does not suggest possible revisions or alternatives.

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act forbids racial discrimination in any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

The Alabama Council report points out that, according to the Office of Education's statement of policies, this part of the law "prohibits the extension of

(Continued on Page 3)

HEATED CHARGES AT VOTING MEET (Continued from Page 1)

Glickstein, General Counsel of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights; and Mr. William T. Atkinson, State Voting Examiner of the U. S. Civil Service Commission. Mrs. Martha Witt Smith, Public Relations Chairman of the Alabama Board of Registrars Association, was scheduled but did not appear. The ABRA was represented, however.

Among the organizations represented were the Alabama Federation of Civil Leagues and several affiliates, the Alabama Democratic Conference and affiliates, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (plus several local affiliates of the latter two), the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, Alabama State Teachers' Association, League of Women Voters, Montgomery Central Council and Tri-Cities Labor Union (AFL-CIO), Montgomery Federation of Women's Clubs, the Anti-Defamation League, the Alabama Citizen's Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commissions and many others.

WHY THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT?

The subject of Mr. Branton's speech was "The Rationale of the Voting Rights Act." "It is rather ludicrous to discuss the reasons for the Voting Act of 1965 with you people gathered here," he said, "because your state and its officials have contributed more to its passage than any other in the U. S."

Branton said he knows from personal experience that the failure of America to live up to its own doctrine of liberty and human dignity is of astonishing interest in Europe and other parts of the world. He cited a trip to Europe which was supposed to last two weeks, but kept him there for five weeks because of the great interest in civil rights and the Voter Education Project. This, he said, is another reason for the Voting Rights Act.

Commenting on avowals by registrars in Southern states that they were complying with the law, Branton said that this does not do away with the need for Federal examiners. "You can't expect people to believe registrars who have discriminated for twenty years when they say that they are not going to discriminate now."

"This Act was necessary," Branton concluded, "because 100 years after the Civil War . . .there is still difficulty in getting the Southern states back into the Union."

WHAT THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT PROVIDES

Mr. Harold Glickstein outlined the provisions of the Act. In answer to the claim that the Voting Rights Act discriminates against certain states and is therefore vindicative, he pointed out that the law provides that any state which can prove in the Federal district court in Washington that it has not discriminated within the past five years can get Federal examiners withdrawn.

The affected states were not chosen arbitrarily, he said. The provision to do away with literacy tests in states where less than 50% of the eligible voters are registered or where less than 50% voted in the 1964 national election was not whimsical. In the last national election, he said, only nine states had less than 50% turnout of voters. Of these nine, seven had literacy tests. And six of these seven had large numbers of unregistered Negroes.

Mr. Glickstein said that these words of President Johnson need to be heard over and over again: "There is no Negro problem. There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There is only an American problem."

THE FEDERAL EXAMINERS

Mr. Atkinson, who had been given the subject, "The Role of the Federal Registrars," emphasized that there are no Federal registrars. They should be called "Federal examiners." They only determine the eligibility of voters under the new law. The county registrars must register those declared eligible.

Atkinson said that 21,000 persons have been listed by Federal examiners in Alabama since passage of the Act. "But business is down," he added. In some counties Federal examiners are now open only one day per week--Saturday--because of the reduced demand. He said that there were no applicants at all on the last day that examiners worked in Lowndes and Hale counties. (There was a murmur in the audience at this point.)

"RUMP SESSION"

After the conference ended some civil rights workers huddled with conference leaders for about an hour and a half. One man was heard to remark that while he would never advocate violence of any kind, he thought the Federal government was foolish to ignore the brutal murder of non-violent Negroes in Alabama and then go all-out to find out what was wrong when there is a riot in Los Angeles.

# ACHR GETS BACK-PAT

President Nat Welch read the following self-explanatory letter to the Board of Directors at their meeting on September 25. It was addressed to Mr. Welch by Paul Anthony, Executive Director Designate of the Southern Regional Council:

"This is to express my regret at not being able to attend the board meeting of the Alabama Council on Saturday.

"I would like for you to know how pleased we are with ACHR and how impressed we are with the phenomenal progress of the past year.

"Statistically, that progress speaks for itself: the greatest percentage increase in membership and next to largest amount of funds raised from within the state.

"Equally significant though has been the extent to which the ACHR has become its membership. A large number of people do things, which is I think, the ideal of any council.

"These factors all mean to us that the officers, board and staff deserve our highest commendation. Please consider this as my effort to do that."

# THE "IT'S STILL ALABAMA" DEPARTMENT—

The Reverend Otis Kirby reports that he and his wife, motoring through Lawrence County en route to Tuscumbia on the Saturday before Labor Day, were stopped twice by "road blocks" set up for the purpose of soliciting donations.

So what's new about that? This collection was for the Ku Klux Klan!!!

Mr. Kirby, formerly of Tuscumbia and now living in Decatur, is a retired Methodist minister and a member of ACHR's Board of Directors. Good man that he is, he customarily gives something whenever asked. "Did I contribute anything? Yes!!!" he reports. "I gave tham an irritated, disgusted glare."

In the fine Wesleyan tradition, we'll bet!

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLAN INEFFECTIVE (Continued from Page 1)

Federal financial assistance to any dual or segregated system of schools based on race." In order to continue to receive such assistance, "school officials must eliminate all practices characteristic of such dual or segregated systems."

Freedom-of-choice desegregation plans are not likely to attain this purpose, the Council's paper says, because "as long as certain schools can be understood by a community to be 'the Negro schools' Negro students are being discriminated against no matter if they are allowed to transfer to 'the white schools'."

The report interprets the results of the first year of school desegregation under Title VI as tending to confirm the widely-expressed fear that freedom-of-choice plans leave too much responsibility for school desegregation up to Negro parents who may be vulnerable to social and economic pressures and reprisals. "Under the conditions prevailing in Alabama," the report states, "a freedom-of-choice plan would say in effect, 'This school system will now make an exception to the rule for all Negro children whose parents insist upon it'."

The Office of Education's regulations, although allowing freedom-of-choice plans state: "The responsibility to eliminate segregation rests with the school authorities and is not satisfied by rules and practices which shift the burden of removing discrimination to the class or classes of persons previously discriminated against."

After pointing out that freedom-of-choice plans are basically similar to plans allowed by the courts, the report finds that Alabama's four largest cities, all under court-ordered plans for at least the third year, had few Negro students in school with white this fall--despite the added impetus of Title Vi requirements. Birmingham had 53; Mobile, 39; and Montgomery, 32. Figures were not available from Huntsville, but last year there were only 31.

(Continued on next page)

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLAN INEFFECTIVE (Continued from Page 3)

The school system with the largest number of transfers, the report said, was Florence, with 142.

The report estimates the total number of Negroes enrolled in formerly white schools in the state at between 1,000 and 1,200. (That may be a generous estimate.) 1,000 would be only about one-third of one per cent of the total Negro school population of approximately 300,000. This is not a good start, the paper points out, when there are only three years to complete elimination of the dual school system--especially in view of the fact that about half of the districts desegregated all twelve grades this year.

Compared to the number of Negroes in school with whites in other Southern cities, "the cities of Alabama have managed only a token of tokenism," the report says.

YES! NOW IS THE TIME TO HOP ON THE BAND WAGON!

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS HAS JUST CLOSED ITS 1965 MEMBERSHIP YEAR WITH THE LARGEST ROLL OF MEMBERS IN THE ORGANIZATION'S HISTORY. AND IF YOU HAVE BEEN READING YOUR "BULLETIN" YOU KNOW HOW MANY GOOD THINGS ACHR AND THE LOCAL COUNCILS HAVE BEEN DOING.

MEMBERSHIP FEES PAID NOW WILL BE GOOD THROUGH 1966. ALL MEMBERSHIPS ARE DUE FOR RENEWAL ON JANUARY FIRST.

*NOTE: WE MUST PRUNE OUR MAILING LIST. IF YOU HAVE NOT RENEWED YOUR MEMBERSHIP SINCE OCTOBER 1, 1964, YOU WILL NO LONGER RECEIVE THE "BULLETIN" AFTER THIS ISSUE UNLESS WE GET YOUR RENEWAL THIS MONTH. WE'LL BE GLAD TO BILL YOU, IF YOU DON'T HAVE THE MONEY RIGHT NOW! (WE DO SEND THE "BULLETIN" FREE TO A FEW V.I.P.'S. BUT WHY TAKE A CHANCE?--OR BE CONCEITED?*

LET'S DO IT AGAIN IN SIXTY-SIX--AND THEN SOME!

---

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, S. W. HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA 35805

I would like to lend my support to the program of the Council by becoming:

1. A Single Member ($5.00) ( ) New ( ) Renewal ( )
2. A Joint Member, Husband and Wife ($8.00 ( ) Check Enclosed ( )
3. A Student Member ($3.00) ( ) Cash Enclosed ( )
4. A Contributor ($ ) ( ) Bill me ( )

NAME_____ ADDRESS_____

CITY _____ ZIP CODE_____ COUNTY_____

OCCUPATION _____ DATE_____

NOTE: Memberships and contributions to ACHR are Federal Income Tax deductible. *PLEASE INCLUDE YOUR ZIP CODE ON APPLICATION.*

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# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Robert Valder
Associate Director

January 17, 1966

# COME TO MONTGOMERY FEBRUARY 5

BRING A FRIEND!

The most informative and stimulating Annual Meeting yet! That's what's in store in Montgomery on February 5, 1966, at the Jefferson Davis Hotel. We hope to see everyone there--plan now to attend.

As announced previously, Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman, member of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, will be our featured speaker. And John Doar, Assistant Attorney General and head of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, will be present to receive a certificate of appreciation from ACHR.

Although the agenda is not yet complete in every detail, it will take this form. *Registration* will be at 9:00 a.m., in the Civic Room. From 9:30 a.m. to 12:00 Noon, we will have seven "workshops" on *Community Organization* ( a definition and explanation, its purpose and methods); *Education* (school desegregation methods); *Employment* (Title VII, government contractors, job training programs); *Federal Programs* (an explanation of the provisions and meaning of the anti-poverty program, U. S. Department of Agriculture programs, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 and others); *Health and Hospitals* (methods of desegregation under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964); *Housing* (fair housing and open occupancy, Federal legislation and executive orders); *Voter Registration and Education* (the provisions, results and enforcement of the Voting Rights Act, political education programs, political action programs).

Each workshop will have two or three knowledgeable resource persons with whom the participants will discuss ideas to be used at home, problems, opportunities, and so forth.

The luncheon will be in the Davis Room at 12:00 Noon, and Mrs. Freeman will deliver her address at 1:00 p.m.

A business session consisting of the introduction of the new Director of the Rural Advancement Project (see article pages 1-2), a report of the 1966 membership and financial campaign, reports from local chapters, 1966 budgetary considerations, the report of the nominating committee, the election of new officers and board members, and other items will be followed by adjournment at about 3:30 or 4:00 p.m.

Please do not miss this important meeting. We believe its main value will be: (1) the discussion and explanation of significant action programs which local chapters should be working on during 1966; (2) the valuable information and insights offered by both our featured speaker and honored guest. Certainly every officer and committee chairman of the local chapters should make a special effort to attend.

## DIRECTOR OF RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT

We are delighted to announce that Mr. Louis W. Black was unanimously approved at an ACHR executive committee meeting in Birmingham on January 12 as Director of the Rural Advancement Project (see November bulletin for an explanation of this project). (Continued on page 2)

DIRECTOR OF RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT (Continued)

Mr. Black, a native of Beatrice, Alabama, who has lived in Greensboro, Alabama for some years, comes to us with an impressive and enviable record.

He was raised on a farm and has managed the family farm; he is a product of the Monroe County Training School and of Alabama State College where he received his B. S. degree in 1950 with a major in Music and a minor in Mathematics. In the past few years, Black has organized three high school bands, conducted 15 high school and church choirs, and instructed over 1500 pupils for various musical instruments.

In 1960, Black helped organize and was elected President of the Hale County Progressive Association. The Progressive Association founded the Greenala Citizens Federal Credit Union of which he is the Secretary-Treasurer and Manager (this credit union has since September 1961 made loans to its members of over $400,000!!). As Vice-President of the Hale County Improvement Association, Black was active in a voter registration drive last summer which resulted in over 4,000 Negroes registered to vote. Mr. Black is currently serving as Chairman of the Alabama Rural Areas Council.

Currently a farmer and school teacher in Greensboro, he will begin work as RAP Director on February 4, 1966. We are looking forward to working with him.

# MUSCLE SHOALS MEMBER NAMED

Congratulations to Mr. Allen Black, Jr., an officer of the Muscle Shoals chapter and a member of ACHR's State Board of Directors. Allen has recently accepted a position with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Inc., as Associate Director of the Division of Legal Information and Services.

He will work out of Florence, covering Alabama and Mississippi for sure, and probably more. Allen's immediate concern will be working with local organizations and local people on school desegregation programs and fair employment practices.

# BOARD OF DIRECTORS WILL MEET

The regular semi-annual meeting of ACHR's State Board of Directors will meet in the Pine Room of the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery, at 6:30 p.m., on February 4, 1966.

# ACHR SPONSORS STUDENT CONFERENCE

*The Alabama Council on Human Relations will sponsor a statewide student conference at the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery, Alabama, on February 4, 1966.*

This conference, made possible through a modest grant from the Southern Regional Council, is intended to bring together students and faculty and administrators from Alabama's colleges and universities so they might be further acquainted with and involved in the issues and problems facing the academic community.

During the Alabama Student Human Relations Conference on May 15, 1965, which was co-sponsored by the Southern Human Relations Project of the U. S. National Student Association and ACHR, the participants named a steering committee to plan an organizational meeting in the fall of 1965. This meeting was not held. Hence our plans to hold such a meeting in conjunction with ACHR's annual meeting.

The purpose of holding a conference immediately prior to our annual meeting is three fold: (1) to insure maximum student participation in the annual meeting itself--students will be encouraged to participate in this meeting; (2) to use the annual meeting as an added incentive for students to attend the student conference; (3) to avoid duplication of effort--many issues and problems about which students are concerned are identical to those which will be examined in the annual meeting itself.

The conference will begin with a *Registration and Get-Acquainted Session* at 6:00 p.m., in the Civic Room. A 7:00 to 8:00 p.m. session in the Civic Room will feature a talk by a speaker who has not yet been finally selected. He will talk about those issues which will be examined in greater detail in the seminars. The talk will be followed by a question and answer period. (Continued on page 5)

# 1966 MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN NEARS COMPLETION

At this writing things look hopeful, perhaps encouraging, but not yet overwhelming. Begun in Mid-December, the 1966 campaign for members and funds is to be completed before the annual meeting. Hopefully, we will have a "Victory Statement," and not just an "indication of good intention statement," at the annual meeting, of our efforts to enlist people and obtain finances for ACHR's 1966 programs and efforts to make 1967 a little better place for all Alabamians to live and work and learn and play.

Our goal for this year is 1,250 members and at least $28,000 (including membership fees). A campaign plan has been drawn up, quotas set for each local chapter and local campaign committees are hard at work.

"Challenge meetings"--special meetings of each chapter to "kick-off" the general membership-funds solicitation--have either already been held or are scheduled. The East Alabama and Muscle Shoals chapters had their meetings on January 6, the Talladega District chapter on January 8, and the Tuscaloosa chapter on January 11. People of Mobile will be challenged on January 18, of Huntsville on January 19, of Birmingham on January 25, and of Montgomery on January 29.

The idea of a challenge meeting is to give members and friends an opportunity to advance the cause of justice and dignity by renewing their membership and making a pledge (or a statement of intent) for the financial undergirding of ACHR. The purpose of increased membership is to have more people available to work on significant programs at the local level; the primary purpose of increased finances is to help to get more significant programs available at the local level). Following each challenge meeting, personal visits are made to all who have not yet taken advantage of this opportunity.

So far we've had excellent cooperation all over the state. Many local chapters are working hard; others are now shifting into high. Mr. Max Baer is heading up the drive in Birmingham. The Muscle Shoals campaign is led by Mrs. T. W. Mullins. In Huntsville, it's Dr. Mary Pandow. Dr. C. G. Gomillion and Mr. Neil Davis are jointly leading the East Alabama effort. Mr. D. C. Clark chairs the committee for the Talladega District. Mr. James Wood in Mobile, Mrs. A. W. West in Montgomery, Mr. Bernest Brooks in Enterprise and Dr. Joe Bettis in Tuscaloosa complete the roster of local campaign leaders.

With something more than three weeks before the "Victory Statement" here is how things stand (figures below are as of January 11, but don't include Tuscaloosa's challenge meeting). Sorry, but we have not yet computed the number of new or renewed members. (Continued on Page 4)

*Members and friends of ACHR are urged to fill out the registration form on the last page of this bulletin and mail it in or hand it to the president or secretary of their local council. This will help us to know how many lunches to order and how to set up the workshops. Bring a guest!*

*See you in the Cradle of the Confederacy!*

1966 MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN NEARS COMPLETION (Continued)

MEMBERSHIP-FUNDING CAMPAIGN

| Chapter | Contri-butions Rec'd | Contri-butions Pledged | Member-ships Rec'd | Member-ships Pledged | Total Pledged or Rec'd | Total 1966 Goal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| At Large* | | | 12.00 | | 12.00 | |
| E. Ala. | 568.00 | 154.00 | 657.50 | 56.00 | 1435.50 | 4600 |
| Enterprise | | | | | | 400 |
| Greater B'ham | 119.00 | 60.00 | 112.00 | | 291.00 | 2800 |
| Huntsville | 50.00 | 360.00 | 36.00 | | 446.00 | 1600 |
| Mobile | 2.50 | | 126.00 | 15.00 | 143.50 | 2600 |
| Montgomery | | | 13.00 | | 13.00 | 1300 |
| Muscle Shoals | 76.50 | 728.00 | 124.00 | 8.00 | 936.00 | 1900 |
| Special Gifts | 824.00 | 1500.00 | 18.00 | | 2342.00 | 10000 |
| Talladega | 3.00 | 180.00 | 176.00 | 5.00 | 364.00 | 700 |
| Tuscaloosa | 191.00 | 175.00 | 65.00 | 82.00 | 513.00 | 2100 |
| Total | 1834.00 | 3157.00 | 1339.50 | 166.00 | 6496.00 | 28000 |

*At Large includes persons who live where there is no organized chapter.

As the above figures indicate, we're on the way but we haven't arrived--yet. Our "At Large" friends might note that since there is no "Total Goal" figure for them, they will probably determine whether or not we pass the minimum figure (and that's what it is) of $28,000. *So if you live where there is no organized chapter, or if you live outside Alabama, or if for any reason you have not yet given us your help, please let us have your membership, contribution or pledge at your earliest convenience (if you make a contribution or pledge, you automatically become a member.) Use the application* below.

---

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W. Huntsville, Alabama 35805

I would like to lend my support to the program of the Council by becoming:

1. A Single Member ($5.00) ( ) New ( ) Renewal ( )
2. A Joint Member, Husband and Wife ($8.00) ( ) Check Enclosed ( )
3. A Student Member ($3.00) ( ) Cash Enclosed ( )
4. A Contributor ($ ) ( ) Bill Me ( )

NAME_____ ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZIP CODE_____ COUNTY_____

OCCUPATION _____ DATE_____

NOTE: Memberships and contributions to ACHR are Federal Income Tax deductible.
PLEASE INCLUDE YOUR ZIP CODE ON APPLICATION.

ACHR SPONSORS STUDENT CONFERENCE (Continued)

Three seminars, held simultaneously from 8:00 to 9:45 p.m., will focus upon *Student Issues* (academic freedom, student newspapers, students and policy making, curriculum reform and student government), *Current Student Activities on College Campuses* (the background, composition, activities, problems and plans of various student organizations), and *Programs for Student Involvement in the Community* (tutorials, voter registration and education, public and private "anti-poverty" programs, work with local chapters of ACHR and community organization). Each seminar will have two or three knowledgeable resource persons with whom the participants will examine and discuss the above issues, activities and programs.

A *General Session* from 9:45 to about 10:30 p.m. will consist of: (1) brief reports from each seminar and (2) a discussion of the feasibility and desirability of an Alabama Intercollegiate Council on Human Relations or some like named student organization. In the event that the participants should like to examine or make plans for such an organization at greater length, a room has been reserved for this purpose at 2:00 p.m., on February 5 (it should be noted that this meeting would coincide with the business session of ACHR's annual meeting).

There will be no registration fee. Students are strongly urged to make every effort to secure accommodations for themselves with friends and relatives living in Montgomery so they might attend the annual meeting the next day. If a student cannot secure such accommodations, we will, if so instructed, make hotel reservations for him. A double room for one night costs $8.50 ($4.25 per person) at the hotel. And if a student cannot afford $4.25, we will be able to pay part of the room expenses for some of those students.

*We strongly urge every interested student and every interested faculty member and college administrator to put this date on their calendar and to fill out and mail in the registration form below. We hope that all the participants at the student conference will make plans to attend the annual meeting the next day. That's February 4, 1966, at 6:00 p.m., at the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery.*

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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

REGISTRATION FORM FOR STUDENT CONFERENCE
Montgomery, Alabama
February 4, 1966

Please check or fill out the appropriate blank (s):

_____I will attend the student conference in Montgomery on February 4, which begins at 6:00 p.m.

_____I am very interested in attending this conference, but will be unable to do so.

_____I am a freshman, sophomore, junior, senior, faculty member, college admininstrator (underline the appropriate response).

FOR STUDENTS ONLY:

I am a member/officer of _____ _____ a student organization or activity on campus. My position with this organization is that of _____.

FOR FACULTY MEMBERS OR ADMINISTRATORS ONLY:

My position at _____college or university is that of

_____

_____

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY_____

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

REGISTRATION FORM FOR ANNUAL MEETING
Montgomery, Alabama
February 5, 1966

Please reserve _____plates (at $3.00 per plate) for my guests and myself at the luncheon at the Jefferson Davis Hotel on February 5, 1966. I have enclosed $_____. I understand that $3.00 per plate is payable upon arrival at the annual meeting. _____

I plan to attend the following workshops: Community Organization; Education; Employment; Federal Programs; Health and Hospitals; Housing; Voter Registration and Education (UNDERLINE ONE). If you plan to attend the annual meeting please indicate which workshop you will attend and mail this form in so that we might schedule the more popular workshops for the larger conference rooms.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

NUMBER FIVE
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Ala - Newsletters, brochures

# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

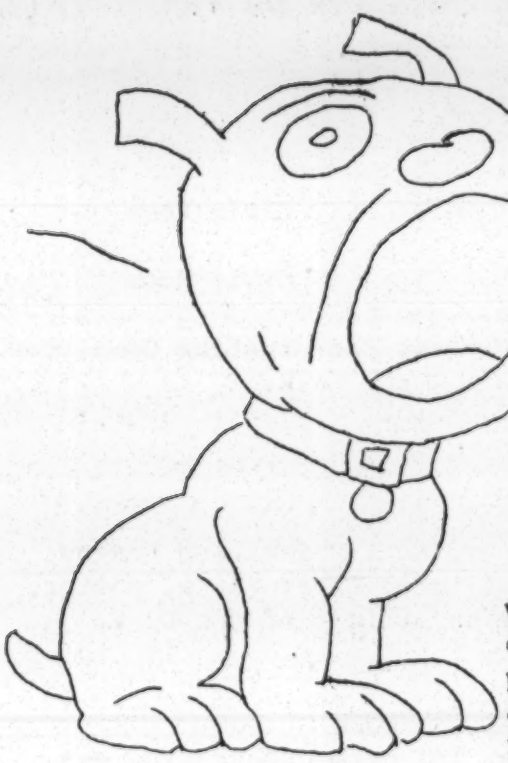
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Bob Valder
Associate Director

January 31, 1966

EXTRA! EXTRA! EXTRA! EXTRA! EXTRA!

## FINAL PLANS FOR ANNUAL MEETING



This "extra" edition of the ACHR monthly bulletin is prompted by our hope that knowledge of the final plans for our Annual Meeting will encourage everyone to attend it. So we have listed below the complete plans for the meeting with special emphasis on the "workshops." We think the workshops will be of particular value because (1) of the type of resource persons who will be present and (2) these workshops are not intended to be simply a discussion of theoretical issues since their aim is to bring practical information to the workshop participants about how to approach and attempt to influence those issues presented.

LET'S MAKE IT A HOWLING SUCCESS

*Therefore, if you believe you could profit from the information provided by the workshops, or by any one workshop, please do come. You can also plan on an informative and stimulating talk by Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman--our keynoter. If any of your friends and associates are interested bring them along. And, finally, it should be made clear that this meeting is not only for ACHR members; if you are not a member of ACHR don't let that worry you--anyone interested is welcome. Nor is it necessary for you to pre-register through the mail. In short--if you want to come, then come.*

AGENDA FOR ACHR'S ANNUAL MEETING IN MONTGOMERY
JEFFERSON DAVIS HOTEL
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1966

9:00 a.m. *REGISTRATION* Civic Room
There will be no registration fee. *NOTE: All resource persons and moderators will meet at 9:00 a.m. in the Civic Room.*

9:30 to 12:00 Noon Seven simultaneous workshops--take your choice

*COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION* Capital Room

Resource persons:
Julian Hall, Field Director, Alabama NAACP, Birmingham.
Al Ulmer, Director of Community Organization project, Southern Regional, Council, Atlanta.

Topic:
Community organization will be defined and explained; its purpose, methods and objectives will be discussed. The main idea here will be "how-to-do-it." (Continued on page 3).

# LAST CALL FOR STUDENT CONFERENCE

*As previously announced the ACHR will sponsor a statewide student conference at the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery beginning at 6:00 p.m. on February 4, 1966. Every interested student, faculty and administration member from any junior college, college and university in Alabama is invited and welcome. So--spread the word and bring a friend!! There will be no registration fee. Participants in this conference are invited to attend the annual meeting the next day. We hope the following agenda is sufficiently promising to attract a large crowd. We are expecting over 100 persons from nearly every college in the state. If you haven't pre-registered that's O.K. Come anyway!!*

*AGENDA FOR STUDENT CONFERENCE*
*FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1966*

6:00 p.m. *REGISTRATION AND GET-ACQUAINTED* Civic Room

7:00 p.m. *GENERAL SESSION* Civic Room
Chairman--Al Ulmer, Southern Regional Council
Speaker---Cortland Cox, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
A question and answer period will follow the talk.

8:00 p.m. Three simultaneous Seminars

*STUDENT ISSUES*
Resource persons: Malinda Freedman, Anti-Defamation League; Warren Hamilton, Institute Council, Tuskegee Institute; Harry Witte, editor, The Springhillian, Spring Hill College; possibly an officer of the U. S. National Student Association

*CURRENT STUDENT ACTIVITIES ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES*
Resource persons: Myrna Anderson, Talladega Recreation and Education Committee (TREC); Twinkie Koestline, Birmingham Southern, interracial student group in Birmingham; Sheila McCurdy, Methodist Student Movement (MSM); Ray Payne, Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC); Wilfred Sorell, Stillman College, Student Coordinating Action League for Equality (SCALE); James Webb, Human Rights Forum, U. of Alabama; Wendell Wilkerson, Tuskegee Institute Advancement League (TIAL); W. T. Wright, Auburn Student Human Relations Council (ASHRC).

*PROGRAMS FOR STUDENT INVOLVEMENT IN THE COMMUNITY*
Resource persons: Cortland Cox; Joretha McCall, TREC; Al Ulmer; students as of yet unsecured from Miles College and the Birmingham student group.

9:45 p.m. *GENERAL SESSION* Civic Room
This session will consist of: (1) brief reports from each seminar, and (2) a discussion of the feasibility and desirability of an Alabama Intercollegiate Council on Human Relations or some like named organization. In the event that the participants should like to examine or make plans for such an organization at greater length, a room has been reserved for such a purpose at 2:00 p.m. on Saturday, February 5, 1966.

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*NOTICE* *AN IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT!!* *NOTICE*

We will have a *SOCIAL HOUR* in the Civic Room beginning immediately after the student conference (about 10:00 or 10:30). So if you arrive early for the Annual Meeting, or if you attend the student conference or if you are a member of ACHR's Board of Directors or if you just plain want to meet some folks we'll be looking for you.

ANNUAL MEETING AGENDA (Continued)

*EDUCATION* Davis Room

Resource persons:

Mrs. Winifred Falls, School Desegregation Consultant, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta.

We will also have members of local chapters of ACHR who have worked on school desegregation projects in their areas.

Topic:

The entire session will be spent on school desegregation methods. How to organize a community-wide program of information to Negro parents and students concerning the transfer process will be the only topic.

*EMPLOYMENT* Civic Room

Resource persons:

Charles Brandon, Director of the Pulaski-Calvary Rehabilitation Center, Huntsville.

We hope to have a staff member of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Topics:

Mr. Brandon will discuss vocational guidance programs and job training programs. MDTA, OJT, the role of Employment Service offices and of private industry, grants and programs available and how to get them will be his major topics.

The other half of this workshop will be devoted to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (the fair employment title), the responsibilities of government contractors, the nature and role of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the complaint process and other matters dealing with fair employment regulations and how to use them.

*FEDERAL PROGRAMS* Civic Room

Resource persons:

Louis Black, Director of ACHR's Rural Advancement Project, Greensboro.

William Zierden and William May both of the Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, Southern Regional Office, Atlanta.

We hope to have two other persons. One will discuss Federal housing programs and the other Federal and State education programs.

Topics:

The above persons will explain and answer questions about the provisions and meaning of the anti-poverty program in general and its status in Alabama, U. S. Department of Agriculture programs, the various education acts and programs, the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the various housing acts and programs.

*HEALTH AND HOSPITALS* Senate Room

Resource persons:

Mrs. Sherry Arnstein, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington

We will also have members of local chapters of ACHR who have worked with community-wide programs on Title VI compliance.

Topic:

The entire session will be devoted to methods of desegregation under Title VI. The meaning and intent of Title VI will be explained; suggestions on how to organize a community-wide program on Title VI will be made; the role of private individuals and groups and the complaint process will be defined as will the responsibilities of HEW. Hospitals, welfare offices, rehabilitation centers and other similar agencies will be the focal points.

*HOUSING* Pine Room

Resource persons:

At this writing, we're sorry to say, we have not definitely secured anyone. However, we are confident of doing so by February 5. (Continued on page 4).

ANNUAL MEETING AGENDA (Continued)

Topics:

Programs on fair housing and open occupancy will be presented; provisions of various Federal housing programs will be explained. The nature, meaning and role of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing and presidential executive orders will also be presented.

*VOTER REGISTRATION AND EDUCATION* Jefferson Room

Resource persons:

Cortland Cox, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.
C. G. Gomillion, Alabama Council on Human Relations.
Rufus Lewis, Alabama Democratic Conference, Inc.
William Mintz, Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO.

Topics:

The Voting Rights Act--its provisions, results and enforcement--will be discussed as will political action groups. The techniques of political organization will be explained. The organization and objectives of and the need for political education programs will be presented.

12:00 Noon to 2:00 P.M. *LUNCHEON* Davis Room

Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman, one of six members of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, will be our featured speaker. An attorney, Mrs. Freeman is presently Associate General Counsel of the St. Louis Housing and Land Clearance Authorities.

Mr. John Doar, head of the Civil Rights Division of the U. S. Department of Justice, will be present to receive an award from ACHR.

2:00 p.m. to 3:30 p.m. *BUSINESS SESSION* Civic Room

3:30 p.m. *ADJOURNMENT*

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Newsletters

AGENDA FOR STUDENT CONFERENCE

Friday, February 4, 1966

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6:00 - 7:00 p.m. | *Registration and Get-Acquainted* | Civic Room of the Jefferson Davis Hotel |
| 7:00 - 8:00 p.m. | *Mr. Courtland Cox, Field Secretary for the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee* | Civic Room. A speech by Mr. Cox will be followed by a question and answer period. |

8:00 - 9:45 p.m. Three Simultaneous Seminars

*Student Issues*
Issues discussed here will include academic freedom, student newspapers, students and policy making, curriculum reform and the role and function of student government.

*Current Student Activities on College Campuses*
The background, composition, activities, problems and plans of various student organizations will be presented by students representing those organizations.

*Programs for Student Involvement in the Community*
Issues discussed here will include tutorials, voter registration and political education, public and private "anti-poverty" programs, community organization and work with local chapters of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Each seminar will have resource persons, most of whom will be students. These persons will bring information and ideas and suggested activities which persons attending the conference might put to use. We expect up to 100 persons from nearly every school in the state to be at this conference.

9:45 - 10:30 p.m. *General Session* Civic Room

This session will consist of: (1) brief reports from each seminar , and (2) a discussion of the feasibility and desirability of an Alabama Intercollegiate Council on Human Relations or some like named student organization. In the event that the participants should like to examine or make plans for such an organization at greater length, a room has been reserved for this purpose at 2:00 p.m., on February 5 (it should be noted that this meeting would coincide with the business session of ACHR's annual meeting).

*NOTE: The Civic Room has been reserved for after 10:30 p.m., so plan to stay and get acquainted with everyone at that time.*

AGENDA FOR ANNUAL MEETING
Saturday, February 5, 1966

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 9:00 - 9:30 a.m. | *Registration* | Civic Room |

9:30 - 12:00 Noon Seven Simultaneous Seminars

*Community Organization*
This topic will be defined and explained; its purpose method and objectives will be discussed. The main idea here will be "how-to-do-it."

*Education*
We will spend the entire session on school desegregation methods. How to organize a community-wide program of information to Negro parents and students concerning the transfer process will be the only topic.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

January 26, 1965

N O T I C E ! ! ! !

ACHR SPONSORS STUDENT CONFERENCE

The Alabama Council on Human Relations will sponsor a statewide student conference at the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery, Alabama, on February 4, 166.

This conference, made possible through a modest grant from the Southern Regional Council, is intended to bring together students and faculty and administrators from Alabama's colleges and universities so they might be further acquainted with and involved in the issues and problems facing the academic community.

During the Alabama Student Human Relations Conference on May 15, 1965, which was co-sponsored by the Southern Human Relations Project of the U. S. National Student Association and ACHR, the participants named a steering committee to plan an organizational meeting in the fall of 1965. This meeting was not held. Hence our plans to hold such a meeting in conjunction with ACHR's annual meeting.

The purpose of holding a conference immediately prior to our annual meeting is threefold: (1) to insure maximum student participation in the annual meeting itself--students will be encouraged to participate in this meeting; (2) to use the annual meeting as an added incentive for students to attend the student conference; (3) to avoid duplication of effort--many issues and problems about which students are concerned are identical to those which will be examined in the annual meeting itself.

There will be no registration fee. Students are strongly urged to make every effort to secure accommodations for themselves with friends and relatives living in Montgomery so they might attend the annual meeting the next day. If a student cannot secure such accommodations, we will, if so instructed, make hotel reservations for him. A double room for one night costs $8.50 ($4.25 per person) at the hotel. And if a student cannot afford $4.25, we will be able to pay part of the room expenses for some of those students.

The agendas for both the student conference and the annual meeting will be found on the following pages. Please examine them and then decide whether or not you are interested in attending both meetings.

We strongly urge every interested student and every interested faculty member and college administrator to put this date on their calendar and to fill out and mail in the registration form below. (If you fail to send the form in, please feel free to attend anyway.) BRING A FRIEND. We hope that all the participants at the student conference will make plans to attend the annual meeting the next day. That's February 4, 1966, at 6:00 p.m., at the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery.

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Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

REGISTRATION FORM FOR STUDENT CONFERENCE

Please check or fill out the appropriate blank (s) and mail thie form to us at your earliest convenience:

_____I will attend the student conference

_____I am a freshman, sophomore, junior, senior, faculty member, college administrator (underline the appropriate response)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY _____

*Employment*

Jobs and discrimination with regard to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the responsibilities of government contractors will be explained, as will the complaint process. About half the session will be devoted to job training programs--what they are and how to take advantage of them.

*Federal Programs*

Resource persons will explain and answer questions about the provisions and meaning of the anti-poverty program, U. S. Department of Agriculture programs, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965.

*Health and Hospitals*

The entire session will be devoted to method of desegregation under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act--hospitals, welfare offices, rehabilitation centers and other similar agencies will be the focal point.

*Housing*

Fair housing, open occupancy, Federal legislation and executive orders will be discussed here.

*Voter Registration and Education*

This session will include the provisions, results and enforcement of the Voting Rights Act, political education programs, political organization and political action programs.

12:00 Noon - 2:00 p.m. *Luncheon Session* Davis Room

Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman, member of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights will be our featured speaker. And John Doar, Assistant Attorney General and head of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, will be present to receive an award. (Lunch will last from 12:00 to 1:00 p.m., and will cost $3.00--you may pay at the door.)

2:00 - 3:30 p.m. *Business Session* Civic Room

This session will consist of the introduction of the new Director of the Rural Advancement Project, a report of the 1966 membership and financial campaign, reports from local chapters, 1966 budgetary considerations, the report of the nominating committee, the election of new officers and board members, and other items.

Ala - Publication

# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Bob Valder
Associate Director

February 28, 1966

## 1966 CAMPAIGN NEARS COMPLETION

As the 1966 membership and financial campaign enters its final stage, it is apparent that one final "push" will be necessary. As indicated below (these figures include all memberships, contributions and pledges received as of Wednesday, February 23), the membership campaign is coming along nicely; therefore, since we have only reached about 54% of our financial quota, the final push will have to concentrate upon contributions and pledges.

Bouquets to the Talladega chapter for showing us how to do it. Let's everyone catch them!! (Continued on page 2)

## SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECTS ORGANIZED

From all indications, many local chapters are in the midst of making careful plans to conduct as their number one priority item, intensive school desegregation projects this year.

The following items may be of interest to all local chapters. (1) Mrs. Kathy Wood from Mobile reports, "We had a pleasant surprise in our school desegregation program. The mother of a child who transferred this year arranged a meeting for us in her neighborhood with about 18 interested mothers in attendance. It was so successful that we hope we can get other mothers like her to do the same. This method of approach seems so obvious . . . but I mention it because other councils may also have overlooked this possibility." (2) East Alabama has already asked for 10 students to work on school desegregation this summer (see article on page 4). (3) Huntsville's chapter is sponsoring with the local NAACP and the Community Service Committee a "Committee on School Desegregation." They are now getting endorsements from churches, individuals, civic groups, PTA's, Teachers Associations, and other similar groups. (4) A State Leadership Conference on School Desegregation, co-sponsored by ACHR, will be held March 12, in Montgomery (see story on page 2 for details). (5) Chapters and other groups planning school desegregation projects must recognize the need to organize now (at least one school system has already had its transfer period!).

The first thing you need to know is the transfer date for your area. You might consider requesting from your superintendent or school board the transfer date and other pertinent information such as their transfer policy this year, who must authorise the transfer (one or both parents, the child himself), who can obtain an application form for transfer, where and when may you get it, what job protection will be afforded Negro teachers, and other similar information.

1966 CAMPAIGN NEARS COMPLETION (Continued)

FINANCIAL-MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN

| CHAPTERS | FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN | | | MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Pledged & Rec'd | Total 1966 Goal | Per Cent of Quota Rec'd & Pledged | Total Pledged & Rec'd | Total 1966 Quota | Per Cent of Quota Rec'd & Pledged |
| Greater Birmingham | $ 758.00 | $ 2,800 | 27% | 83 | 200 | 42% |
| East Alabama | 2,660.50 | 4,600 | 58% | 301 | 400 | 75% |
| Huntsville | 1,436.00 | 1,600 | 89% | 69 | 100 | 69% |
| Mobile | 1,637.50 | 2,600 | 67% | 142 | 150 | 95% |
| Montgomery | 704.00 | 1,300 | 54% | 40 | 75 | 53% |
| Muscle Shoals | 1,600.00 | 1,900 | 84% | 80 | 100 | 80% |
| Talladega District | 581.00 | 700 | 93% | 70 | 50 | 140% |
| Tuscaloosa | 1,286.00 | 2,100 | 61% | 110 | 150 | 73% |
| Special Gifts | 4,499.14 | 10,000 | 45% | | | |
| At Large | 55.00 | | | | | |
| TOTALS | 15,217.14 | 28,000 | 54% | 895 | 1,250* | 72% |

*Includes 25 for Enterprise

*If you live where there is no organized chapter, or if you live outside Alabama, or if for any other reason you have not yet given us your help, please let us have your membership, contribution or pledge at your earliest convenience (if you make a contribution or pledge, you automatically become a member). Use the application on Page 4.*

*Medicare's $3 per month voluntary doctor insurance plan must be applied for by March 31. This is very cheap coverage, but it is not automatic.*

*If you are interested in helping with this program, call at once your Social Security office to find out: (1) what has been done, (2) exactly what the rules are concerning election of this coverage, and (3) whether or not the local office will provide lists of eligible people. Ask your OEO if you can cooperate with "Medicare Alert," which is a government program to recruit signatures for Medicare.*

# ANNUAL MEET REPORT: GOMILLION NAMED

The Annual Meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations attracted over 200 persons representing 35 different organizations from about 40 cities and towns. Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman, a member of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, delivered a thoughtful analysis of where we are and where we should be going. John Doar, Assistant Attorney General, was also present to receive a statement of appreciation from ACHR which said, "In appreciation for your effectively rendered service to the cause of justice in Alabama and throughout the South."

New officers for 1966 are: President, Dr. C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute; Vice Presidents, Dr. Ray Fowler, Tuscaloosa; Dr. Lucius Pitts, Birmingham; and Father Brice Joyce, Sheffield; Secretary, Mrs. Paul McCoy, Birmingham. "At Large" members of the 1966 Executive Committee include: Rev. V. A. Edwards, Tuskegee Institute; Mr. James Kidd, Birmingham; Rev. Powers McLeod, Mobile; Mr. Jerry Roden, Auburn.

The Student Conference sponsored by ACHR was attended by about 80 students and faculty members representing 18 different organizations from 12 colleges and universities. There was no final decision about the need for or feasibility of some kind of student human relations organization. Since the meeting, many students have said they believe a meeting to examine this idea should be held later in the school year.

Don't forget--the membership and financial campaign is drawing to a close. Be sure to avail yourself of the opportunity to contribute to a better Alabama. And tell your friends about this--that's what friends are for.

# STANFIELD AND WELCH HONORED

The following two resolutions were unanimously approved at ACHR;s annual meeting:

*WHEREAS* the Alabama Council on Human Relations has won the 1965 George Mitchell Award for the largest percentage increase in membership of any state council on human relations in the South;

*WHEREAS* (in the opinion of the Board of Directors) this has been by far the most important year in the history of the organization in program improvement and execution;

*WHEREAS* the person most responsible for these accomplishments has been the Executive Director, J. Edwin Stanfield, who has shown great dedication, loyalty, intelligence, compassion, diplomacy, integrity, and high ideals in the execution of his duties; therefore,

*BE IT RESOLVED* that the Board of Directors take this means of expressing to Mr. Stanfield our great appreciation and thanks for a job "well done" and our best wishes for success as he undertakes his important new assignment as Field Director of the Southern Regional Council.

* * *

*WHEREAS* the Alabama Council on Human Relations in the past year has had unprecedented progress in program, membership and finance;

*WHEREAS* as a result of this significant recognition has come to us statewide and regionally;

*WHEREAS* one member of the Board of Directors has given unstintingly of his time in the promotion of membership and fund-raising;

*WHEREAS* he has now transferred to another state to a position of more responsibility; therefore,

*BE IT RESOLVED* that we express our appreciation to Nat Welch, our dynamic, energetic and retiring President;

*BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED* that we offer him our support in his new efforts and bid him: "Call us when he wills for our continued help."

*REV. J. C. WILSON*

*It is with regret and sadness that we note the death of Rev. J. C. Wilson on Sunday, February 6.*

*Rev. Wilson, a resident of Tuskegee and a long time participant in ACHR, was Vice President of ACHR in 1965, and had been elected at our Annual Meeting on February 5 as Treasurer for 1966.*

*Alabama has lost a good man. We have all lost a warm friend.*

# ACHR SPONSORS DESEGREGATION MEET

To help inform citizens of the new possibilities in school desegregation and to aid them in organizing communities, a State Leadership Conference on School Desegregation will be held on March 12, in Montgomery, Alabama.

The Conference is being sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations, the Alabama State Conference of Branches--NAACP, the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The meeting will be from 9:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., on Saturday, March 12. It will be held at the First CME Church, corner of Holt and Glass Streets in Montgomery, and is open to everyone.

(Continued on Page 4)

ACHR SPONSORS DESEGREGATION MEET (Continued)

The program will include speakers from the Equal Educational Opportunities Program of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, the U. S. Department of Justice, SCLC, and the American Friends Service Committee. *Most of the afternoon session will be devoted to workshops explaining how to organize a community-wide effort on school desegregation.* There will be funds to provide the actual cost of gasoline for attending the conference.

# SUMMER COMMUNITY WORKERS AVAILABLE

College students will almost definitely be available to work with local chapters, or with any other local organization this summer. If you are interested in having students assigned to work with you in school desegregation, voter registration, citizenship education or Title VI compliance surveys or in almost any other project, please write to the state office of ACHR at once.

Your letter should, in one short paragraph, state: (1) the number of students you would need, (2) what type of project (s) the students would be working with, (3) what expenses--housing, food, subsistence money--you would be able to provide and (4) what organization and what person in that organization the students would be assigned to. We will have to know by March 15. Any organization, ACHR chapter or not, may apply. The East Alabama chapter already has its bid in for 10 students. First come--first served!

---

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W. Huntsville, Alabama 35805

I would like to lend my support to the program of the Council by becoming:

1. A Single Member ($5.00) ( ) New ( ) Renewal ( )
2. A Joint Member, Husband and Wife ($8.00) ( ) Check Enclosed ( )
3. A Student Member ($3.00) ( ) Cash Enclosed ( )
4. A Contributor ($ ) ( ) Bill me ( )

NAME_____ ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZIP CODE_____ COUNTY_____

OCCUPATION_____ DATE_____

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MR. J. EDWIN STANFIELD
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Ala- Publications

*HUNTSVILLE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS*

*Our purpose . . .*

*. . . To promote channels for prompt and easy communication between individuals and groups of all races.*

*. . . To foster an atmosphere and environment in which citizens of all races, creeds, and colors can exist and work together in decency and dignity.*

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

**NEWSLETTER, FEBRUARY 1966**

**NEXT MEETING**

St. Thomas Episcopal Church
Sunday, February 20, 8:00 p.m.
100 Bob Wallace Avenue, S. W.

The Education Committee will present the program at this month's meeting. The two major projects of this committee will be explained. First, the exciting progress of our study hall sessions for students in need of help and encouragement with their school work will be related. Questions and suggestions about the program may be directed to Joe Gannon and Joe Wilson and the many others who are volunteering their help. Second, Jane Reed will outline the work of the Committee for School Desegregation, made up of representatives of the Huntsville Council, the N.A.A.C.P., and the Community Service Committee. Plans have been made to provide every Negro family with information about the regulations and procedures for transferring their children to traditionally white schools. This task is vitally needed in Huntsville in the next few months, and with the cooperation of all concerned citizens the challenge can and will be met!

COME AND FIND OUT YOU CAN HELP!

**CALENDAR**

| | |
|---|---|
| Feb. 10 8 p.m. | Informal Council meeting to meet Lewis Black (see below for details) |
| Feb. 13 4 p.m. | Program honoring Negro students Fellowship Presbyterian Church 3406 Meridian Street, North |
| Feb. 15 | League of Women Voters' Unit Meeting --see the newspaper for the time and place of this meeting which will deal with "human resources" of Huntsville |
| Feb. 20 8 p.m. | Huntsville Council on Human Relations General Meeting |
| Feb. 21 7:30 | N.A.A.C.P. General Meeting, "Voting and the Poll Tax" Union Chapel |
| Feb. 24 7:30 | City Council Meeting Municipal Building |
| Mar. 7 8:00 | H. R. C. Executive Board Union Chapel |
| Mar. 8 7:30 | Huntsville School Board Meets 714 Bob Wallace Avenue |
| Mar. 10 7:30 | City Council meets (same as above) |

* * *

From: "Why We Can't Wait" by Martin Luther King, Jr.:

"In facing the new American dilemma, the relevant question is not: "What more does the Negro want?" but rather: "How can we make freedom real and substantial for our colored citizens? "

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

**MEET LEWIS BLACK**

The state council has recently been fortunate enough to add Mr. Lewis Black to the staff to work in rural counties on a Rural Advancement Project, funded by a foundation grant through the Southern Regional Council. A native of the Black Belt who now makes his home in Greenville, Mr. Black has has invaluable experience in the field of human relations for many years. On Thursday night, February 10, at 8:00 p.m., you will have the opportunity to meet this new staff man informally at the home of Marge and Vernon Nieberlein, 2419 Henry Street. Do try to come and hear about his exciting plans for the future.

**ANNUAL MEETING**

Over two hundred people traveled from all over the state last weekend to attend an outstanding annual meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations in Montgomery. It was not many years ago when the Tuskegee campus was the only sanctuary in the state where we could meet annually. We all knew there was a new day dawning in Alabama as we listened to the excellent speakers and participated in the stimulating workshops in the Jefferson Davis Hotel, a stone's throw from our state capitol building. Don and Ester Ring, Joe Gannon, Mary Pandow, Evelyn Falkowski, Joan Cashin, Jane Reed, Dee and Ralph Olsen, Marge Nieberlein and her daughter Judy, Charles and Rose Brandon, Jan and Bob Valder, Phil Reynolds Connie Tanner, and Terry Conner made the trip from Huntsville. We would like to take this opportunity to congratulate our professional staff people, Bob Valder and Mrs. Benny Rogers, for their dedicated efforts to make this meeting the

ANNUAL MEETING (Continued)

success that it was.

More details about the workshops and speeches will appear in the next state council newsletter which you will receive if you are a paid member. If you take this as a subtle hint, you are right--we need and welcome your membership.

STUDY HALLS EXPANDING

A second study hall will open on Thursday, February 10, at the Scruggs Street Community Center, and will operate on Mondays and Thursdays thereafter from 6:00 - 8:00.

Sessions will continue to be held at the same times at Union Chapel Church. And two other sites are under consideration. Volunteers are needed to staff these programs.

Joe Gannon, Education Committee Chairman

PROGRAM TO HONOR STUDENTS

Fellowship Presbyterian Church will have a special program in honor of those students who have desegregated Huntsville schools. James Peoples, a senior at Butler High School, will speak for the students, and they all will be commended for their contribution to our community and indeed to our nation. A challenge will be offered to the other students present, their parents, and to the community in general to follow the fine example set by these youngsters and their families. Speakers on the program will also include Mrs. John Cashin, Mrs. Bill Reed, and Mr. Bob Valder. The church choir will provide music and refreshments will be served following the program.

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING

The Executive Board of the Huntsville Council met on February 7 and took the following actions:

Appointed Mrs. Edward Falkowski and Dr. Mary Pandow to serve as co-chairmen of the Employment Committee.

Instructed the Finance chairman to send a special mailing to potential members not yet reached by other means to encourage these persons to join the state council.

Agreed to hold the next Executive Board meeting at the Union Chapel Church so that members may observe a study hall session in action.

Asked Employment Committee to investigate the possibilities of setting up a project to encourage more domestic workers to enroll in the Social Security Program and report back to the Board at the next meeting.

Finalized plans for general meeting to be held on February 20, and discussed the March meeting.

Asked Membership Chairman to explore possibilities of acquainting students attending local colleges with the local council and its goals.

Mr. Ed Mayfield
S.R.C.
57 Lynwood Dr.
Columbia, Mo. 30303

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Ala - Publications

COUNCIL NEWS

THE MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — Mobile, Alabama

Mrs. Kathleen K. Wood, President
Mrs. Joan Lamb, Editor

February, 1966
Vol. 1, No. 6

## Meeting

| | |
|---|---|
| February 15, 8:00 | Church of the Good Shepherd<br>605 Donald Street |
| Topic: | Mobile's Most Pressing Problems in the Area of Civil Rights |
| Speakers: | Rev. Albert S. Foley, S.J., Dr. R.W. Gilliard, Mr. John L. LeFlore, Mr. Frank Thomas, Bishop William M. Smith, Mr. David Underhill |
| Moderator: | Rev. John W.B. Thompson |

Periodically we need to consider where we are in Mobile and how best to proceed. To help us determine what is the area of major concern right now in Mobile we have called together a distinguished panel of men active in various aspects of civil rights work and of varying views. Each panelist will make a brief statement giving his opinion of our present situation following which the meeting will be thrown open for discussion and questions from the floor.

This should be a most interesting and provocative meeting. Plan now to attend. PLEASE NOTE that because of Mardi Gras our meeting this month will be held on the third, rather than the fourth, Tuesday. Our March meeting will also be on the third Tuesday in order that we may have as our speaker Mayor Joseph N. Langan.

## Report on the State Convention

Those of us able to attend enjoyed an exciting day last Saturday at the annual meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. The meeting gave us an opportunity to evaluate our progress throughout the state, to gain a fresh prospective, and a new sense of direction for the coming year. Among those attending from Mobile were Mr. Jerry Rushing, Mr. John Milton, the Rev. Powers McLeod, Mrs. Joan Lamb, Mrs. E. B. Goode, Mr. and Mrs. Blair Hamlin, Mrs. Dorothy Williams, the Rev. Dallas Blanchard, Mr. and Mrs. James Wood, Mr. Palmer Hamilton and Mr. Harry Witte.

During the morning session workshops were held on Education, Health and Hospitals, Voter Registration and Education, Federal Programs, Employment, and Community Organization. The Mobile delegation tried to cover as many of the workshops as possible in order to bring back to Mobile all the information available.

At the afternoon business meeting Dr. Charles G. Gomillion was elected President of the Alabama Council and among those elected to the Board of Directors of the state Council were two Mobilians, the Rev. John W. B. Thompson and Mrs. Kathleen K. Wood.

## Have You Volunteered?

It is becoming increasingly obvious to all of us that the key to equal opportunity and equal participation in a democratic society is education. An improved education for all with barriers for none is surely our most pressing goal. Each day that the achievement of this goal is delayed many people are denied their own personal fulfillment, and their ability to contribute to our society is limited. All of us are the losers.

School desegregation is the first step toward true equality of opportunity. The Mobile Council is at work on a project to encourage as many children as possible to apply for school transfers. We need many more volunteers to visit with the parents and children to strengthen them in their resolve to obtain the best possible education. Future job equality demands educational equality today. Won't you help us in this to insure that today's children will not be tomorrow's unemployed?

## Solutions Needed

Can you help us solve a problem? Why, when membership in the Mobile Council stands at a record high, has attendance at our recent meetings dropped to a record low? Since we are not in the entertainment business we can't compete with The Fugitive or Red Skelton but we do offer you important and interesting meetings, uninterrupted by commercials (well, only a few commercials.) More to the point: WE NEED YOU AT THE MEETINGS.

It is obvious that the time is upon us when the Council should be more and more a working organization. Happily the days are past when we had to meet under cover, hear an informative talk, and then scurry off into the night hoping that no one had copied down our license tag numbers. Our work is now cut out for us. It is work that sorely needs to be done: but it will be poorly done, or not done at all, unless our meetings are well and consistently attended by you our members.

It's no news that everyone is busy etc., etc. But neither is it news that most of us can find time to do what we really want to do. We are happy that so many persons have lent their names (and their dues!) to the Mobile Council. Now please also lend us your bodies, in person.

Come to the meetings! That's the only way we can effectively function. This is the problem -- and you are the solution.

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## Finance and Membership Drive Report

Over 100 people attended the dinner meeting January 18th which marked the opening of our membership and finance drive. 47 new members joined that night and 55 others renewed their memberships. Over $900. was collected in pledges.

Our quota for this year is 150 members and $2600, including both membership dues and contributions. We now have 123 members and have raised a total of $1497. 36 of our 1965 members have not yet renewed their memberships for 1966, not including those who have moved from Mobile during the year. If you are among these 36 please send in your renewal today or turn it in at this month's meeting. Unless you have paid your dues since October 1, 1965, your membership has expired and it is time to renew.

When all 36 have renewed your memberships we will have surpassed our membership quota BUT we will still be almost $1,000 short of our finance goal. The Council, like any other organization, cannot operate without funds. At our February meeting we will be discussing the progress which has been made in Mobile and the problems which remain. To solve these problems will require money: much more money will be required to solve the problems of Lowndes County. The Alabama Council needs any contribution you can make.

If you have not as yet made a pledge for 1966 please try and do so now. You may pay your pledge in whatever way is most convenient for you. Complete the form below and mail it to the address shown. If you wish to enclose a check now, please make it payable to the ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS.

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To support the work of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc. I wish to contribute $_____ for the year 1966.

__ My check in enclosed.

__ Please bill me. I have checked the way in which I prefer to pay.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| $24.00 | __ 2.00 a month | __6.00 a quarter | __12.00 twice a year |
| $36.00 | __ 3.00 a month | __ 9.00 a quarter | __18.00 twice a year |
| $48.00 | __ 4.00 a month | __12.00 a quarter | __24.00 twice a year |
| $60.00 | __ 5.00 a month | __15.00 a quarter | __30.00 twice a year |
| $120.00 | __10.00 a month | __30.00 a quarter | __60.00 twice a year |

Name_____ _____Address_____

City_____Zone_____ Phone_____

Occupation_____ Date _____

Mail to: James N. Wood, 4100 Ridgelawn Drive, Mobile, Alabama 36608

ALA. - Publications

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

March 25, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : Local Chapter Presidents, Local Education Committee Chairmen and/or Desegregation Committee Chairmen

From : Bob Valder

Subject: Enclosed School Desegregation Material

We have enclosed various types of information relative to the 1966 Guidelines and how you might organize a project to help insure maximum desegregation in your school system this year. A brief explanation of the enclosed material follows.

(1) The 1966 Title VI Guidelines for School Desegregation
This summary of the guidelines was provided by the U. S. Office of Education.

(2) Desegregating Your Public School Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964
This is a summary of Title VI and of the 1966 guidelines provided by the American Friends Service Committee. It includes a section on what local groups can do to insure maximum desegregation.

(3) Some Helpful Contacts for Alabama School Desegregation
This is a list of persons to contact for information, assistance or for filing complaints.

(4) What to do if the Schools in Your District are still Segregated
This is a sample letter to guide parents who want the Justice Department's help in filing suits to desegregate school districts.

(5) Some Ingredients of an Effective Local Community Action Program to Promote School Desegregation
This is a 20-point plan suggested to local groups working on school desegregation.

(6) Information on Child Desiring A Desegregated Education
This is an information sheet which should be filled out for each pupil contacted by a school desegregation committee. This is very important especially for follow-up information this year for a similar project during the next school year. Since we cannot supply enough copies of this form for all pupils in your area, local chapters might consider making their own supply.

(7) Instructions to Friendly Visitors
This is a guide to persons who give accurate factual information on school desegregation to Negro parents.

## The 1966 Title VI Guidelines for School Desegregation

The 1966 Guidelines require:

1. Substantial achievements under free choice desegregation plans,

2. Significant progress in desegregation of teachers and staff,

3. Progress in closing of small, inadequate schools established for Negro students or other minority groups,

4. Simplified procedures and periodic reports from school districts to measure progress in implementing desegregation plans.

### Assurance

To be eligible for Federal funds, each school system must assure the Commissioner that it will abide by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. The type of assurance varies with the nature of the school system:

Desegregated Systems: A school system that never had or has already eliminated all forms of segregation submits an assurance of full compliance by HEW Form 441.

Dual School Systems: School systems that are working toward desegregation submit either a Federal court order for desegregation or a voluntary desegregation plan. School systems with voluntary plans file Form 441-PLAN, which provides that a school system's voluntary desegregation plan will be carried out in accordance with the standards outlined in the 1966 Guidelines.

Any compliance assurance or plan is essentially a statement of intent, and is not a substitute for performance. The Commissioner may require additional assurance or evidence of performance if he has cause to believe that a school system is not living up to its original assurance.

### Types of Plan

No single type of desegregation plan fits all school systems. Each school system is responsible for selecting the plan best suited to accomplish desegregation as quickly as possible. However, if the Commissioner has cause to believe a plan will not work in a particular district, or has evidence that a previously accepted plan is failing, he may require the adoption of a different plan.

A. General Requirements

The school system--not the State or Federal government--is responsible for making its plan work. The system must inform the community of its plan, solicit community support, and take the necessary steps to protect all persons exercising their rights under the plan.

The Guidelines require periodic reports to help the Commissioner determine a system's progress under its plan. These reports include data on student and faculty assignment by race and school; maps of the system's boundaries and the location of schools within the boundaries; notification of any changes the system seeks to make in its plan; and descriptions of special circumstances hampering the progress of desegregation.

B. Specific Requirements

1. Attendance Zone Plans: Under this type of plan, students are assigned to schools within a school system according to their area of residence. The school system must establish a single set of attendance zones, and then assign students to schools serving their zone, regardless to race, color, or national origin.

   Students with special educational needs--handicapped children, for example--can be assigned to a school outside their normal attendance zone.

2. Free Choice Plans: These plans require students to choose their own school, regardless of where they live. The expectation is that students of each race will choose the same school, and thus break down the dual school pattern.

   Each student and his parent must choose a school each year . . . in most cases 4 or 5 months before the school year begins. The school system must ensure that this choice is free, and that students and parents can choose in safety and without fear of reprisal.

   School systems must make significant progress in eliminating the dual school pattern under free choice plans. Progress in the transfer of students from segregated schools will be measured in relation to achievements of prior years and will be judged in accordance with the Federal court rule that school districts which start late must move faster in desegregating their school.

Desegregation of Faculty

The 1965 Guidelines required at least a first step toward faculty desegregation through integrated staff meetings in the first year. The 1966 Guidelines require actual desegregation in the school staff.

In general, school systems with bi-racial faculties must assign staff in such a way as to produce some faculty integration in every school. The Commissioner may approve different patterns where the school system shows that another method would be equally effective.

The 1966 Guidelines also include safeguards against discriminatory hiring, firing, promotion, and extension of tenure. They do not violate a system's right to administer its staff according to professional criteria, but they do require that such practices not result in discrimination by race, color, or national origin.

Desegregation of Facilities

Any facility or activity--including athletics, transportation, parent-teacher or student assemblies, extra-curricular programs, special educational opportunities--identifiable as being school-related must be open to all appropriate persons without discrimination.

SUMMARY

The basic concept behind the design of the 1966 Guidelines is substantial progress in each district beyond what it achieved under the 1965 Guidelines.

The basic criterion for the Commissioner's interpretation of these Guidelines is measurable evidence of progress and good faith effort to eliminate the dual school system as quickly as possible.

March 1, 1966

# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION TASK FORCE
of the

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE & EDUCATIONAL FUND
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019

## DESEGREGATING YOUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS UNDER TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

**WHAT TITLE VI SAYS** Title VI forbids racial discrimination in all programs which receive Federal financial assistance and authorizes the withdrawal of funds if voluntary efforts to abolish discrimination are unsuccessful.

**1966 GUIDELINES** The Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) has issued the "REVISED STATEMENT OF POLICIES FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLANS UNDER TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964." These Guidelines require school officials to file assurances of their intention to comply with Title VI, to act to eliminate discrimination including the maintenance of a dual structure of separate schools and to show substantial progress in 1966. "Any educational opportunity offered by a school system must be available to students without regard to race, color, or national origin."

**SCHOOL DISTRICTS INDICATING NO INTENT TO COMPLY** Although HEW is authorized to withdraw Federal funds from non-complying school districts, it is reluctant to do so and the process is complicated. Parents who are concerned that their school system continues to be segregated are advised to write to the U. S. Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. He has the authority under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act to file suits to desegregate schools when he receives complaints from parents.

**SCHOOL DISTRICTS UNDER FEDERAL COURT ORDER** The HEW Guidelines do not automatically apply to school districts which are desegregating under Federal court orders. However, the Guidelines reflect current judicial standards of the higher Federal courts. Where court-ordered desegregation plans do not come up to the new HEW standards, parents are urged to consult with their lawyers about further legal action. The desegregation pioneers of past years should not now be deprived because old court orders do not offer them the greater opportunities now available for equal education.

**STANDARDS FOR SCHOOL DISTRICTS WITH VOLUNTARY SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLANS**

1. By April 15, 1966, each school district must submit an assurance (HEW #441-B) that it intends to comply with the new Guidelines and will amend its school desegregation plan to conform with each requirement.

2. This plan must be implemented to eliminate the dual system "as expeditiously as possible." If the U. S. Commissioner of Education determines that the plan is not adequate to accomplish the purpose of Title VI, he may require the adoption of a different plan.

3. Significant progress must be made in staff desegregation. Teachers must not be fired or demoted for racial reasons.

4. Facilities and programs must be available without discrimination. Summer school and adult education courses must be open to all without freedom of choice procedures.

5. Extracurricular activities must be open to all without waiting periods.

6. Small, inferior segregated schools must be closed and students transferred.

7. Educating pupils outside the district is forbidden where it limits desegregation.

8. School desegregation plans must be well publicized; parents must be notified by letter.

9. Full progress reports to the Commissioner of Education are required.

10. Transportation arrangements must be desegregated.

11. In desegregation plans based on school zones, boundaries or feeder patterns may not be used to perpetuate segregation.

12. Districts with freedom of choice plans must:

- offer a well-publicized, annual, 30-day choice period and other choice opportunities
- permit 9th graders or 15-year old pupils to exercise their own choice
- grant all choices except for overcrowding
- give no preference to students already enrolled in formerly all-white schools
- forbid staff influence
- not limit desegregation by requiring birth or health certificates, tests, etc.
- provide for notification in writing of assignments
- achieve substantial results. Districts where only 5% of the Negro pupils transferred in 1965-66 would be expected to triple this enrollment in 1966

13. Pupils in grades not covered by a desegregation plan in 1966 must be permitted to transfer to desegregated schools to take a course of study not offered in the segregated school, to attend school with a relative, to be educated at home if they would otherwise be sent out of their district, or if they satisfy the usual transfer requirements not based on race.

14. Officials are responsible for preparing staff and the community for desegregation, for protecting persons exercising their rights and for taking action against any student or staff who interferes with the plan.

WHAT CONCERNED CITIZENS SHOULD DO

1. Organize a local school desegregation project. Discuss with Negro parents the advantages of a desegregated education and inform them of their children's rights.

2. Maintain contact with your local school officials and monitor the implementation of the desegregation plan.

3. Report to the U. S. Commissioner of Education your evaluation of school desegregation developments so far and any violations as your desegregation plan is implemented. Report immediately any acts of intimidation, violence or discrimination to the Equal Educational Opportunities Program, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C. Telephone: 202-962-0333.

4. LET US KNOW IF WE CAN HELP YOU.

# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION TASK FORCE
of the

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE & EDUCATIONAL FUND
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019

## SOME INGREDIENTS OF AN EFFECTIVE LOCAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM TO PROMOTE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

1. Locate persons in the community who believe in integrated education and who are prepared to work for substantial desegregation in the public schools this year. With these persons create an action planning committee for school desegregation to:

   a. Establish and maintain contact with authorities;
   b. Be a source of accurate information on school desegregation;
   c. Be the contact for concerned private and governmental agencies;
   d. Find the Negro families who might consider sending their children to formerly all-white schools and to provide these families with the information and help which they need.

2. Local Negro citizens should establish direct contact with school authorities to express concern for desegregation, to get information about official policy and plans and to offer assistance. A citizens' committee should visit the superintendent of schools and the chairman of the school board to ascertain how the 1966 regulations of the U. S. Office of Education respecting the desegregation of schools under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act will be implemented. If the board is under a court order, citizens should get specific information about how this order will be carried out this year.

3. If public schools are segregated, concerned parents should write to the U. S. Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., asking him to file a suit to desegregate the schools.

4. Your citizens' committee should evaluate the progress in school desegregation so far and should send a report to the U. S. Commissioner of Education, Washington, D. C. Include recommendations which you feel would promote substantial desegregation in your school district in 1966. Complaints about the plan during any stage of its implementation should also be sent to the Commissioner.

5. For legal advice and assistance write to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, 10 Columbus Circle, New York, New York 10019.

6. Accurate information about school desegregation plans, procedures, deadlines, etc., should be put into a simple, readable form and publicized throughout the community. This is important to counteract rumor and misinformation. Your school board is required to provide all necessary information.

7. Study the desegregation plan carefully and then locate areas in your school district with the greatest potential for substantial desegregation. These should be the areas for special concentration although your efforts should include the total Negro community regardless of residence.

8. Develop a total plan for the desegregation of all public schools; for <u>all children have a right to a desegregated education</u> in the 1966-67 school year. In addition to children who will be in those grades covered by a desegregation plan all pupils have a right to obtain transfers to desegregated schools. Be concerned, too, about the desegregation of vocational schools, industrial training centers, junior colleges and community colleges.

9. Informational meetings. Every opportunity should be sought to discuss school desegregation in the community. Stress should be placed on the importance of a desegregated education and its contribution to citizenship and to broader job opportunities.

10. If possible, establish a headquarters where parents can get reliable, factual information about desegregation, about the school board's plan, etc. Materials, school zone maps, transfer forms and the correct names and addresses of formerly all-white schools should be available at a central place.

11. A statement of endorsement of school desegregation by clergymen and other community leaders can be very helpful. This can be effectively combined with an informational sheet to highlight a campaign.

12. Work out a plan for home visits to as many families as possible. A number of volunteers can be used in this part of the campaign. Be sure that the workers are adequately prepared for this assignment and have the correct information. (See AFSC's material on "Friendly Visitors.")

13. Make a special effort to involve high school students. Identify student leaders Get their support. Help them to see the value of a desegregated education for themselves as well as for their fellow students. A student who is committed to equal educational opportunity is the best avenue to other students and to parents. However, parents must be contacted and early. Parents might understandably resent outsiders who appear to be making decisions for their children.

14. Keep records of contacts with families. Your workers, calling on parents at different times, should have information from earlier visits. Also, these records will be valuable for follow-up later.

15. Children who have applied to formerly all-white schools may be turned down. Parents should be advised of their rights to appeal and should be encouraged to do so. Where a court order is involved, further legal action may be necessary.

16. Work out ways to handle special problems. In some communities it is advisable to make arrangements for transportation for a while. Children may need lunch money, school supplies, clothing or medical help. Families may need support if the breadwinner loses his job. Students may need tutorial help. Discover local resources for meeting these problems. There are often persons and groups who are eager to help a courageous family even though they may not themselves take a public stand for desegregation. Nearby colleges and Federal programs may have resources for tutoring.

17. Discover white persons in the community who may play various roles. Private visits to local authorities by white clergymen, businessmen or church women or public statements calling for compliance to law are valuable. Some sympathetic white persons may be willing to arrange during the summer for Negro and white children or parents to get acquainted. Your state human relations council may have names of potentially helpful persons.

18. Find out who the nearest representative of the FBI is and contact him in advance of the opening of school. Also, contact local law enforcement officials. If local officials do not promise adequate protection, contact the Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

19. NEVER RELEASE PUBLICLY NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF CHILDREN DESEGREGATING SCHOOLS.

20. Discover a group in the community (or create one) that will be concerned with the welfare of the children once they are in the desegregated schools.

SAMPLE

# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT

## INFORMATION ON CHILD DESIRING A DESEGREGATED EDUCATION

NAME OF CHILD _____

ADDRESS _____ TELEPHONE _____

BIRTHDATE _____ DOES CHILD HAVE BIRTH CERTIFICATE? _____

GRADE CHILD WILL BE 1965-66 SCHOOL YEAR _____

SCHOOL WERE CHILD IS PRESENTLY ENROLLED _____

FATHER'S NAME _____ EMPLOYER _____

MOTHER'S NAME _____ EMPLOYER _____

NAME GUARDIAN IF OTHER THAN PARENT _____

NAME AND AGES OF OTHER CHILDREN AND SCHOOL WHICH THEY ATTEND:

NAME _____ SCHOOL _____

NAME _____ SCHOOL _____

NAME _____ SCHOOL _____

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IF ANY _____

NEAREST FORMERLY ALL-WHITE SCHOOL OR SCHOOL WITH DESIRED COURSE:

_____

CAN PARENTS SUGGEST NAMES OF OTHER PARENTS INTERESTED IN DESEGREGATED EDUCATION FOR THEIR CHILDREN?

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

REMARKS OF VISITOR:

FOLLOW UP:
Did parents seek to register child in or transfer child to a formerly all-white school? _____ NAME OF SCHOOL _____ DATE _____

Action of school board: Was child enrolled or denied? _____ Date _____

W H A T  T O  D O

IF THE SCHOOLS IN YOUR DISTRICT ARE STILL SEGREGATED

Under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Attorney General of the United States is authorized to file suits to desegregate school districts if he is asked to do so by local parents. This is a sample letter to guide parents who want the Attorney General's help.

Date:_____

Hon. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach
U. S. Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I live in the ___(Give full name of your school district)_____ in the state of _____.

I am a parent and have the following school age children: (Give the names, ages and grades of all children who will be eligible to attend public schools next fall, including those who will be in the first grade.)

My children are being denied their constitutional rights because the schools in this district are segregated. Therefore, I am appealing to you to take whatever legal action is necessary to desegregate these schools.

I am not in a position to file a private law suit to desegregate the schools because (Give whichever reasons apply, such as:

1. I do not have the money to do so, or

2. There is no lawyer in this community who would take my case, or

3. I am afraid of what might happen to my family if I file a suit in my own name.)

Your help will be greatly appreciated by the Negro citizens of this community.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Name_____

Address_____

Telephone No. _____

SAMPLE

# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT

of

(NAME YOUR COMMUNITY)

## INSTRUCTIONS TO FRIENDLY VISITORS

Friendly Visitors are local citizens who are concerned to give accurate factual information on school desegregation to Negro parents. This visitation project expresses the support of the community to families who will be the school desegregation pioneers.

1. Introduce yourself and state the purpose of your visit: You have come to inform parents of their rights under the school board's plan to desegregate the public schools of the district. You have come with the endorsement of community leaders ____(state who they are)_____ who are eager to express their support to parents who seek better opportunities for their children.

2. Give information simply and clearly about the school board's desegregation plans.

   Tell them which children are eligible to attend formerly all-white schools. Inform them about the procedures for enrolling in these schools. Give specific information about dates, deadlines, forms to be filled out, etc.

3. Involve the parents in discussion to get their ideas.

   a. Ask whether the subject of school desegregation has been discussed among their friends and relatives. Point out the value of open discussion of this important matter which affects the welfare of children.
   b. Inquire whether they have thought about taking their child to a white school.
   c. Ask whether they are aware of the advantages of having their child enroll in a desegregated school. For example:

      (1) Formerly all-white schools usually get more money, have better facilities and are less crowded than Negro schools.
      (2) New job opportunities are opening up. Our children need the best preparation possible: a solid foundation in basic subjects plus specialized training for jobs in the mainstream of American life. Education in Negro schools often does not meet today's standards.
      (3) The pace of school desegregation has been speeded up by the courts and the new Civil Rights Act. Negro children now in school or about to enter may be attending classes with white children at some time. Since younger students face fewer problems of adjustment, the sooner Negro and white pupils start studying together, the better. Fortunately, there are more resources now to deal with the problems of adjusting academically to desegregation. Negro children should take advantage of the first opportunity available for a non-segregated education.

(4) If the formerly all-white school is the nearest school, attending it will certainly be more convenient for Negro children. Negro students who must travel considerable distances to attend segregated schools are often subjected to traffic hazards as well as inconvenience.

(5) White and Negro citizens need to learn to get along together to build a better community for all. Children can help establish better race relations in the community because they have fewer prejudices and less rigid ideas. The public school should be the community's training center for good citizenship.

d. Ask parents about the nearest formerly all-white school, the neighborhood around it and the route children would take to this school. Has there ever been any tension in this area? Community leaders will want to know if there is reason to be concerned.

4. Help parents voice questions on their minds. Tell them you have come to help them find answers to their questions. What are their fears? Going to desegregated schools will be a new experience for all citizens in the community. It is human nature to fear change. It is helpful to talk about your fears. We cannot answer all questions nor give completely satisfactory answers to fears which are expressed. Nevertheless, the following may be helpful:

a. The fear of possible physical danger to children is understandable. Community leaders will be in touch with local, state, and national authorities concerning adequate protection for children. (If you know about efforts which are now being made to prevent violence, describe them.)

b. There is more safety in numbers. There is less liklihood of harassment if a sizeable number of Negro children enroll in desegregated classes.

c. Protection can be more adequately provided if leaders know in advance about the families whose children will be the pioneers.

d. Some parents are afraid of losing their jobs. This is less likely to happen if a large number of families are involved.

e. Suggest that interested parents find friends and neighbors who are willing to join with them and select a school which their children can attend together.

5. Tell parents that you want to keep in touch with them while they are making up their minds. Even if they are still undecided, you would like to work with them during this period before registration starts on _____.
(date)

6. DON'T ARGUE IF PARENTS ARE RELUCTANT OR HOSTILE.

7. Leave the telephone number of the local contact for those parents who desire further information: _____.

8. Please turn in a visit report form and indicate if follow-up is needed.

## SOME HELPFUL CONTACTS FOR ALABAMA SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

I. Listed below are the Federal agencies you should contact if you have a complaint concerning school desegregation.

If you believe your school district is not in compliance with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill, write to:

Mr. Benjamin Hunton
Area Director for Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee
Equal Education Opportunities Program
Temp. S, 7th and Jefferson
Washington, D. C. Area Code 202 962-7961

or

Mr. Lawrence Crowder
Alabama Director of Compliance
Equal Educational Opportunities Program
Washington, D. C. Area Code 202 962-7961

If you have complaints about violence and intimidation or if you feel that legal action is necessary in your school district, write to:

Mr. John Doar
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. Area Code 202 RE 7-8200

You should send copies of all complaints to:

Mr. Jacques E. Wilmore, Director
Memphis Field Office
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
167 North Main Street
Memphis, Tennessee 38102 Area Code 901 534-3139

II. Listed below are private agencies on the state, regional and national level that you can contact if you need help in school desegregation.

If you need legal aid, contact:

<u>NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund</u>

Mr. Derrick Bell
Miss Jean Fairfax
Suite 2030
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019 Area Code 212 JU 6-8397

Mr. Allen Black
1009 West Irvine
Florence, Alabama Area Code 205 766-2452

If you want help with community organization or have any questions concerning school desegregation, contact:

Alabama Council on Human Relations

Mr. Bob Valder
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805 Area Code 205 539-5496

Alabama State Conference of Branches - NAACP

Dr. John W. Nixon
1728 - 20th Street, Ensley
Birmingham, Alabama Area Code 205 787-1300

American Friends Service Committee

Miss Constance Curry
Mrs. Winifred Falls
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 502
Atlanta, Georgia 30303 Area Code 404 523-6629

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Mr. Bob Green
Mrs. Septima Clark
Mrs. Dorothy Cotton
Miss Annelle Ponder
330 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia Area Code 404 522-1420

Mr. Albert Turner
802 First Avenue
Selma, Alabama Area Code 205 872-0927

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Mr. Courtland Cox
31 1/2 Franklin Street
Selma, Alabama Area Code 205 872-1426

# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION TASK FORCE
of the

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE & EDUCATIONAL FUND
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019

## SOME INGREDIENTS OF AN EFFECTIVE LOCAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM TO PROMOTE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

1. Locate persons in the community who believe in integrated education and who are prepared to work for substantial desegregation in the public schools this year. With these persons create an action planning committee for school desegregation to:

   a. Establish and maintain contact with authorities;
   b. Be a source of accurate information on school desegregation;
   c. Be the contact for concerned private and governmental agencies;
   d. Find the Negro families who might consider sending their children to formerly all-white schools and to provide these families with the information and help which they need.

2. Local Negro citizens should establish direct contact with school authorities to express concern for desegregation, to get information about official policy and plans and to offer assistance. A citizens' committee should visit the superintendent of schools and the chairman of the school board to ascertain how the 1966 regulations of the U. S. Office of Education respecting the desegregation of schools under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act will be implemented. If the board is under a court order, citizens should get specific information about how this order will be carried out this year.

3. If public schools are segregated, concerned parents should write to the U. S. Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., asking him to file a suit to desegregate the schools.

4. Your citizens' committee should evaluate the progress in school desegregation so far and should send a report to the U. S. Commissioner of Education, Washington, D. C. Include recommendations which you feel would promote substantial desegregation in your school district in 1966. Complaints about the plan during any stage of its implementation should also be sent to the Commissioner.

5. For legal advice and assistance write to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, 10 Columbus Circle, New York, New York 10019.

6. Accurate information about school desegregation plans, procedures, deadlines, etc., should be put into a simple, readable form and publicized throughout the community. This is important to counteract rumor and misinformation. Your school board is required to provide all necessary information.

7. Study the desegregation plan carefully and then locate areas in your school district with the greatest potential for substantial desegregation. These should be the areas for special concentration although your efforts should include the total Negro community regardless of residence.

8. Develop a total plan for the desegregation of all public schools; for <u>all children have a right to a desegregated education</u> in the 1966-67 school year. In addition to children who will be in those grades covered by a desegregation plan all pupils have a right to obtain transfers to desegregated schools. Be concerned, too, about the desegregation of vocational schools, industrial training centers, junior colleges and community colleges.

9. Informational meetings. Every opportunity should be sought to discuss school desegregation in the community. Stress should be placed on the importance of a desegregated education and its contribution to citizenship and to broader job opportunities.

10. If possible, establish a headquarters where parents can get reliable, factual information about desegregation, about the school board's plan, etc. Materials, school zone maps, transfer forms and the correct names and addresses of formerly all-white schools should be available at a central place.

11. A statement of endorsement of school desegregation by clergymen and other community leaders can be very helpful. This can be effectively combined with an informational sheet to highlight a campaign.

12. Work out a plan for home visits to as many families as possible. A number of volunteers can be used in this part of the campaign. Be sure that the workers are adequately prepared for this assignment and have the correct information. (See AFSC's material on "Friendly Visitors.")

13. Make a special effort to involve high school students. Identify student leaders Get their support. Help them to see the value of a desegregated education for themselves as well as for their fellow students. A student who is committed to equal educational opportunity is the best avenue to other students and to parents. However, parents must be contacted and early. Parents might understandably resent outsiders who appear to be making decisions for their children.

14. Keep records of contacts with families. Your workers, calling on parents at different times, should have information from earlier visits. Also, these records will be valuable for follow-up later.

15. Children who have applied to formerly all-white schools may be turned down. Parents should be advised of their rights to appeal and should be encouraged to do so. Where a court order is involved, further legal action may be necessary.

16. Work out ways to handle special problems. In some communities it is advisable to make arrangements for transportation for a while. Children may need lunch money, school supplies, clothing or medical help. Families may need support if the breadwinner loses his job. Students may need tutorial help. Discover local resources for meeting these problems. There are often persons and groups who are eager to help a courageous family even though they may not themselves take a public stand for desegregation. Nearby colleges and Federal programs may have resources for tutoring.

17. Discover white persons in the community who may play various roles. Private visits to local authorities by white clergymen, businessmen or church women or public statements calling for compliance to law are valuable. Some sympathetic white persons may be willing to arrange during the summer for Negro and white children or parents to get acquainted. Your state human relations council may have names of potentially helpful persons.

18. Find out who the nearest representative of the FBI is and contact him in advance of the opening of school. Also, contact local law enforcement officials. If local officials do not promise adequate protection, contact the Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

19. NEVER RELEASE PUBLICLY NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF CHILDREN DESEGREGATING SCHOOLS.

20. Discover a group in the community (or create one) that will be concerned with the welfare of the children once they are in the desegregated schools.

SAMPLE

# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT

of

(NAME YOUR COMMUNITY)

## INSTRUCTIONS TO FRIENDLY VISITORS

Friendly Visitors are local citizens who are concerned to give accurate factual information on school desegregation to Negro parents. This visitation project expresses the support of the community to families who will be the school desegregation pioneers.

1. Introduce yourself and state the purpose of your visit: You have come to inform parents of their rights under the school board's plan to desegregate the public schools of the district. You have come with the endorsement of community leaders ____(state who they are)_____ who are eager to express their support to parents who seek better opportunities for their children.

2. Give information simply and clearly about the school board's desegregation plans.

   Tell them which children are eligible to attend formerly all-white schools. Inform them about the procedures for enrolling in these schools. Give specific information about dates, deadlines, forms to be filled out, etc.

3. Involve the parents in discussion to get their ideas.

   a. Ask whether the subject of school desegregation has been discussed among their friends and relatives. Point out the value of open discussion of this important matter which affects the welfare of children.
   b. Inquire whether they have thought about taking their child to a white school.
   c. Ask whether they are aware of the advantages of having their child enroll in a desegregated school. For example:

      (1) Formerly all-white schools usually get more money, have better facilities and are less crowded than Negro schools.
      (2) New job opportunities are opening up. Our children need the best preparation possible: a solid foundation in basic subjects plus specialized training for jobs in the mainstream of American life. Education in Negro schools often does not meet today's standards.
      (3) The pace of school desegregation has been speeded up by the courts and the new Civil Rights Act. Negro children now in school or about to enter may be attending classes with white children at some time. Since younger students face fewer problems of adjustment, the sooner Negro and white pupils start studying together, the better. Fortunately, there are more resources now to deal with the problems of adjusting academically to desegregation. Negro children should take advantage of the first opportunity available for a non-segregated education.

(4) If the formerly all-white school is the nearest school, attending it will certainly be more convenient for Negro children. Negro students who must travel considerable distances to attend segregated schools are often subjected to traffic hazards as well as inconvenience.

(5) White and Negro citizens need to learn to get along together to build a better community for all. Children can help establish better race relations in the community because they have fewer prejudices and less rigid ideas. The public school should be the community's training center for good citizenship.

d. Ask parents about the nearest formerly all-white school, the neighborhood around it and the route children would take to this school. Has there ever been any tension in this area? Community leaders will want to know if there is reason to be concerned.

4. Help parents voice questions on their minds. Tell them you have come to help them find answers to their questions. What are their fears? Going to desegregated schools will be a new experience for all citizens in the community. It is human nature to fear change. It is helpful to talk about your fears. We cannot answer all questions nor give completely satisfactory answers to fears which are expressed. Nevertheless, the following may be helpful:

a. The fear of possible physical danger to children is understandable. Community leaders will be in touch with local, state, and national authorities concerning adequate protection for children. (If you know about efforts which are now being made to prevent violence, describe them.)

b. There is more safety in numbers. There is less liklihood of harassment if a sizeable number of Negro children enroll in desegregated classes.

c. Protection can be more adequately provided if leaders know in advance about the families whose children will be the pioneers.

d. Some parents are afraid of losing their jobs. This is less likely to happen if a large number of families are involved.

e. Suggest that interested parents find friends and neighbors who are willing to join with them and select a school which their children can attend together.

5. Tell parents that you want to keep in touch with them while they are making up their minds. Even if they are still undecided, you would like to work with them during this period before registration starts on _____.
(date)

6. DON'T ARGUE IF PARENTS ARE RELUCTANT OR HOSTILE.

7. Leave the telephone number of the local contact for those parents who desire further information: _____.

8. Please turn in a visit report form and indicate if follow-up is needed.

W H A T  T O  D O

IF THE SCHOOLS IN YOUR DISTRICT ARE STILL SEGREGATED

Under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Attorney General of the United States is authorized to file suits to desegregate school districts if he is asked to do so by local parents. This is a sample letter to guide parents who want the Attorney General's help.

Date:_____

Hon. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach
U. S. Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I live in the ___(Give full name of your school district)_____ in the state of _____.

I am a parent and have the following school age children: (Give the names, ages and grades of all children who will be eligible to attend public schools next fall, including those who will be in the first grade.)

My children are being denied their constitutional rights because the schools in this district are segregated. Therefore, I am appealing to you to take whatever legal action is necessary to desegregate these schools.

I am not in a position to file a private law suit to desegregate the schools because (Give whichever reasons apply, such as:

1. I do not have the money to do so, or

2. There is no lawyer in this community who would take my case, or

3. I am afraid of what might happen to my family if I file a suit in my own name.)

Your help will be greatly appreciated by the Negro citizens of this community.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Name_____

Address_____

Telephone No. _____

SAMPLE

# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT

## INFORMATION ON CHILD DESIRING A DESEGREGATED EDUCATION

NAME OF CHILD _____

ADDRESS _____ TELEPHONE _____

BIRTHDATE _____ DOES CHILD HAVE BIRTH CERTIFICATE? _____

GRADE CHILD WILL BE 1965-66 SCHOOL YEAR _____

SCHOOL WERE CHILD IS PRESENTLY ENROLLED _____

FATHER'S NAME _____ EMPLOYER _____

MOTHER'S NAME _____ EMPLOYER _____

NAME GUARDIAN IF OTHER THAN PARENT _____

NAME AND AGES OF OTHER CHILDREN AND SCHOOL WHICH THEY ATTEND:

NAME _____ SCHOOL _____

NAME _____ SCHOOL _____

NAME _____ SCHOOL _____

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IF ANY _____

NEAREST FORMERLY ALL-WHITE SCHOOL OR SCHOOL WITH DESIRED COURSE:

_____

CAN PARENTS SUGGEST NAMES OF OTHER PARENTS INTERESTED IN DESEGREGATED EDUCATION FOR THEIR CHILDREN?

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

REMARKS OF VISITOR:

FOLLOW UP:
Did parents seek to register child in or transfer child to a formerly all-white school? _____ NAME OF SCHOOL _____ DATE _____

Action of school board: Was child enrolled or denied? _____ Date _____

# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION TASK FORCE
of the

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE & EDUCATIONAL FUND
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019

## DESEGREGATING YOUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS UNDER TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

**WHAT TITLE VI SAYS** Title VI forbids racial discrimination in all programs which receive Federal financial assistance and authorizes the withdrawal of funds if voluntary efforts to abolish discrimination are unsuccessful.

**1966 GUIDELINES** The Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) has issued the "REVISED STATEMENT OF POLICIES FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLANS UNDER TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964." These Guidelines require school officials to file assurances of their intention to comply with Title VI, to act to eliminate discrimination including the maintenance of a dual structure of separate schools and to show substantial progress in 1966. "Any educational opportunity offered by a school system must be available to students without regard to race, color, or national origin."

**SCHOOL DISTRICTS INDICATING NO INTENT TO COMPLY** Although HEW is authorized to withdraw Federal funds from non-complying school districts, it is reluctant to do so and the process is complicated. Parents who are concerned that their school system continues to be segregated are advised to write to the U. S. Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. He has the authority under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act to file suits to desegregate schools when he receives complaints from parents.

**SCHOOL DISTRICTS UNDER FEDERAL COURT ORDER** The HEW Guidelines do not automatically apply to school districts which are desegregating under Federal court orders. However, the Guidelines reflect current judicial standards of the higher Federal courts. Where court-ordered desegregation plans do not come up to the new HEW standards, parents are urged to consult with their lawyers about further legal action. The desegregation pioneers of past years should not now be deprived because old court orders do not offer them the greater opportunities now available for equal education.

**STANDARDS FOR SCHOOL DISTRICTS WITH VOLUNTARY SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLANS**

1. By April 15, 1966, each school district must submit an assurance (HEW #441-B) that it intends to comply with the new Guidelines and will amend its school desegregation plan to conform with each requirement.

2. This plan must be implemented to eliminate the dual system "as expeditiously as possible." If the U. S. Commissioner of Education determines that the plan is not adequate to accomplish the purpose of Title VI, he may require the adoption of a different plan.

3. Significant progress must be made in staff desegregation. Teachers must not be fired or demoted for racial reasons.

4. Facilities and programs must be available without discrimination. Summer school and adult education courses must be open to all without freedom of choice procedures.

5. Extracurricular activities must be open to all without waiting periods.

6. Small, inferior segregated schools must be closed and students transferred.

7. Educating pupils outside the district is forbidden where it limits desegregation.

8. School desegregation plans must be well publicized; parents must be notified by letter.

9. Full progress reports to the Commissioner of Education are required.

10. Transportation arrangements must be desegregated.

11. In desegregation plans based on school zones, boundaries or feeder patterns may not be used to perpetuate segregation.

12. Districts with freedom of choice plans must:

- offer a well-publicized, annual, 30-day choice period and other choice opportunities
- permit 9th graders or 15-year old pupils to exercise their own choice
- grant all choices except for overcrowding
- give no preference to students already enrolled in formerly all-white schools
- forbid staff influence
- not limit desegregation by requiring birth or health certificates, tests, etc.
- provide for notification in writing of assignments
- achieve substantial results. Districts where only 5% of the Negro pupils transferred in 1965-66 would be expected to triple this enrollment in 1966

13. Pupils in grades not covered by a desegregation plan in 1966 must be permitted to transfer to desegregated schools to take a course of study not offered in the segregated school, to attend school with a relative, to be educated at home if they would otherwise be sent out of their district, or if they satisfy the usual transfer requirements not based on race.

14. Officials are responsible for preparing staff and the community for desegregation, for protecting persons exercising their rights and for taking action against any student or staff who interferes with the plan.

WHAT CONCERNED CITIZENS SHOULD DO

1. Organize a local school desegregation project. Discuss with Negro parents the advantages of a desegregated education and inform them of their children's rights.

2. Maintain contact with your local school officials and monitor the implementation of the desegregation plan.

3. Report to the U. S. Commissioner of Education your evaluation of school desegregation developments so far and any violations as your desegregation plan is implemented. Report immediately any acts of intimidation, violence or discrimination to the Equal Educational Opportunities Program, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C. Telephone: 202-962-0333.

4. LET US KNOW IF WE CAN HELP YOU.

## The 1966 Title VI Guidelines for School Desegregation

The 1966 Guidelines require:

1. Substantial achievements under free choice desegregation plans,

2. Significant progress in desegregation of teachers and staff,

3. Progress in closing of small, inadequate schools established for Negro students or other minority groups,

4. Simplified procedures and periodic reports from school districts to measure progress in implementing desegregation plans.

### Assurance

To be eligible for Federal funds, each school system must assure the Commissioner that it will abide by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. The type of assurance varies with the nature of the school system:

Desegregated Systems: A school system that never had or has already eliminated all forms of segregation submits an assurance of full compliance by HEW Form 441.

Dual School Systems: School systems that are working toward desegregation submit either a Federal court order for desegregation or a voluntary desegregation plan. School systems with voluntary plans file Form 441-PLAN, which provides that a school system's voluntary desegregation plan will be carried out in accordance with the standards outlined in the 1966 Guidelines.

Any compliance assurance or plan is essentially a statement of intent, and is not a substitute for performance. The Commissioner may require additional assurance or evidence of performance if he has cause to believe that a school system is not living up to its original assurance.

### Types of Plan

No single type of desegregation plan fits all school systems. Each school system is responsible for selecting the plan best suited to accomplish desegregation as quickly as possible. However, if the Commissioner has cause to believe a plan will not work in a particular district, or has evidence that a previously accepted plan is failing, he may require the adoption of a different plan.

A. General Requirements

The school system--not the State or Federal government--is responsible for making its plan work. The system must inform the community of its plan, solicit community support, and take the necessary steps to protect all persons exercising their rights under the plan.

The Guidelines require periodic reports to help the Commissioner determine a system's progress under its plan. These reports include data on student and faculty assignment by race and school; maps of the system's boundaries and the location of schools within the boundaries; notification of any changes the system seeks to make in its plan; and descriptions of special circumstances hampering the progress of desegregation.

B. Specific Requirements

1. Attendance Zone Plans: Under this type of plan, students are assigned to schools within a school system according to their area of residence. The school system must establish a single set of attendance zones, and then assign students to schools serving their zone, regardless to race, color, or national origin.

   Students with special educational needs--handicapped children, for example--can be assigned to a school outside their normal attendance zone.

2. Free Choice Plans: These plans require students to choose their own school, regardless of where they live. The expectation is that students of each race will choose the same school, and thus break down the dual school pattern.

   Each student and his parent must choose a school each year . . . in most cases 4 or 5 months before the school year begins. The school system must ensure that this choice is free, and that students and parents can choose in safety and without fear of reprisal.

   School systems must make significant progress in eliminating the dual school pattern under free choice plans. Progress in the transfer of students from segregated schools will be measured in relation to achievements of prior years and will be judged in accordance with the Federal court rule that school districts which start late must move faster in desegregating their school.

Desegregation of Faculty

The 1965 Guidelines required at least a first step toward faculty desegregation through integrated staff meetings in the first year. The 1966 Guidelines require actual desegregation in the school staff.

In general, school systems with bi-racial faculties must assign staff in such a way as to produce some faculty integration in every school. The Commissioner may approve different patterns where the school system shows that another method would be equally effective.

The 1966 Guidelines also include safeguards against discriminatory hiring, firing, promotion, and extension of tenure. They do not violate a system's right to administer its staff according to professional criteria, but they do require that such practices not result in discrimination by race, color, or national origin.

**Desegregation of Facilities**

**Any facility or activity--including athletics, transportation, parent-teacher or student assemblies, extra-curricular programs, special educational opportunities--identifiable as being school-related must be open to all appropriate persons without discrimination.**

**SUMMARY**

**The basic concept behind the design of the 1966 Guidelines is substantial progress in each district beyond what it achieved under the 1965 Guidelines.**

**The basic criterion for the Commissioner's interpretation of these Guidelines is measurable evidence of progress and good faith effort to eliminate the dual school system as quickly as possible.**

**March 1, 1966**

MGS, PA, PW, AU, VEJ - PF - file

NEW SOUTH

Promotion Leaflet was enclosed with bulletin -

# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Bob Valder
Associate Director

March 31, 1966

## 1966 SCHOOL DESEGREGATION GUIDELINES

On Monday, March 7, 1966, the United States Office of Education issued the "1966 Title VI Guidelines for School Desegregation." A summary of those guidelines as supplied by the Office of Education follows.

*The 1966 Guidelines require:*

1. Substantial achievements under free choice desegregation plans.
2. Significant progress in desegregation of teachers and staff.
3. Progress in closing of small, inadequate schools established for Negro students or other minority groups.
4. Simplified procedures and periodic reports from school districts to measure progress in implementing desegregation plans.

*Assurance*

To be eligible for Federal funds, each school system must assure the Commissioner that it will abide by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. The type of assurance varies with the nature of the school system.

Desegregated Systems: A school system that never had or has already eliminated all forms of segregation submits an assurance of full compliance by HEW Form 441.

Dual School Systems: School systems that are working toward desegregation submit either a Federal court order for desegregation or a voluntary desegregation plan. School systems with voluntary plans file Form 441-B, which provides that a school system's voluntary desegregation plan will be carried out in accordance with the standards outlined in the 1966 guidelines.

*Any compliance assurance or plan is essentially a statement of intent, and is not a substitute for performance* (emphasis added). The Commissioner may require additional assurance or evidence of performance if he has cause to believe that a school system is not living up to its original assurance.

*Types of Plan*

No single type of desegregation plan fits all school systems. *Each school system is responsible for selecting the plan best suited to accomplish desegre-*

*(Continued on Page 2)*

1966 SCHOOL DESEGREGATION GUIDELINES (Continued)

*gation as quickly as possible* (emphasis added). However, if the Commissioner has cause to believe a plan will not work in a particular district, or has evidence that a previously accepted plan is failing, he may require the adoption of a different plan.

A. General Requirements

*The school system--not the State or Federal government--is responsible for making its plan work* (emphasis added). The system must inform the community of its plan, solicit community support, and take the necessary steps to protect all persons exercising their rights under the plan.

The Guidelines require periodic reports to help the Commissioner determine a system's progress under its plan. These reports include data on student and faculty assignment by race and school; maps of the system's boundaries and the location of schools within the boundaries; notification of any changes the system seeks to make in its plan; and descriptions of special circumstances hampering the progress of desegregation.

B. Specific Requirements

1. Attendance Zone Plans: Under this type of plan, students are assigned to schools within a school system according to their area of residence. The school system must establish a single set of attendance zones, and then assign students to schools serving their zone, regardless of race, color or national origin.

   Students with special educational needs--handicapped children, for example--can be assigned to a school outside their normal attendance zone.

2. Free Choice Plans: These plans require students to choose their own school, regardless of where they live. The expectation is that students of each race will choose the same school, and thus break down the dual school pattern.

   *Each student and his parent must choose a school each year . . . in most cases 4 or 5 months before the school year begins. The school system must ensure that this choice is free, and that students and parents can choose in safety and without fear of reprisal* (emphasis added).

   *School systems must make significant progress in eliminating the dual school pattern under free choice plans. Progress in the transfer of students from segregated schools will be measured in relation to achievements of prior years and will be judged in accordance with the Federal court rule that school districts which start late must move faster in desegregating their schools* (emphasis added).

*Desegregation of Faculty*

The 1965 Guidelines required at least a first step toward faculty desegregation through integrated staff meetings in the first year. The 1966 Guidelines require actual desegregation in the school staff.

In general, school systems with biracial faculties must assign staff in such a way as to produce some faculty integration in every school. The Commissioner may approve different patterns where the school system shows that another method would be equally effective.

The 1966 Guidelines also include safeguards against discriminatory hiring, firing, promotion, and extension of tenure. They do not violate a system's right to administer its staff according to professional criteria, but they do require that such practices not result in discrimination by race, color, or national origin. (For more school desegregation information, see page 4.)

* * * *

*We call your attention to the two enclosed leaflets. One tells you all about the new New South, published by the Southern Regional Council, and how to subscribe to it. The other tells you about a new book--Report on the John Birch Society--and how to order it and other publications of the Anti-Defamation League.*

# MORE NEW TITLE VI GUIDELINES: HEALTH AND HOSPITAL FACILITIES

IT MAY LOOK FISHY - BUT IT'S TRUE !!

On March 7, 1966, the Public Health Service (PHS) announced steps taken to assure compliance in the health and medical field with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Surgeon General William H. Stewart announced the establishment of the Office of Equal Health Opportunity within the Office of the Surgeon General. The Office of Equal Health Opportunity, directed by Mr. Robert M. Nash, will eventually employ a staff of 100. About 70 of these employees will be stationed in the nine regional offices of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. All staff persons will have "special competencies and responsibilities in review and investigation of complaints, evaluation of complaint and compliance reports, public information activities, fiscal and statistical analysis, compliance negotiations, and development of recommendations for corrective action within the law, and will include experts in such areas as law, contracts, professional education and project grants, hospitals and nursing homes, and state and local health agencies."

It was also revealed that the administrators of all of the Nation's hospitals have received (1) Guidelines for Compliance; (2) Medical Facilities Compliance Reports which were to be filled out and returned by March 15; and (3) letters saying that in order to receive or take part in Federally assisted programs they must comply with Title VI.

The Guidelines for Compliance state that "hospitals in compliance with the Act are characterized by absence of separation, discrimination or other distinction on the basis of race, color or national origin in any activity carried on in, by or for the institution affecting the care and treatment of patients." Specific characteristics of compliance are then listed.

The Medical Facilities Compliance Report is a questionnaire requiring detailed information about the admission, care and treatment of patients, training programs, the use of staff and granting of staff privileges.

In the letter to hospital administrators, Dr. Stewart noted that the above steps on the part of the PHS do not "relieve state and local recipients of Federal grants, such as state or local health and welfare agencies, from continuing responsibility for determining that Federally supported programs do not use non-complying hospitals."

The significance of all of this to ACHR members and other interested in non-discrimination in health and medical facilities is: (1) one Federal department, rather than fifteen, now has complete responsibility for Title VI compliance by all hospitals receiving any kind of Federal financial assistance; (2) where the Federal government formerly asked for complaints from private citizens and groups before it would investigate, it now claims to be actively seeking our practices and policies of segregation and discrimination; (3) the burden of proof has apparently shifted from the government to the hospitals; (4) private citizens and groups can now send complaints directly to the agency responsible for all Alabama compliance problems--Office of Equal Health Opportunity, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 50 - 7th Street, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30323 (it might be noted that most of the staff persons assigned to the Atlanta office of Equal Health Opportunity are and will be "imports" from elsewhere).

We wish to call to our readers' attention one of our new members. Sgt. Rubin Pace, Jr., whose father is a long time, active member of the Mobile Chapter, writes from Ankhe, Vietnam, "I am very sorry that I am unable to attend the meetings and render my support and presence. I am enclosing $24 for the year 1966."

Sgt. Pace would undoubtedly appreciate mail from ACHR friends. His address is:

Sgt. Rubin Pace, Jr.
RA 14628670
HHC 1st Bde, Abn. 1st Cav. Div.
APO - San Francisco, California 96490

# ORGANIZING FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

## LOCAL CHAPTER ACTIVITIES

We said in our September bulletin that "it is necessary to begin organizing toward desegregation well in advance of the coming school year." Many of ACHR's chapters did just that and began to organize School Desegregation Projects. Notable among the chapters that began last year are Huntsville and Mobile. East Alabama and Birmingham have recently organized and are going full steam. Muscle Shoals will be working on pupil transfer, too, but will concentrate on teacher desegregation. Tuscaloosa will probably organize their project this week.

## WHAT THE GUIDELINES MEAN TO LOCAL CHAPTERS AND OTHER GROUPS

The only part of the guidelines which apply to a school system with a court-ordered plan is that part which requires them to "submit, as evidence of compliance with Title VI, a copy of the court order, together with an assurance that it will comply with the order . . . a system under a court order for desegregation which is not in accord with current judicial standards is subject to legal action by the Department of Justice, or by the parties to the original suit, to modify the order to meet current standards." *In other words, the only way that a school system with a court-ordered plan can be brought up to the standards of the new guidelines is for that system to be brought back into court--chances are very good that the courts will use the 1966 guidelines as their own criteria in deciding the suit.*

However, the 1966 guidelines apply in their entirety to school systems with no court-ordered plan. Specific guideline requirements include: (1) "A period of at least 30 days must be provided for exercising choice to commence no earlier than March 1 and to end no later than April 30" *(the Office of Education will extend the cut-off date beyond April 30 only in rare and unusual cases; therefore, everything that needs to be done by local groups must be done between April 1 and April 30);* (2) each parent or guardian of <u>every</u> student (seniors excepted) in each school system is to receive on the first day of the transfer period a letter , an explanatory notice, and a choice form plus a return envelope addressed to the Superintendent *(you should go to your Superintendent NOW and ask him when these letters will be mailed and what the transfer dates will be);* (3) each parent has one month this spring to make the choice and "at the option of the person completing the choice form, it may be returned by mail or by hand to any school in the school system or to the office of the Superintendent;" (4) the elimination of segregated and discriminatory transportation services; (5) the elimination of segregation and discrimination in all school activities; (6) "Each school system is responsible for correcting the effects of all past discriminatory practices in the assignment of teachers and other professional staff."

Complaints about Title VI compliance should be made by mail or by phone to *both* Mr. Banjamin Hunton, Area Director for Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee, *and* to Mr. Lawrence Crowder, Alabama Director of Compliance. Their address and phone number are: Equal Education Opportunities Program, Temp. S, 7th and Jefferson, Washington, D. C. (Area Code 202 962-7961).

The guidelines have shifted some of the burden from Negro parents and students to school authorities. But the only means of insuring maximum desegregation, whether you are under a court order or the guidelines, is for you to organize and spread the word of the regulations, transfer dates, the rights of parents and students, etc., as widely and as quickly as possible.

# AUBURN'S "VILLAGE FAIR" OPEN TO ALL

On this Saturday, April 2, 1966, Auburn University will sponsor their "Village Fair." Its purpose is to acquaint potential Auburn students with Auburn University. It is open to all juniors and seniors who may be interesting in attending Auburn.

This is the first year that this affair is open to Negro students, and since the decision to open it to all was made after the invitation to schools was issued, Negro schools have not been invited.

Might we suggest that anyone interested in spreading the word contact those Negro high schools in your area. Student members of the East Alabama Chapter have already recruited 120 Negro students from Auburn and Tuskegee to attend. Anyone attending should first go to the Unitarian Fellowship Church at 155 Cox Street, by 9:00 a.m.--they will be welcomed by these student members.

Ala - Publications

# COUNCIL NEWS

THE MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — Mobile, Alabama

Mrs. Kathleen Wood, President — Vol. I, No. 7
Mrs. Joan Lamb, Editor — March, 1966

## Meeting

8:00, March 15 — Church of the Good Shepherd
605 Donald Street

Speaker: Mayor Joseph N. Langan

Topic: Mobile's City Government

WHO'S IN CHARGE HERE? How much do you know about how our city government operates? Where does all our tax money go? What control do we have over the Water Board? Why can't something be done to stop our streets from flooding?

This month we begin the first in a series of three meetings on our city, county and state governments, how they are financed and how they work. We are fortunate to have Mayor Langan, who has been a member of our Board of City Commissioners since 1953, with us this month to answer our questions. In April Mr. E.C. Doody, the Administrative Assistant to the County Commissioners, will discuss Mobile County Government with us.

Active citizenship is the responsibility of all of us. Responsible participation in government requires a knowledge of government, how it operates and the problems it faces.

WHO'S IN CHARGE HERE? We are -- all of us. We are the government and it is just as good or as bad as we make it. Democracy can't work without YOU: you can't work effectively without knowledge of your government.

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## No More Poll Tax!

A three-judge federal panel has ruled Alabama's poll tax unconstitutional. This means that if you are registered you can vote in the May 3rd Democratic primary even if you have not paid your poll tax. If you are not registered there is still time to do so before the Primary. Registration periods are March 7-12 and April 4-9.

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## Voter Re-Identification

While we are talking of citizenship and voting, we want to remind you also that if you registered before February 2, 1964, you must go to the Board of Registrars and re-identify yourself as a voter or you won't be able to vote next year. Go when the Board is not registering new voters and it will only take a few minutes. Don't put it off and lose your right to vote.

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## February Meeting

We want to say a special "Thank You" to Father Foley, Dr. Gilliard, Mr. LeFlore, Bishop Smith, David Underhill and Father Thompson for their

participation in our panel discussion last month. It was a most provocative and stimulating discussion. We left the meeting impressed with the magnitude of the task before us and with a greater understanding of the work ahead of us. While there were differences in the methods and approaches to the problem, the words "voting", "employment", and "education" were repeated time and again. There is no magic formula to produce instant equality: it will take work, work and more work on the part of all of us. What are YOU doing to help?

---

## School Desegregation

Work on our school desegregation project is now underway. Materials for our home visitors and surveyors were distributed and methods explained at an enthusiastic meeting February 24. Most of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of the reasons why school transfer is so important. A clear understanding of these reasons is essential if we are to convince parents of the necessity of transferring their children.

We are enclosing a folder on school desegregation with this newsletter. Please read it, talk to your friends about it, and pass it on to someone else. (If you would like additional copies please call us at 342-5627.) Even if you can't work actively on this project you can still help by understanding the reasons why school transfer is vital to the future of our children and our community; by helping others to understand these reasons; and by seeking out interested parents. If you know anyone who would like to have us come and talk with him about transferring, please call 342-5627.

We want to thank Mrs. Kaye Hoffman for agreeing to serve as Chairman of the Visitors' Committee: it is she who will assign the visitors to the homes requesting them.

REMEMBER THE PERIOD FOR TRANSFER APPLICATIONS: APRIL 1-15. The place is Barton Academy.

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## Project "Encouragement"

In good conscience, we cannot encourage a child to transfer to a new and different school and then forget him as he faces new and difficult problems. These children deserve our constant encouragement and appreciation. There are many ways in which we can show them how much we value what they are doing, both by our own efforts and with the help of other interested groups. Mrs. M.V. Foster is Chairman of this project: she needs our help and the help of other organizations to which we may belong.

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## University of South Alabama Open House

The University of South Alabama will hold an Open House Saturday, March 26, for all interested high school graduates, graduating seniors, and their parents. Faculty members from the different departments will be on hand to answer questions and to discuss the various programs available. Do take this opportunity to become acquainted with the school.

ALA - PUBLICATIONS

**FOR YOUR INFORMATION**

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

April 13, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : Local Chapter Presidents and Health and Hospital Committee Chairmen

From : Bob Valder

Subject: New Title VI Guidelines for Health and Hospital Facilities

The March bulletin contained an article about the new Title VI compliance measures for health and hospital facilities announced last month by the Public Health Service. In case you have misplaced that bulletin, we are enclosing a copy of the article.

We are also enclosing a photocopy of an article appearing in the April 11, 1966 New York Times, which provides recent information about compliance procedures.

Also enclosed are photocopies of two different forms and the guidelines for hospital compliance. The Medical Facilities Compliance Report has been sent to all hospitals to be filled out and returned by March 15; it should give you a very accurate picture of what hospitals have to do as should the copy of the guidelines. The assurance of compliance is a form signed by the appropriate hospital authorities whereby they agree to comply with HEW's Title VI regulations. The guidelines and forms are for your information only; that is, they do not suggest any action on your part. They are provided to inform you of what the regulations are and of what hospitals in your area were required to fill out and send back to HEW.

Some of you will probably be contacted in the near future by inspectors from the Atlanta office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. They will be inquiring about local hospital policies and practices.

But whether you are contacted by an inspector or not, if you have any information about the lack of compliance by hospitals in your area, you might consider providing such information to the Atlanta office. You can write to:

Mr. James T. Williams
Regional Representative
Office of Equal Health Opportunity
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Room 404
50 - 7th Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

and you might also place a phone call to Mr. Williams at: Area Code 404, 526-5130.

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The significance of all of this to ACHR members and other interested in non-discrimination in health and medical facilities is: (1) one Federal department, rather than fifteen, now has complete responsibility for Title VI compliance by all hospitals receiving any kind of Federal financial assistance; (2) where the Federal government formerly asked for complaints from private citizens and groups before it would investigate, it now claims to be actively seeking our practices and policies of segregation and discrimination; (3) the burden of proof has apparently shifted from the government to the hospitals; (4) private citizens and groups can now send complaints directly to the agency responsible for all Alabama compliance problems--Office of Equal Health Opportunity, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 50 - 7th Street, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30323 (it might be noted that most of the staff persons assigned to the Atlanta office of Equal Health Opportunity are and will be "imports" from elsewhere).

# HOSPITALS AWAIT RIGHTS INSPECTION

NYT SRC

## U.S. Begins National Check Today on Compliance With Antidiscrimination Law

4-11-66

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, April 10 -- The Department of Health, Education and Welfare plans to begin a widespread inspection program tomorrow to bring the nation's hospitals into compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

A department spokesman said the agency would use "approximately 100" Social Security Administration and Public Health Service employes, all of them trained in special classes, to make on-the-scene studies of hospitals.

If any hospital is not taking immediate steps to end racial discrimination, he said, it will not be eligible for Federal funds, beginning July 1.

On that date, the department plans to begin releasing $1.9-billion in funds for hospital construction, medical training programs and vocational rehabilitation.

"The inspectors will determine whether or not a hospital is in compliance with the act," the spokesman said, "and it if is not, the inspectors will be available to advise and assist them."

Ttile VI of the Civil Rights Act stipulates that "no person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participating in, be denied the

Continued on Page 38, Column 4



# Hospitals Await U.S. Rights Inspection

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program receiving financial assistance."

Thus far, 60 per cent of the nation's hospitals have filed compliance forms with the department, indicating that they were willing to abide by the act. About half this number stated that they were already in "full compliance."

The department has conducted some inspection almost continually since the passage of the act, a spokesman said, and it has stepped up the program in recent weeks. But tomorrow will mark the beginning of the first widespread inspection, he added.

Although the inspections will be carried on throughout the nation, most of the inspectors will be concentrated in the South where hospitals traditionally have been segregated.

In recent months, Southern Negroes have become increasingly critical of the failure of some of the region's hospitals to drop racial barriers.

In Natchez, one of the South's major racial battlegrounds late last year, hospital desegregation was one key demand made on the city by civil rights demonstrators.

The department's training school for inspectors, however, drew praise from the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit human relations organization that often has been critical of the speed with which the department has moved in enforcing the Civil Rights Act.

"One of the most impressive things about the inspection is that they are using career Federal employes, many of them from the areas they will be inspecting," said Paul Anthony, the council's director. "Many of them were dumbfounded that they would have to tell hospitals they would have to integrate."

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GUIDELINES FOR COMPLIANCE WITH TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

Hospitals in compliance with the Act are characterized by absence of separation, discrimination or any other distinction on the basis of race, color, or national origin in any activity carried on in, by or for the institution affecting the care and treatment of patients.

Specifically, the above would include (but not be limited to) the following characteristics:

1. The hospital provides inpatient and outpatient care on a non-discriminatory basis; all patients are admitted and receive care without regard to race, color, or national origin. Declaration of an open admission policy may not be sufficient to effectuate compliance in some instances, particularly where the hospital has previously served only or primarily patients of one race. Where there is a significant variation between the racial composition of patients and the population served, the hospital has a responsibility to determine the reasons and to take corrective action if they are due to discriminatory practices.

2. All patients are being assigned to all rooms, wards, floors, sections, and buildings without regard to race, color, or national origin. In communities with non-white population, this results in bi-racial occupancy of multi-bed rooms and wards and use of single bed rooms on a non-discriminatory basis.

   Patients are not asked if they are willing or desire to share a room with a person of another race. Transfer of patients is not used as a device to evade compliance with the Act.

3. Employees, medical staff and volunteers of the hospital are assigned to patient services without regard to the race, color, or national origin of either the patient or employee. Courtesy titles (Mr., Miss, Dr.) whenever used, are being used throughout the hospital including patient care areas and news releases announcing admissions, births, deaths, etc.

4. The granting of permanent or temporary staff privileges is carried out in a non-discriminatory manner. Staff privileges are not denied professionally qualified personnel on the basis of race, color, or national origin, or on the basis of non-membership in an organization which

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discriminates on the basis of race, color, or national origin. Removal of staff privileges and oth r disciplinary actions shall not be based on race, color, or national origin.

5. Non-discriminatory practices of the institution include all aspects of training programs, and require recruiting and selection of trainees at both predominantly white and Negro schools. The same recruiting procedures are used at all such institutions. Third parties are not permitted to select trainees on a basis which, if done directly by the hospital, would be violative of the Civil Rights Act. These requirements apply to interns (medical, dental, OT, PT, dietician), residents and training programs such as graduate nurse, practical nurse, medical technology, x-ray technology, etc.

6. All services rendered by the institution, its employees or vendors to patients or others are provided without regard to race, color, or national origin. This would include:

   A. Administrative services (admission, medical records, fiscal, etc.).

   B. Medical and dental care for inpatients and outpatients (all specialties-clinical, diagnostic and other pathology services).

   C. Paramedical care and ancillary and supporting services (food, pharmacy, social services, laundry, toilet facilities, waiting rooms, entrances, exits, snack bars, gift shops, visiting hours, doctor's lounges). Patients and visitors are using all cafeteria facilities without regard to race, color, or national origin; no dining facilities are used only by non-whites by "custom" or "preference".

   D. Ambulance services.

7. Employees and medical staff have been notified in writing of the hospital's policy for compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act.

8. Hospitals which have recently changed from discriminatory practices have taken steps to notify those who previously had been excluded from hospital services (e.g., letters to Negro physicians or physician organizations and Civil Rights leaders, notices to newspapers, posting of signs in hospitals, etc.).

9. Hospitals which have had dual facilities to affect racial separation have either converted one of them to a different purpose or have taken steps to change the traffic flow so that they are actually used bi-racially.

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# ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE REGULATION UNDER TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

_____ (hereinafter called the "Applicant")
(Name of Applicant)

HEREBY AGREES THAT it will comply with title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (P.L. 88-352) and all requirements imposed by or pursuant to the Regulation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (45 CFR Part 80) issued pursuant to that title, to the end that, in accordance with title VI of that Act and the Regulation, no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be otherwise subjected to discrimination under any program or activity for which the Applicant receives Federal financial assistance from the Department; and HEREBY GIVES ASSURANCE THAT it will immediately take any measures necessary to effectuate this agreement.

If any real property or structure thereon is provided or improved with the aid of Federal financial assistance extended to the Applicant by the Department, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant, or in the case of any transfer of such property, any transferee, for the period during which the real property or structure is used for a purpose for which the Federal financial assistance is extended or for another purpose involving the provision of similar services or benefits. If any personal property is so provided, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant for the period during which it retains ownership or possession of the property. In all other cases this assurance shall obligate the Applicant for the period during which the Federal financial assistance is extended to it by the Department.

THIS ASSURANCE is given in consideration of and for the purpose of obtaining any and all Federal grants, loans, contracts, property, discounts or other Federal financial assistance extended after the date hereof to the Applicant by the Department, including installment payments after such date on account of applications for Federal financial assistance which were approved before such date. The Applicant recognizes and agrees that such Federal financial assistance will be extended in reliance on the representations and agreements made in this assurance, and that the United States shall have the right to seek judicial enforcement of this assurance. This assurance is binding on the Applicant, its successors, transferees, and assignees, and the person or persons whose signatures appear below are authorized to sign this assurance on behalf of the Applicant.

Dated _____ _____
(Applicant)

By _____
(President, Chairman of Board, or comparable authorized official)

_____

_____
(Applicant's mailing address)

HEW-441
(12-64)

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PHS 4867
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DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

# MEDICAL FACILITIES COMPLIANCE REPORT

(Civil Rights Act Title VI)

*INSTRUCTIONS:* Complete all items. Check the appropriate box and insert numbers where indicated. If you believe your answers to the questions below require an explanation, check here ☐ and explain on the reverse side, identifying comment by item number.

| NAME OF INSTITUTION OR FACILITY | ADDRESS (Street, city, state, Zip Code) | COUNTY |
|---|---|---|
| | | |

| LIST AFFILIATIONS WITH OTHER HOSPITALS, MEDICAL SCHOOLS, SCHOOLS OF NURSING, SCHOOLS OF MEDICAL TECHNOLOGY, ETC. | TYPE OF HOSPITAL |
|---|---|
| | ☐ PROPRIETARY ☐ GOVERNMENT ☐ STATE ☐ COUNTY ☐ VOLUNTARY NON-PROFIT ☐ MUNICIPAL ☐ DISTRICT |

1. ARE ALL PATIENTS ASSIGNED ROUTINELY TO THE FOLLOWING FACILITIES WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN?

| | YES | NO | | YES | NO | | YES | NO |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ROOMS | | | BUILDINGS | | | TREATMENT ROOMS | | |
| WARDS | | | NURSERY FACILITIES | | | OPERATING ROOMS | | |
| FLOORS | | | LABOR ROOMS | | | OTHER PROFESSIONAL SERVICE FACILITIES | | |
| WINGS | | | DELIVERY ROOMS | | | | | |

2. TODAY'S PATIENT CENSUS

_____ (Date) WHITE _____ (No.) NEGRO _____ (No.) INDIAN _____ (No.) ORIENTAL _____ (No.)

| TODAY'S OCCUPANCY | NO. OF BUILDINGS | NO. OF WINGS | NO. OF FLOORS | NO. OF PRIVATE ROOMS | NO. OF 2 BED ROOMS | NO. OF 3-6 BED WARDS | NO. OF OVER 6 BED WARDS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A. OCCUPIED BY WHITES ONLY | | | | | | | |
| B. OCCUPIED BY NEGROES ONLY | | | | | | | |
| C. OCCUPIED BY INDIANS OR ORIENTALS ONLY | | | | | | | |
| D. BI-RACIALLY OCCUPIED BY WHITES AND NEGROES | | | | | | | |

3. WHAT IS THE APPROXIMATE PERCENTAGE OF NON-WHITE POPULATION IN THE SERVICE AREA FROM WHICH 75% OF YOUR PATIENTS ARE DRAWN _____ %

4. ARE THE FOLLOWING FACILITIES USED ROUTINELY BY ALL PERSONS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN?

| | YES | NO | | YES | NO |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ENTRANCES | | | DINING AREAS AND CAFETERIAS | | |
| ADMISSION OFFICES | | | TOILET AND LAVATORY FACILITIES | | |
| WAITING ROOMS | | | OTHER GENERAL SERVICE FACILITIES | | |

5. ARE THE FOLLOWING USED ON THE SAME BASIS BY ALL OUT PATIENTS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN?

| | YES | NO |
|---|---|---|
| CLINICS | | |
| OUTPATIENT SERVICES | | |
| SEATING ARRANGEMENTS | | |
| EMERGENCY ROOMS | | |
| WAITING LINES | | |

6. ARE OUTPATIENT SERVICES USED BY ALL PATIENTS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN AT THE SAME TIME RATHER THAN ON DIFFERENT DAYS OR AT DIFFERENT HOURS?

☐ YES ☐ NO

7. DOES THIS INSTITUTION ACCEPT AND APPROVE APPLICATIONS FOR STAFF PRIVILEGES AND TRAINING WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN?

☐ YES ☐ NO

8. IF "YES" IS CHECKED IN ITEM 7, ARE THE STAFF PRIVILEGES OF NEGRO PHYSICIANS OR DENTISTS DIFFERENT IN ANY WAY THAN THOSE GRANTED TO WHITE PHYSICIANS OR DENTISTS?

☐ YES ☐ NO

9. IS MEMBERSHIP IN THE CITY, COUNTY, OR STATE MEDICAL OR DENTAL SOCIETIES A PREREQUISITE TO GRANTING OF STAFF PRIVILEGES?

☐ YES ☐ NO

10. IF "YES" IS CHECKED IN ITEM 9, DO THE SOCIETIES INVOLVED GRANT MEMBERSHIP WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN? ☐ YES ☐ NO

11. TO THE BEST OF YOUR KNOWLEDGE, HOW MANY NON-WHITE PHYSICIANS ARE THERE IN ACTIVE PRACTICE IN THE SERVICE AREA? _____

12. NUMBER OF NEGRO PHYSICIANS WHO HAVE APPLIED FOR STAFF PRIVILEGES SINCE JANUARY 1, 1964 _____

13. PRESENT STATUS OF FACILITY'S STAFF

| TYPE | NEGRO | WHITE | OTHER | TYPE | NEGRO | WHITE | OTHER |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PHYSICIANS | | | | INTERNS | | | |
| FULL STAFF MEMBERS | | | | RESIDENTS | | | |
| COURTESY STAFF | | | | STUDENT NURSES | | | |
| OTHER | | | | PRACTICAL NURSES IN TRAINING | | | |
| DENTISTS | | | | | | | |
| STAFF MEMBERS | | | | MEDICAL TECHNOLOGISTS IN TRAINING | | | |
| COURTESY STAFF | | | | | | | |
| OTHER | | | | | | | |

I certify that the information given above is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief. (A willfully false statement is punishable by law; U.S. Code, Title 18, Sec. 1001)

| SIGNATURE OF AUTHORIZED OFFICIAL | TITLE | DATE |
|---|---|---|
| | | |

GPO 803-118

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Ala - Publications

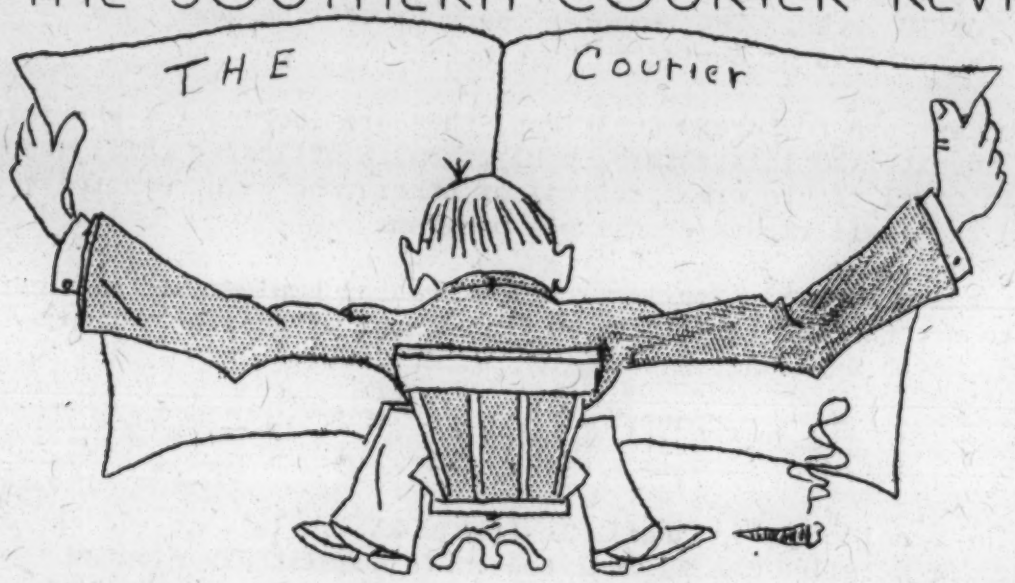
# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Bob Valder
Associate Director

April 25, 1966

## THE SOUTHERN COURIER REVISITED




Our readers will recall an article about *The Southern Courier* in the August, 1965 Bulletin. We told about the then newly organized newspaper which had been promoted mainly by Harvard University students and professors. Since August, *The Courier* has moved its office from Atlanta to Montgomery in order to give better coverage to Alabama--the state to which the paper gives most of its attention.

*The Courier* is "published weekly by a non-profit, non-share education corporation, for the study and dissemination of accurate information about events and affairs in the field of human relations." A six-page newspaper with one full page of photographs, *The Courier* is distributed mostly in Alabama by newsboys going from door to door and through news stand sales. Subscribers to *The Courier* receive their copies through the mail.

The staff, composed mainly of young journalists who have had collegiate and professional journalistic experience, conscientiously follows instructions to interview members of the "white power structure" as well as civil rights workers in reporting racial difficulties.

The Executive Commiteee of ACHR, meeting in Birmingham on April 2, unanimously endorsed the following resolution:

> "We, the Executive Committee of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, wish to call *The Southern Courier* to the attention of ACHR members. This paper has provided, and is providing, valuable service to both the cause of human relations and to the state of Alabama. Its policies of not "taking sides" (although it obviously takes the side of justice and dignity), of constructive criticism, and of in-depth reporting of important issues such as poverty, politics, voting, education, employment, and other similar topics gives it an unmatched uniqueness and importance.
>
> "We suggest to our members that they seriously consider subscribing and contributing to *The Southern Courier* in order to be better informed about civil rights and human relations developments in Alabama, and as an expression of their support of this important work."

Yearly rates for *The Courier* are $5 (subscriptions for our Northern friends are $10). Anyone interested in subscribing or contributing should send a check, money order or cash to:

The Southern Courier
Room 622, Frank Leu Building
79 Commerce Street
Montgomery, Alabama 36104

# FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS JOBS

The March Bulletin contained an article about new steps recently announced by the Public Health Service for enforcing Title VI in health and hospital facilities. We have since received a letter from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Director of Personnel stating that these new steps necessitate recruiting a large staff for this civil rights compliance program.

By June they hope to recruit and employ about 200 permanent professional staff workers at annual salaries ranging from $7,479 (GS-9) to $17,055 (GS-15). Jobs will be in Washington, D. C. and in HEW's nine regional offices (the Atlanta regional office will receive the bulk of these).

In addition, the Personnel Department hopes to employ 100 professional persons and 200 graduate students for temporary summer work on civil rights compliance projects (8-10 weeks beginning in mid-June). Temporary professional salaries will range from $2,400 to $3,200 for 10 weeks employment; graduate students will earn from $1,000 to $2,000 for 10 weeks. The temporary persons will be sent to a regional office following a training period in Washington.

For both the permanent and temporary positions, they are looking for physicians, attorneys, welfare or hospital administrators, public health officers, chief school officers and leaders in civil rights organizations or others who have competence in an activity related to the civil rights compliance programs.

To apply, send Standard Form 57 (Application for Federal Employment, available at your Post Office) to Mr. Charles Dawson, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Room 5316, North Building, Washington, D. C. 20201.

# SCHOLARSHIPS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS

A different kind of scholarship is available from CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc. It's called the Eleanor Roosevelt scholarship program. Preference is given to students who have been actively involved in efforts to eliminate racial prejudice and discrimination, and special consideration is given to persons who have made "significant contributions and sacrifices in their work for human rights."

Scholarships are awarded to students who have been admitted to an accredited college, and they cover tuition and/or living expenses. Scholarships are granted in any amount up to $1,500 for one academic year and in exceptional cases, a supplementary grant of up to $500 may be made. Scholarships are renewable.

Criteria for selection include evidence of financial need, a record of activity in efforts to eliminate racial prejudice and segregation and to obtain legal rights for all citizens, evidence of good character and leadership potential, and evidence of academic ability sufficient to benefit from higher education.

Applications for this fall's semester must be filed by May 1. For additional information and an application form, write to: CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc., 150 Nassau Street, Room 1312, New York, New York 10038.

# SEGREGATED HOUSING

All of the 605 public housing projects in the South have signed statements for the U. S. Public Housing Administration stating that their housing units are open to all persons without discrimination as required by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. As of September of last year, only 2.3% of these projects in the South were officially classified as integrated. Ninety-five per cent of the Southern housing projects allow applicants to choose the project they wish to live in. This policy usually results in segregated housing developments.

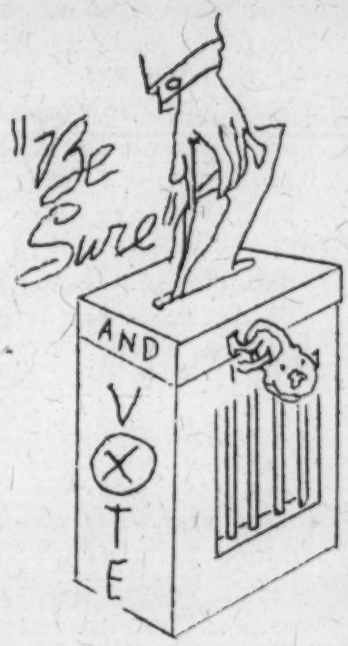
* * * * *

FROM A 1959 ALABAMA COUNCIL NEWSLETTER:

Some white folks over in Mississippi decided to tell the country how contented the colored folks were in their state. They arranged a nation-wide broadcast, found just the right Negro to speak, and carefully rehearsed him on how well off he was. At the fateful hour, they told him he was on the air, whereupon he rushed to the microphone and yelled, "HELP!".

# ALABAMA ELECTIONS--1966 STYLE

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 gives authority to the Attorney General to request the Civil Service Commission to appoint poll watchers in counties where Federal Examiners are already serving to observe whether all eligible persons are allowed to vote and whether all ballots are accurately tabulated. It appears that most of the Alabama counties with examiners will have poll watchers assigned to them.




If anyone who is properly listed or registered is not permitted to vote in any political subdivision where examiners are serving, a complaint may be made to the examiners of this denial within 48 hours after the polls close. If the examiner believes that the complaint has merit, he must inform the Attorney General immediately. The Attorney General may seek a district court order that provides for the casting of the ballot and suspends the election results until the vote is included in the final count.

Public officials or private individuals who deny persons the right to vote guaranteed by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 or anyone who attempts to or intimidates, threatens, or coerces a person from voting are subject to criminal penalties.

It appears to be a safe assumption that on May 3 -- the day of the first primary -- some of our stellar citizens may be less than happy with the fact that many of their fellow citizens are voting for the first time; it also appears to be a safe assumption that some of these same stellar citizens may use other than constitutional methods to prevent persons from voting.

*Anyone who learns of any denials of the right to vote or of any other violations of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 on May 3 should contact the U. S. Department of Justice and their local FBI immediately.*

* * * * *

(Below are excerpts from an address, "Toward a New Brand of Southern Politics," by Charles Morgan, Jr. delivered to a Negro audience on April 17, 1966).

And now, you who have walked along the long road of sacrifice and hardship enter the arena of political life. The road to that arena was constructed by white politicians, men who sought to grind the Negro, as well as the poor white, into the dust. That dust has settled across the South and buried beneath it the hopes and dreams of generations of young men and women....

The solution itself does not lie in politics but it is from the political anvil that the sparks of change will fly....There must be a total revamping of the social structure, so that there is no underprivileged class, be it Negro or white. Government can make these changes, and government is politics....

What rules must you establish? First, you should never cast your ballots for candidates who make only private or quiet commitments to you or your leaders. You must never again cast your ballots for a man who emerges from a background of segregationist politics, who publicly states that he will preserve the white way of life while privately telling you that he has been less loud than his opponents in his condemnation of you. Private political commitments, those which are not stated freely and frankly and publicly in the newspapers and across the television screens of the State of Alabama and the South are not worth the paper upon which they are not written.

Next, you must beware of men who come bearing their small gifts. Sometimes they may label those gifts gasolene money, donations for political organizations, whether they come from organized labor or big business, or from candidates and their friends. You must be even more wary of Negroes who accept their gifts. They always come with strings, strings which can be woven into rope to bind you into bondage....

The Democratic and Republican parties of the South must learn to balance their tickets. Negroes must be included on Party tickets and in state and local political organizations....

You must constantly press for the registration of poor Negroes for as you have lately seen, the first rule of politics is simple mathematics. And almost all politicians can count. You must train and develop poll watchers and vote counters. You must never wed yourself to a particular political party. You may go steady but marriage is out....

But regardless of the means you use to your political ends, you have much to add to the flavor of political life in the South and nation. For it is you largely

(Continued on Page 4)

ALABAMA ELECTIONS -- 1966 STYLE (Continued)

who are responsible for the war on poverty; it is you who are largely responsible for a review of our economic policies regarding unemployment and a new look at the role of welfare in our society and a guaranteed annual income. You have suffered more than most Americans and you must not forget that suffering, for today you recognize national problems as yet unrecognized by other Americans.

There are 215,000 Americans in prison today. They have only 56 psychiatrists to treat all of them. Ninety-eight per cent of the inmates of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary were high school dropouts. One of every four of them is illiterate. Who but you could reveal for national scrutiny problems of the poor, the imprisoned and the oppressed? This is your calling and the trumpet sounds for you to enter fully into the arenas of democracy, your heads unbowed, your minds unfettered by the past.

## "UPWARD BOUND" PROJECT

Alabama A & M College in Huntsville has recently received a grant of $114,459 from the Office of Economic Opportunity for an "Upward Bound" project. Upward Bound is a program designed to spark the dormant potential of economically deprived or disadvantaged 10th and 11th grade high school students. The program will consist of an intensive ten-week residence program, June 13-August 20 and a follow-up program, September 19-May 20. The instructional areas will be Developmental Reading, Communication Skills, and Numerical Relationships.

Staff persons are needed for the residence program and openings include three experienced teachers, at either the secondary or college level, in each of the instructional areas listed above, a secretary, a counselor for young men and a counselor for young women. Nine college students at the Junior or Senior level will also be needed to serve as Assistants. Staff persons needed for the follow-up program will be one teacher in each of the three instructional programs. Salaries for the residence program will begin at $1,800.

Persons interested in these positions should submit at once an autobiographical sketch and an inquiry about these positions to Dr. Winfred Thomas, Division of Agriculture, Alabama A & M College, Normal, Alabama 35762.

NUMBER FIVE
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Huntsville, Alabama 35805

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

ALA. PUBLICATIONS

COUNCIL NEWS

THE MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — Mobile, Alabama

Kathleen Wood, President — Vol. I, No. 8
Joan Lamb, Editor — April, 1966

## Meeting

8:00, April 19 — Church of the Good Shepherd
605 Donald Street

Speaker: Mr. E. C. Doody

Topic: Mobile County Government

WHO'S IN CHARGE HERE? Our meeting this month will be the second in our series on local government. Our speaker, Mr. Doody, is the Administrative Assistant to the Board of County Commissioners and an expert on the workings of Mobile County's government. With the Democratic Primary just two weeks away it is especially important for us to learn all that we can about the duties and responsibilities of the offices to be filled: without this knowledge we cannot properly judge the qualifications of the various candidates.

Where does the County get the money with which it operates? What services do we get for this money? What responsibilities does the County have within the city limits of Mobile or Prichard? What, exactly, does the County government do?

Come and learn the answers to these questions and others of your own. If anyone can provide the information you need to be effective, responsible citizens of Mobile County it is Mr. Doody.

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## Vote Tuesday, May 3

Throughout history thousands of people have died to win the right to vote. In recent years in Alabama alone the list of those who have suffered severely or died to obtain this right is tragically long. You owe it to them, as well as to yourselves and your government, to go to the polls and vote. They will never understand that you couldn't be bothered to vote because the line was too long, the weather was bad, it was late, or because you were just too busy with other things.

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## Go to the Polls Prepared

One of the most important and difficult tasks of a citizen is to vote responsibly when faced with a long ballot. All too often we each have a few particular candidates or races in which we are interested; the others we tend to forget or ignore. Yet every man or woman whom we elect will help to shape the future of our city, county, state and country. It is therefore important that we each learn all that we can about every candidate. Having done this, get a sample ballot and mark it for the candidates you believe best. Take your sample ballot with you to the polls and cast an informed vote, not a blind one. If we get the elected officials we deserve, let's be sure we deserve the best.

## Progress Report - School Desegregation

Have we made progress? Yes.
Are our schools desegregated? No.

The Council's efforts toward greater school integration were concentrated primarily in two neighborhoods - Crichton and the Cottage Hill School District. Over seventeen mothers or fathers went to Barton Academy on April 1, the first day of the transfer period, some requesting transfers for as many as four children. Others went down later in the transfer period. Negro children have been enrolled for the first grade at Crichton School among others. Parents will be notified on or before June 15 whether or not their transfer applications have been accepted.

We are now waiting until the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals rules on the Mobile school suit which it heard April 1 to learn how the new guidelines issued by the Office of Education will apply to Mobile. At present school systems under court-ordered plans are not covered by the guidelines. If the Court orders the Mobile plan expanded to meet the guideline requirements it will also order another period for transfer applications. We hope that this will be the case and that we can renew and redouble our efforts this summer.

It is impossible to list the names of all who have worked so diligently for school integration, but we owe all of them our thanks. We have all learned a lot as we have gone along and we are confident that we can do an even better job in the next transfer period. One thing which we have learned is that school desegregation must be a year-round concern for the Council. We hope that every member can find time to give to this project during the coming year.

Note: Will all the home visitors please keep in touch with the parents they visited so that we can follow the progress of their applications.

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## A Week-end With Malcolm Boyd

Council members should be particularly interested in a conference to be conducted by Father Boyd Friday, April 22-Sunday, April 24 on the general theme of the racial changes in this country. The conference will be held at the Church of the Good Shepherd, which is sponsoring Father Boyd's visit.

Malcolm Boyd is an Episcopal priest, ordained in 1955 after a successful career in television and advertising. Time called him "chaplain-at-large to U.S. university students" and Life placed him in its "red-hot hundred" of the "takeover generation." Formerly chaplain at Colorado State University and at Wayne State University, Fr. Boyd is now the national field representative of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. He has been very active in the civil rights movement since the days of the Freedom Rides. Last summer he was on the spot in Watts, interviewing people during the height of the turmoil. He is the author of several plays and books, his latest being Are You Running With Me, Jesus, a collection of extraordinary personal prayers.

The conference will begin Friday evening, April 22, at 7:30; will continue Saturday from 10:00 to 3:00 (a light lunch will be served); and will conclude with services Sunday morning. Come and bring your friends for all or part of the week-end.

Ala - Publications

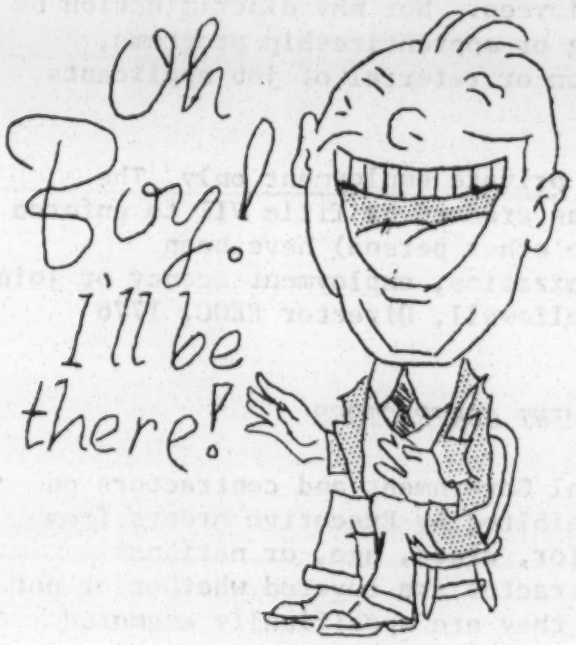
# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Bob Valder
Associate Director

May 31, 1966

## RIGHTS COMMISSION SPONSORS SCHOOL DESEGREGATION MEET




*The Alabama State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights will sponsor a state-wide meeting on School Desegregation on Saturday, June 11, in Birmingham. This is one of eight such conferences on the new school desegregation guidelines issued in March by the United States Office of Education. The Mississippi conference alone attracted 1,000 persons. The meeting will be held at the Dinkler Tutwiler Hotel, 2005 Fifth Avenue, North, Birmingham. Registration will begin at 8:30 a.m. The meeting will last until 3:30 p.m. It is open to the public, and everyone is welcome to attend.*

The purposes of the conference are: (a) to explain and provide information about the school guidelines, and (b) to provide an opportunity for discussion of problems concerning the enforcement of the guidelines.

The program is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 8:30 a.m. - 9:30 a.m. | Registration |
| 9:30 a.m. -10:30 a.m. | Plenary Session |
| 10:30 a.m. -12:00 Noon | Five Workshops |
| 12:00 Noon - 1:30 p.m. | Lunch |
| 1:30 p.m. - 3:30 p.m. | Five Workshops Continued |
| 3:30 p.m. | Adjournment |

The entire conference will be chaired by Erskine Smith, Chairman of the Alabama State Advisory Committee. Featured speakers at the Plenary Session will include an important representative of the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, as well as a representative of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D. C.

Each of the five workshops will have as resource persons a staff member of the Equal Educational Opportunities Program of the Office of Education, an Alabama attorney, an Alabama educator, and a representative of a civil rights or community organization. The workshops will be conducted on a geographical basis. The five workshop areas will include North Alabama, Jefferson (Birmingham) County, West Black Belt, East Black Belt, and South Alabama.

As any casual observer of the current scene in Alabama knows a move towards massive resistance to the school guidelines, particularly, and to the health and hospital guidelines to a slightly lesser degree is well underway. In fact, the June 11 meeting will follow by only a few days a recently announced meeting for June 6, which has been called by Governor Wallace, for local school officials to

(Continued on Page 2)

RIGHTS COMMISSION SPONSORS SCHOOL DESEGREGATION MEET (Continued)

discuss the "illegal guidelines." Persons who have worked on school desegregation, who are aware of what the guidelines mean and of possible violations of them or who are at all concerned about the current situation are particularly urged to attend this conference.

# EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

*PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AND TITLE VII*

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits employers and unions in industries affecting interstate commerce, and all employment agencies which serve them, from discriminating because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, except in those cases where sex, national origin, or religion is a *bona fide* occupational qualification reasonably necessary to the normal operation of a particular business or enterprise.

Discrimination may not be practiced in hiring, firing, promotion, wages, layoffs, use of facilities on the job, and employer or union practices which discriminate against or segregate particular employees. Nor may discrimination be practiced in exclusion or expulsion from training or apprenticeship programs, recruitment and recruitment advertising, selection or referral of job applicants, and membership in or job referrals by unions.

Title VII guarantees equal opportunity in private employment only. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was created by Title VII to enforce its provisions. If you believe that you (or some other person) have been discriminated against by an employer, labor organization, employment agency or joint labor-management program, write to: Mr. Donald Hollowell, Director EEOC, 1776 Peachtree Street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30309.

*PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AND GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS*

Employers having contracts with the Federal Government and contractors on Federally assisted construction projects are prohibited by Executive orders from discriminating in employment because of race, color, creed, age, or national origin. All employees of a contractor or subcontractor are covered whether or not they are involved in work on the contract unless they are specifically exempted from coverage. For example, employees in all plants of a parent company are covered though employees in only one plant may be working on the contract.

The Secretary of Labor or the appropriate contracting agency may cancel, terminate, or suspend any contract or portion of a contract when the contractor or subcontractor fails to comply with the nondiscrimination provisions of the contract. The continuation of contracts may be conditioned upon a program for future compliance approved by the contracting agency. Aggrieved employees or applicants for employment may file a complaint with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

*PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT*

It is the policy of the Federal Government to provide equal opportunity in Federal employment for all qualified persons and to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, sex, or national origin. Each executive department and agency is required to maintain a positive program of equal employment opportunity for all civilian employees and applicants for employment within its jurisdiction. Employees or applicants for employment with the Federal Government who allege discrimination should complain to the U. S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C.

Federal statutes provide that states shall establish a merit system of personnel administration applicable to the employment and promotion of employees of public agencies administering certain programs receiving Federal financial assistance. Some of the agencies covered by these statutes include State and local

(Continued on Page 4)

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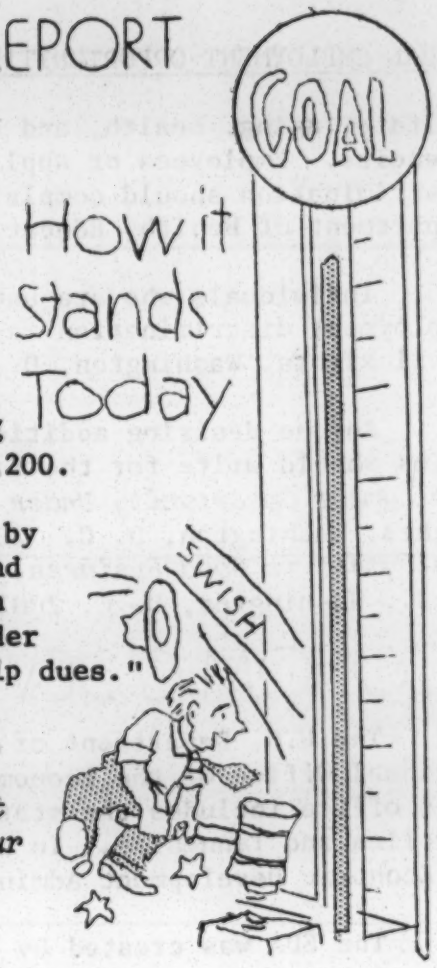
*We wish to call to our readers' attention the enclosed descriptive brochure of the products available from the Southern Consumers' Cooperative, Inc. of Lafayette, Louisiana. The Southern Consumers' Cooperative, as the brochure explains, "seeks to promote economic enterprise which provides alternative employment opportunities utilizing abundant human resources of low-income families." We recommend their products to our readers.*

# 1966 MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN REPORT




In the two months since our last report on the 1966 financial and membership campaign we have had a significant increase in membership. The same is not true, however, concerning contributions. Below are figures listed by chapter showing how things look as of May 20, 1966. Indications are that we will easily surpass last year's membership totals. If we can get about 500 more members by October 1 (that's when the new membership year begins) we would have nearly a 25% increase over last year's membership total of about 1,200.

We wish to remind everyone of the decision made by ACHR's executive committee in June of 1965 that "on and after June 1 of each year, new members (only) may join the Alabama Council on Human Relations for the remainder of the calendar year for one-half the annual membership dues."

*If you live where there is no organized chapter, or if you live outside Alabama, or if for any other reason you have not yet given us your help, please let us have your membership, contribution or pledge at your earliest convenience (if you make a contribution or pledge, you automatically become a member). Use the application on Page 4.*

**FINANCIAL-MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN**

| | FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN | | | MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Pledged & Rec'd | Total 1966 Goal | Per Cent of Goal Pledged & Rec'd | Total Pledged & Rec'd | Total 1966 Quota | Per Cent of Quota Pledged & Rec'd |
| Greater Birmingham | $ 860.00 | $ 2,800 | 31% | 101 | 200 | 51% |
| East Alabama | 3,200.50 | 4,600 | 70% | 355 | 400 | 89% |
| Huntsville | 1,499.00 | 1,600 | 94% | 78 | 100 | 78% |
| Mobile | 1,780.50 | 2,600 | 68% | 157 | 150 | 105% |
| Montgomery | 618.00 | 1,300 | 62% | 46 | 75 | 61% |
| Muscle Shoals | 1,663.00 | 1,900 | 88% | 85 | 100 | 85% |
| Talladega District | 591.00 | 700 | 84% | 72 | 50 | 144% |
| Tuscaloosa | 1,397.00 | 2,100 | 67% | 129 | 150 | 86% |
| Special Gifts | 4,688.14 | 10,000 | 47% | 54 | | |
| At Large | 74.00 | | | 16 | | |
| TOTALS | $16,371.14 | $28,000 | 58% | 1,093 | 1,250* | 87% |

* Includes 25 for Enterprise

# VOLUNTEER JOBS FOR STUDENTS

There are thousands of openings for summer volunteer service in the war on poverty for college students. Volunteers are needed in Project Head Start, the Job Corps, Project Upward Bound, Adult Basic Education, Vista, Legal Services Program and Local Community Action Programs. Volunteer positions are available for each of the above programs in nearly every part of the country. In most cases a brief training period will be provided and some or all expenses will be paid in many of the programs.

Rather than list details of the various programs and the appropriate person to contact we are suggesting that any student who is interested in additional information should write to ACHR's state office. Indicate which program(s) you are most interested in, which part of the country you prefer and dates of availability (some programs are for all summer while others are for one or two months). You will receive, by return mail, specific information regarding programs you are interested in, who to contact, biographical information necessary, dates of the programs, possible expenses, etc.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES (Continued)

welfare, aging, health, and civil defense agencies and State Employment Security agencies. Employees or applicants for employment with these agencies who allege discrimination should complain to the Chief, Division of State Merit Systems, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C.

Individuals who are uncertain about where to file a complaint alleging employment discrimination may make inquiry of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D. C. 20425

Anyone desiring additional information regarding Equal Employment Opportunities should write for the following three free pieces of literature: *Equal Employment Opportunity Under Federal Law*, The United States Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D. C. 20425; *Employers Guide to Equal Opportunity* and *Fair Employment is Good Business*, The Potomac Institute, Inc., 1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

# ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

The U.S. Department of Commerce has recently established a South Eastern Regional Office of the Economic Development Administration (EDA) in Huntsville. This office includes the states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee. In addition to the Regional Office each state also has an Economic Development Administration office.

The EDA was created by The Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. Some of the things which the EDA does are to provide grant and loan programs for public works and development facilities to enable private enterprise to move into depressed areas (this might mean building access roads for an industrial park or putting in sewer and water systems), to assist depressed communities to develop and expand public works necessary to create new opportunities for permanent jobs and economic growth, to provide technical assistance in working out broad, comprehensive plans for developing an area's economy, and to make available low-interest, long-term loans to business firms which are establishing or expanding in depressed areas.

Individuals, organizations or businessmen desiring additional information should write or call Mr. Gordon Berry, Acting Director, Economic Development Administration, Acuff Building, 904 Bob Wallace Avenue, Huntsville, Alabama (534-0661

The EDA is also very interested in building an intergrated staff in their Regional and state offices. Positions are open for both secretarial and professional staff levels. Professional positions available include financial specialists, civil engineers, attorneys, economists, operations research analysts, and public works project review officers for grade 7 ($6,269 per year) through grade 13 ($12,510 per year). Interested persons should contact Mr. Frederick A. Ricci, Equal Opportunity Officer, at the above address.

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APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W. Huntsville, Alabama 35805

I would like to lend my support to the program of the Council by becoming:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. A Single Member ($5.00)* | ( ) | New ( ) | Renewal | ( ) |
| 2. A Joint Member, Husband and Wife ($8.00)* | ( ) | | Check Enclosed | ( ) |
| 3. A Student Member ($3.00)* | ( ) | | Cash Enclosed | ( ) |
| 4. A Contributor ($ ) | ( ) | | Bill Me | ( ) |

* New Members may join for one half this amount after June 1.

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____ COUNTY _____

OCCUPATION _____ DATE _____

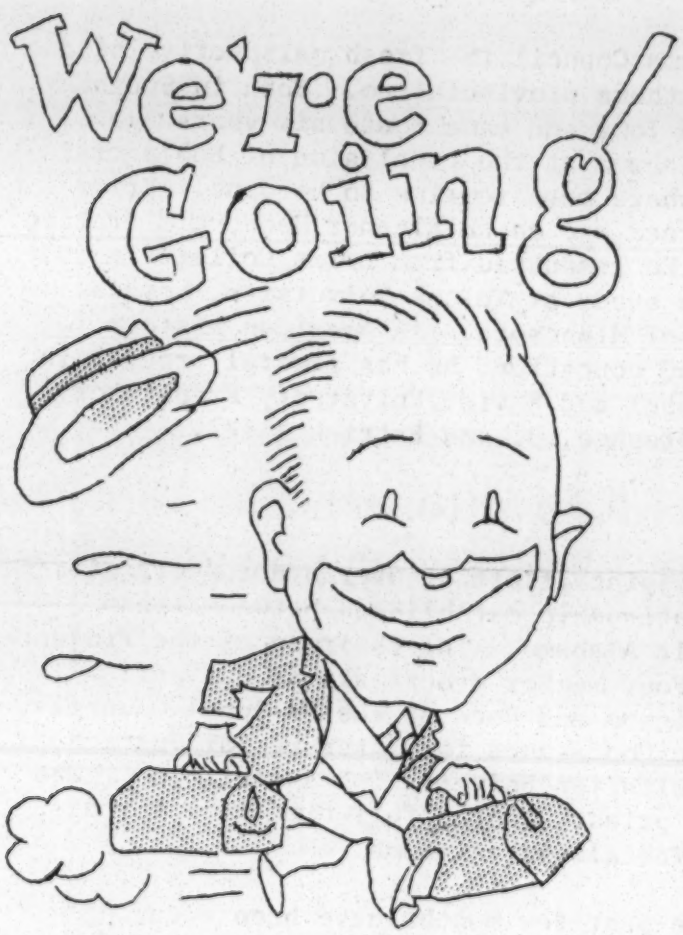
# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Jerry Roden, Jr.
Executive Director

June 30, 1966

## A TIME OF TRANSITION




The present is a time of transition for the Alabama Council's state staff. On June 10, the Council;s Board of Directors voted (1) to employ Mr. Jerry Roden, Jr. as Executive Director, (2) to make permanent the appointment of Mr. Bob Valder as Associate Director, and (3) to move the state office from Huntsville to Auburn. The decision to move the office to Auburn was prompted by the need for a more central location. The state staff is preparing for the move to Auburn, which is scheduled for July 15.

Council offices in Auburn will be located at 160 North College Street--or, more accurately, in offices 2, 3, and 4 of the Wright Drug Building at the corner of North College Street and Tichenor Avenue. Since this building is only one block from the Post Office, we have secured a post office box to insure more rapid delivery and handling of mail. All correspondence directed to the state office on or after July 11 should be addressed to: Post Office Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama 36830. Our phone number will be: Area Code 205, 887-3438.

## A WELL-DESERVED BOUQUET

During this process of relocation, the Alabama Council will lose the excellent services of Mrs. Benny J. Rogers as state office secretary--but not as a result of the move. Mrs. Rogers had already announced plans to resign at the end of May, but when the possibility of relocation arose, she agreed to remain on the job until the issue was settled and then until the move takes place. All Council members owe Mrs. Rogers a debt of gratitude both for her devoted service during her tenure in the state office and for her willingness to change her own plans to make the transition to a new location easy. Mrs. Rogers has exceeded her duties as secretary during her tenure with us and has become, in reality, an invaluable administrative assistant. We shall miss her.

## THE NEW SECRETARY

Suceeding Mrs. Rogers will be Miss Mae Etta Eaton, a recent graduate of the Booker T. Washington Business College. A native of Thomaston in Marengo County (in the heart of the West Alabama Black Belt), Miss Eaton first attended Alabama A&M College in Huntsville for one year, but she went to Booker T. Washington because Birmingham offered better opportunities for earning her way through school.

## THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Mr. Jerry Roden, Jr. is a native of Pisgah in Jackson County, Alabama, but has spent most of his adult life in Auburn and vicinity. He holds a B.S. degree in

(Continued on Page 2)

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR (Continued)

Agricultural Education and an M.A. degree in English from Auburn University. During the past nine months, he pursued doctoral studies in English at Auburn University under a National Defense Education Act Fellowship. Prior to that, he was for the past eight years editor of The Auburn Alumnews, a monthly publication going to some 40,000 Auburn University alumni. During his tenure with The Alumnews, Jerry became an active member of our East Alabama Chapter and served as president of that chapter in 1964-65. Work experiences of the new Executive Director prior to his tenure with The Alumnews include: (1) associate editor and publisher of The Cleburne News in Heflin, (2) advertising and circulation manager of The Lee County Bulletin in Auburn, (3) South Alabama Representative for The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, (4) teacher of English and mathematics at Pisgah High School, and (5) graduate assistant and then instructor in English at Auburn University. His age at the end of this multiplicity of experience is 43. He is married to the former Rebecca Harris of Opelika, and they have three children--Wayne, 17, and Ruth and Inez, both 16.

# THE ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Mr. Bob Valder has brought to the Alabama Council the fresh perspective of one reared and trained outside the bounds of Southern provincialism. Born in South Dakota in 1938, Bob grew up in Minnesota and Iowa and came South six years ago. Bob and his wife, Jan, decided to stay in Alabama at the conclusion of Bob's training period because there is no other place where more remains to be done. Prior to joining the Alabama Council more than a year ago as an Eleanor Roosevelt trainee, Bob had a variety of academic experiences. He graduated from Loras College, Dubuque, Iowa, in 1960, and has done further study at Tulane University, Loyola University of the South, and the University of Minnesota. An American history major with minors in philosophy, English, and education, he has several credits in law and has taught at St. Augustine High School and Xavier University Preparatory in New Orleans. Bob and Jan have to sons--Stephen, 3, and Patrick 1 1/2.

# THE SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT

The Selma Inter-Religious Project is a joint effort of over a dozen organizations and denominations to continue the relationship established between these groups and the people of Selma and Black Belt Alabama. The chairman of the Project is Mr. Mel Dubin, a New York businessman. Four member groups act as national sponsors. They are: The Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ, The National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice, The Synagogue Council of America, and the Unitarian-Universalist Association. The Reverend Francis X. Walter, an Episcopalian priest, is the full-time Director of the Project. He lives in and works out of Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

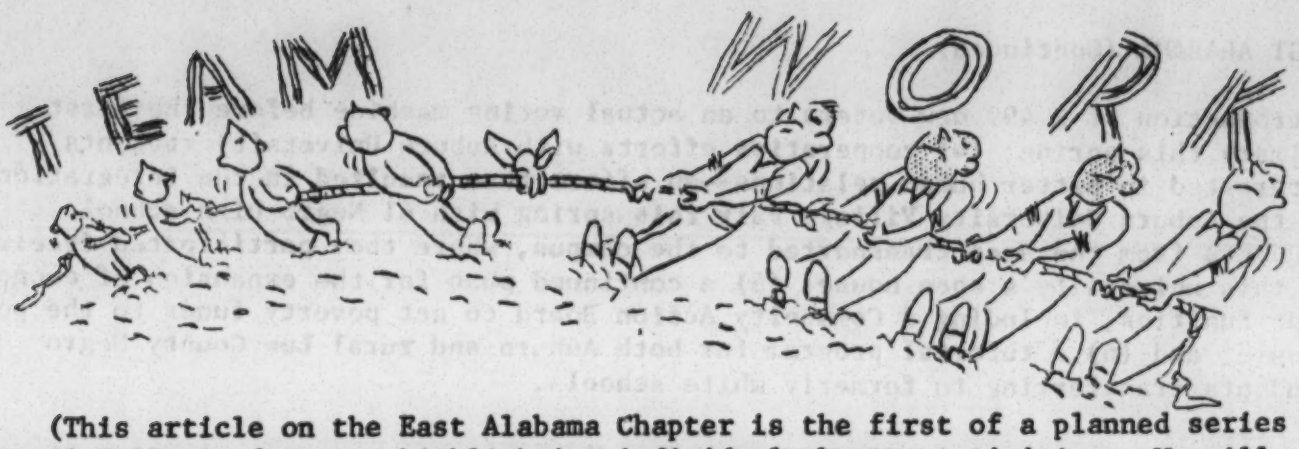
Some of the more important tasks of the past few months have been securing emergency relief for victims of economic reprisals due to voting and political activities, putting grass-roots persons in touch with organizations, books, programs, church groups, etc., who could help them, interpreting the Movement to whites and establishment of The Freedom Quilting Bee (see below).

The Rev. Walter tells us that the Project is suffering serious financial difficulties. Its budget calls for $15,880, but some earlier pledges to the Project have not been forthcoming. Thus the Project is in need of $4,000 in order to continue operations. ACHR is quite familiar with the Selma Inter-Religious Project, and we are convinced of its value and are impressed by its significant contributions. All donations should be sent to the account of The Selma Inter-Religious Project, c/o The Episcopal Society, Room 200, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia 30303. This will assure the donor of giving to an incorporated, non-profit organization having an annual audit of its books. Donations are also income tax deductible.

The Freedom Quilting Bee is a handicraft co-operative, chartered under Alabama law in Wilcox County, which is part of Alabama's Black Belt. It is composed of about 150 men and women making and marketing quilts, baskets, dinnerware and pottery. The co-op has been assisted by advice and a grant from the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta. Miss Lois Deslonde from the Roman Catholic lay community CARITAS in New Orleans is working with the co-op this summer as a technical assistant. The co-op, which has already sold 125 quilts for $3,200 at public auction in New York City, (quilts now average $20 a piece) is eager to discuss the sale of its products with commercial outlets. White oak baskets and native pottery have been recently added to the products available from the Freedom Quilting Bee.

This organization is providing an income and more importantly an outlet for the energies and talents of persons previously denied decent wages, self-expression and recognition as a "worthy" member of society.

(Continued on Page 4)




(This article on the East Alabama Chapter is the first of a planned series of Council Bulletin features highlighting individual chapter activities. We will proceed alphabetically through the list of chapters.)

# E.A.C.H.R.--A BEEHIVE OF ACTIVITY

Auburn Unitarian House has become a beehive of activity this summer. The Unitarians, who suspend operations during the hot months, have loaned their facilities to the East Alabama Chapter of the Alabama Council. From her borrowed headquarters, East Alabama President, Mrs. William Spears, is directing and coordinating chapter-sponsored activities that will involve more than 2,500 men, women and children in educational and recreational activities before summer ends.

Foremost among East Alabama's summer activities are Operation Head Start in rural Lee County and a series of educational and play programs jointly sponsored by the East Alabama Chapter and the American Ethical Union. Both Head Start operations and cooperative projects with AEU are repeats of highly successful performances last summer.

East Alabama's Head Start operation involves 270 pre-first graders at four school locations and 230 children involved in a follow-through program after last summer's Head Start and nine months in regular school. Unfortunately, the political climate of Alabama has resulted in only token integration of Head Start students, who are principally Negro. However, teaching staffs, social workers, and supervisory personnel are integrated and working together in classrooms, homes, and parents meetings. The Head Start professional staff consists of 85 men and women--and it is actually tri-racial in composition since it includes not only Negroes and whites but also a doctoral student from India. One of the most encouraging developments in this summer's Head Start is the escalation of parent interest. Direct involvement of the more than 900 parents of Head Start children is a major goal of the program. The success of the first parent meeting this year indicates a measure of success unanticipated by experienced workers after last year's parental reluctance to come and speak out.

Cooperative work between the East Alabama Chapter and the American Ethical Union began last year when the Council's Mrs. Grace Hooks and AEU's Walter Lawton got together. The list of those contributing to the expansion of cooperative efforts last summer is too long for inclusion here, but we must include mention of Bob Stein and his wife, Anita, both AEU volunteers, and the Council's Professor Roger Kelley. Walter, Bob, and Anita, along with Harold Quigley, are back on the job this year as AEU leaders. All four give considerable credit for this year's expanded program to a speech that East Alabama's President, Nancy Spears, made before the AEU National Convention in Chicago in April.

AEU and the East Alabama Chapter are sponsoring jointly in Tuskegee (1) a play school to provide creative experiences for eighty children between the ages of four and ten, and (2) a tutorial workshop in basic English skills for high school students. They are sponsoring in Auburn (1) an integrated play school for 45 children, ages four to ten, and (2) a series of lectures on racial and related problems (a similar series of high quality lectures last year drew sizeable audiences from all segments of the community).

Other East Alabama programs continuing this summer include: (1) an adult education project, two years old now, in Auburn that offers training from the literacy level through to high school graduation. Enrollment during the summer slump is 25. Two former students have helped integrate the State Trade School in Opelika, and are studying nursing and business education there; (2) cooperative efforts in voter registration with the Auburn and Opelika Voters League--East Alabama has also worked from time to time with NAACP and SCLC representatives on voter registration in Lee County, and works cooperatively with several organizations in Macon County; (3) a cooperative voter education program with the Auburn League of Women Voters--this project, aided by a grant from Southern Regional Council, resulted in the

(Continued on Page 4)

EAST ALABAMA (Continued)

introduction of 2,499 new voters to an actual voting machine before the first primary this spring; (4) cooperative efforts with Auburn University students interested in better human relations--an effort that resulted in the integration of the Auburn University Village Fair this spring with 61 Negro high school students from the area transported to the campus, where they participated freely in this university's open house; (5) a continued push for the expansion of economic opportunities, including a Community Action Board to get poverty funds to the poor people; and (6) a tutorial program for both Auburn and rural Lee County Negro students transferring to formerly white schools.

THE SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT (Continued)

For further information about the price and types of products available or about assistance which our readers can give in developing commercial outlets or any other indormation desired, contact The Freedom Quilting Bee, The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, 810 - 29th Avenue, Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401, or Mr. Tom Screven, Agent, #6 Patchin Place, New York, New York.

# INTERGROUP RELATIONS STAFF

A letter from Mr. B. T. McGraw, Intergroup Relations Assistant to the U. S. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, indicates that the new U. S. Department is making rapid organizational progress. The following excerpts from Mr. McGraw's letter may be of special interest to Council members:

" . . . The future status and performance of the Intergroup Relations function in the Department remains a matter for further consideration. At present, we have staff assigned to central and regional offices of FHA, PHA, and URA, as well as the Secretary's office. The present structure provides for an office of Equal Opportunity Standards and Regulations primarily concerned with compliance review of equal employment and Title VI requirements . . ."

"While we are not in position, at this time, to determine just what may be expected by the way of expansion of the Intergroup Relations function and staff, we do want to encourage you to direct to our attention any highly qualified applicants or prospects for employment in the Department."

*"NEW SOUTH"*

*We wish to call our readers' attention to the enclosed brochure. The brochure describes the latest edition of the New South, a quarterly journal published by the Southern Regional Council.*

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APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W. Huntsville, Alabama 35805

I would like to lend my support to the program of the Council by becoming:

1. A Single Member ($5.00)* ( ) New ( ) Renewal ( )
2. A Joint Member, Husband and Wife ($8.00)* ( ) Check Enclosed ( )
3. A Student Member ($3.00)* ( ) Cash Enclosed ( )
4. A Contributor ($ ) ( ) Bill Me ( )

*New members may join for one half this amount for the remainder of this year.

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

OCCUPATION _____ DATE _____

Ala - PUBLICATIONS

# HUNTSVILLE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Our purpose . . .

. . . To promote channels for prompt and easy communication between individuals and groups of all races.

. . . To foster an atmosphere and environment in which citizens of all races, creeds, and colors can exist and work together in decency and dignity.

## N E W S L E T T E R

**JUNE, 1966**

**CALENDAR**

| | |
|---|---|
| **June 20 7:30 p.m.** | **NAACP - Mr. James Pickett, new president, will hold an organizational meeting and finalize plans for a membership drive. Union Chapel, Gardner St.** |
| **June 23 5:30 p.m.** | **Voter Registration Project- meet in front of AHAC Bldg. (see below)** |
| **June 23 7:30 p.m.** | **City Council Meeting Municipal Building Policy Advisory Committee** |
| **June 25 4-7 p.m.** | ***Huntsville Council Family Picnic - Braham Springs Park Picnic Area*** |
| **June 26 5:00 p.m.** | **Richmond Flowers, Fellowship Presbyterian Church** |
| **June 28 8:00 p.m.** | **Committee for School Desegregation Meeting Unitarian Church, 801 East Clinton Avenue** |
| **July 5 7:30 p.m.** | **School Board Meeting 714 Bob Wallace Avenue** |
| **July 6 8:00 p.m.** | **Executive Committee of HCHR Unitarian Church, 801 East Clinton Avenue** |
| **July 12 8:00** | **General Meeting of Huntsville Council; speaker, Mr. Lewis Black** |
| **July 14 7:30 p.m.** | **City Council Meeting Municipal Building** |

* * * *

***FUN AND GAMES***

**The Huntsville Council will celebrate the coming of "the long hot . . ." summer by foregoing a regular meeting in June and having a family picnic instead on Saturday, June 25, at Braham Springs Park, from 4:00 - 7:00 p.m. We all feel the need to rest and relax and get to know our newer members better. This will be the time to do it. We would like to extend a special invitation to the children who have been attending our study hall sessions at Union Chapel Church this year. The Council will provide hot dogs, buns, mustard, etc., kool-aid, plates and utensils. Each family is asked to bring a covered dish (salad, vegetable, or dessert, or whatever you like). Ester Ring says there will be a picnic fund kiddy prominently displayed for those who might wish to make a contribution! Some games will be arranged to entertain the children, and there is an amusement area at the park. If you can attend, please call Ester and let her know. (536-8785)**

***VOTER REGISTRATION***

**Are you unhappy about the results of our Democratic Primary? Well, we have an opportunity to work to improve the situation. Voter education and registration is the answer as we all know. One Thursday, June 23, at 5:30 p.m., interested persons are asked to meet in front of the AHAC Building. They will be asked to spend the next two hours visiting homes in the Northwood area. Bring a pencil, a clipboard and your walking shoes!**

**McKinley Bailey, Co-Chairman**
**Voter Education and Registration Committee**

***FLOWERS TO SPEAK***

**Richmond Flowers, Attorney General of Alabama, will be the speaker at a program at Fellowship Presbyterian Church, presented by the Men of the Church. John Cashin will be the featured soloist. The program will be held on Sunday, June 26, at 5:00 p.m., on the lawn of the church, 3406 Meridian Street. All Council members are cordially invited.**

*SCHOOL DESEGREGATION*

I would like to take this opportunity to thank and congratulate all the people who took part in the first phase of our school desegregation project. Although our Board of Education has chosen to make no announcement regarding the future of Councill High until after the Federal Court hearing, we feel the visitation project was extremely successful. It seems likely that three-fourths of the students surveyed by the Board indicated their wish to transfer to either Butler, Lee or Huntsville High schools next fall. For this reason, it is probable that Councill will no longer serve as a high school next year. Those of you who took part in this phase of the project can be justifiably proud of making a desegregated education a reality for Huntsville high school age students!

Now, I would like you to help me on the second phase--Negro elementary and junior high school age children. We have in Huntsville three "Negro" schools serving these children: West End, Cavalry Hill, and Councill. Many children are traveling long distances, passing schools nearer their homes, to attend these "inherently inferior" schools. Those in grades 1, 2, 3,4, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 have the right to apply for transfer, but the deadline to do this is now August 15. We know from experience that the parents of these children need factual information plus encouragement and support in order for them to make the decision to transfer their children into schools which have, in the past, served only white children. The secret of making the rest of our school project a success is simple--finding and involving the people in this community who wish to put their convictions to work. If you are such a person and/or know of others, please attend our Committee for School Desegregation meeting on TUESDAY, JUNE 28, 8:00 P.M., at the UNITARIAN CHURCH, 801 East Clinton Avenue.

Jane Reed, Co-Chairman
Committee for School Desegregation

*MAIDS*

Do you employ domestic help in your home? If so, or if you know other individuals in Huntsville who do, you could be a great help to us. The Council has agreed to conduct a survey to determine the attitudes, requirements, and complaints of employers of domestic helpers in Huntsville. This is aimed at improving the lot of both employer and employee. If you would be willing to spend a few minutes filling out a short survey form, or can supply us with the names of others that might take part, please call Marge Nieberlein, 536-5726.

*STATE BOARD MEETING*

The State Board of the Alabama Council met on Friday, June 10, and accepted the nomination by the Executive Committee of Mr. Jerry Roden, former president of our East Alabama Chapter, as Executive Director of ACHR. Mr. Roden will work full time this summer and part-time during the next school year while engaged in studies leading to his Ph.D. degree in English at Auburn University;

Accepted nomination by the Executive Committee of Mr. Bob Valder as Associate Director of ACHR;

Accepted recommendation of the Executive Committee that the State Office be moved as soon as possible to Auburn, Alabama;

Appointed Mr. J. E. Pierce of Montgomery to serve the unexpired term of Rev. J. C. Wilson, deceased, as treasurer and member of the Executive Committee;

Discussed ways of improving communications between the Executive Committee, the Board, and local chapters.

These included:

Insuring that all areas of the state are represented on the Executive Committee;
Stressing to all Executive Committee members the importance of their full participation;
Asking each Executive Committee member to take the responsibility for remaining in close communication with members of the Board;
Possibility of revising the constitution at the next annual meeting to include a requirement for a quorum for the Executive Committee meetings;
Agreed to have a day-long seminar for Board members to discuss fully the form and function of ACHR and the responsibilities and opportunities that it will face in the future [to be held in Birmingham the last of

STATE BOARD MEETING (Continued)

September or early October];
Appointed Mrs. Jane Reed to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Jerry Roden on the Executive Committee;
Discussed the annual meeting of ACHR to be held on February 3 and 4, 1967, agreeing to have it in Tuscaloosa with local group serving as host. The changed format will include having a nationally-known speaker on Friday night and workshops and speeches on Saturday to explore the functions and programs of the Alabama Council in the coming year;
Heard report from Bob Valder concerning his work and that of Lewis Black, the Rural Advancement Project Director.

*EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING*

The Executive Board of the Huntsville Council met on Monday, June 6, and took the following actions:

Agreed to have committee meetings and a family picnic rather than a general meeting in June;

Heard report from Joe Gannon, Education Chairman, regarding actions taken by him in connection with the concern voiced at the last general meeting for children unable to afford lunch during the school year. He is attempting to define this problem and find a possible solution to it;

Agreed to compile a list of local business men who might be interested in attending a week-long session at Ohio University dealing with OEO.

Discussed the possibility of inviting Lewis Black, staff member of ACHR working in the Black Belt, to visit Huntsville in July to discuss with interested people the formation of a credit union.

ALA - PUBLICATION

COUNCIL NEWS

THE MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — Mobile, Alabama

Mrs. Kathleen K. Wood, President
Mrs. Joan Lamb, Editor

Vol. I, No. 10
June, 1966

## Picnic

June 18
11:00 am - 5:00 pm

Beckwith Lodge
(See map attached for location)

Topic: The Relationship of Humans with Food, Swimming, Friends, and Fun

## Who is Invited?

All Council members and their families are urged to come and to bring their friends. All children who have transferred to predominately white schools, their families and friends are especially invited to attend.

## Transportation

If you need a ride call 342-9391 and one will be arranged for you. If you have extra space in your car, please call the above number and offer to take others.

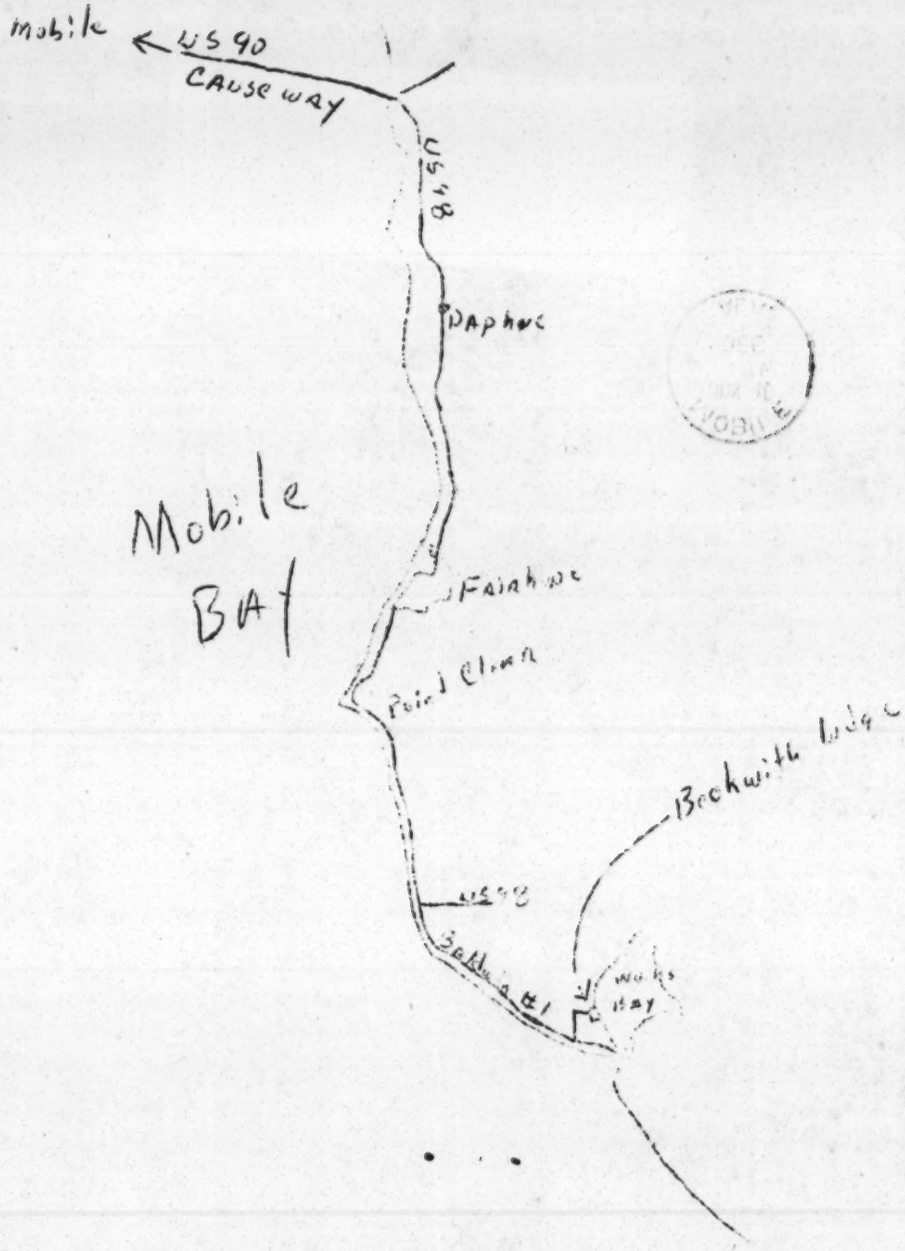
## What to Bring?

Bring your own lunch and soft drinks (we will provide coffee for all who want it). Be sure you bring enough for the guests you invite and PLEASE bring some extra for our batchelors and young people.

## Activities

Swimming, exploring, or just taking it easy. There is an excellent place to swim and facilities for changing clothes, so be sure and bring your bathing suit.

See you at Beckwith Lodge!!




Cross causeway and turn right on U.S. 98. Go to below Point Clear, where U.S. 98 turns sharply to the left. <u>Do not follow 98</u> but take Baldwin County Route # 1 (there is a Beckwith Lodge sign at this point). Follow Baldwin County # 1 for about 4½ miles. Turn left at the Beckwith Lodge sign onto a dirt road. Following the signs to the right, go about ½ mile to the Lodge.

ALA. - PUBLICATIONS

COUNCIL NEWS

THE MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — Mobile, Alabama

Mrs. Kathleen K. Wood, President — Vol. II, No. 2
Mrs. Joan Lamb, Editor — July, 1966

## Meeting

8:00, July 26 — Church of the Good Shepherd
605 Donald Street

Program: — Where Do We Go From Here?

If the title of the program looks familiar to you it is because the May newsletter carried a similar announcement. The program was pre-empted that month by the excellent film on the Klan, but we still have the problem of determining our direction for the coming year. The Board has discussed various ideas at our last two Board Meetings; however what we do depends entirely on you -- your interests, your concerns, and the amount of work you are willing to do. We will divide into small "buzz sessions" so come prepared to present your ideas and to evaluate those of others.

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## Selma Inter-Religious Project

Many of you read of the splendid work of the Selma Inter-Religious Project in the July Alabama Council newsletter. The Project is an effort on the part of the religious organizations which participated in the March on Montgomery last year to continue their relationship with the people of the Black Belt of Alabama. Four organizations are serving as sponsors: The National Council of Churches of Christ's Committee on Religion and Race; the National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice; the Synagogue Council of America; and the Unitarian-Universalist Association. The Project's Executive Director is the Rev. Francis Walter, an Episcopal priest and a native Mobilian.

Although the Selma Inter-Religious Project was not formally organized until October, 1965, already it has served as a fact-finding agency to assist the people of Wilcox County in making application for a self-help housing project; an FHA financed co-op farm; and OEO sponsored adult education, Head Start, and Child Day Care centers. In addition it has gathered and submitted evidence to the Justice Department in cases where families have been evicted for registering to vote or participating in civil rights activities.

Another activity of the Selma Inter-Religious Project is the Freedom Quilting Bee, which it organized. This is a handcraft co-op which is producing beautiful quilts and pottery for sale throughout the country. The profits made by the co-op will be lent as in a credit union to buy sewing machines and to finance other money making projects. 80 quilts were sold at an auction in New York City in May for a profit of $2,200.

Besides these direct efforts to help the people of the Black Belt the Project is also working to interpret the Movement to the white people of Alabama and trying with some success to get the whites and the Negroes working together for common projects.

Although the annual budget for the S.I.P. is only $16,000 there has been difficulty in raising even this small sum. Because we believe that the quiet, determined work of the Selma Inter-Religious Project is so important to the people it is serving and to the state of Alabama the Board has authorized a special collection to be taken at our July meeting for the continuation of the Project. We hope that you will all give generously. If you cannot attend but would like to contribute you can send your check, made out to the Selma Inter-Religious Project, to Mrs. Kathleen K. Wood, 4100 Ridgelawn Drive, Mobile 36608.

Quilt scraps are also needed. We will have a box at the meeting to collect all you can bring. If you don't sew perhaps your neighbor does and would be willing to donate her scraps to the women of the Black Belt. Everyone's contribution in money and material is needed please help all you can.

## Committee Chairmen

The Board is happy to announce the selection of the following committee chairmen:

| | |
|---|---|
| Education | Dr. Kurt Tauss |
| Voter Education and Registration | Kermic McChriston |
| Employment | Rev. T.E. Williams |
| Police Practices and Jury Selection | Rev. John J. Ellard |
| Hospitals and Health | Rev. John W.B. Thompson |
| Federal Programs | James N. Wood |
| Membership | John Milton |
| Housing | Valena McCants |
| Telephone | Sarah Hamlin |
| Hospitality | Janice Kennedy |
| Newsletter | Joan Lamb |

These members have accepted the responsibility of keeping themselves and all of us informed on developments in their designated areas. Each chairman, with the assistance of his committee, will propose appropriate Council projects and programs related to his special field.

The Council can be no stronger than its committees and its chairmen. Please decide on what committee you would like to serve and notify the chairman. Don't wait to receive a special invitation.

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## State Board Appointments

Mrs. Janice Kennedy and Mr. Arthur Whitfield have accepted one-year appointments to the State Board of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. They will serve in addition to the three other Mobile members -- the Rev. Powers McLeod, the Rev. John W.B. Thompson and Mrs. Kathleen Wood -- who were elected to the State Board at the State Convention in Montgomery last February.

The Mobile Council has grown in number and activity during the past two years. Our growth is a reflection of the tremendous growth of the Council throughout the state. Our activities become more effective as a part of a coordinated larger effort. We gain inspiration and avoid error by exchanging ideas and experiences with the members of all the other Councils and by working through our state office and state board.

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## Report on School Desegregation

Our efforts to encourage applications for transfer this year were concentrated primarily in two areas, Cottage Hill and Crichton. In the Cottage Hill area applications for transfer have been accepted for 20 students to Davidson High School; 10 to Azalea Road Junior High; and 3 to Elizabeth Fonde. In the Crichton area 4 students are transferring to Sidney Phillips and 4 to Murphy. There are also some first-graders entering Crichton School but we do not yet have the exact number. The figures do not include former transfers; we are counting only those students who have been accepted for transfer for the first time this year.

The figures could be -- and should be -- much higher, but a beginning has been made. Our thanks and congratulations to all who have worked so hard.

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## Voter Registration

The period for voter registration is the first week in each month. Can you find 5 new voters in August and see that they register? If each Council member did this we could register over 750 new voters in just one month and over 9,000 in a year!

PUBLICATIONS

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

Volume 11, No. 4 NEWSLETTER July, 1966

## ARKANSAS VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

ACHR received a grant from the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council on June 20 for a voter registration campaign in 14 Arkansas counties. The Rev. Ben Grinage began work as director on June 27, with Jim Jones as assistant, and Mrs. Kay Steeves as secretary. Both Grinage and Jones have served as directors of SNCC's Arkansas program.

## COMMITTEE ISSUES STATEMENT

The quasi-official Citizens Committee on Human Affairs in Little Rock with Bishop Robert R. Brown as chairman has issued two statements -- one in support of the new Guidelines for School Desegregation and one on behalf of fair housing for minorities.

## SNCC DIRECTOR TAKES ISSUE

The Director of the Arkansas project for SNCC publicly took issue with the new national leaders of that organiza- in advocating "Black Power". The statement issued by Director Ben Grinage was a joint production including former director Bill Hansen. Among other things it declared "integration is relevant" which SNCC leaders denied.

## STUDENT SUMMER SEMINAR

"Students and Urban Life" is a seminar with 15 college students spending eight weeks living in Little Rock and "getting with it" personally to encounter complexities of urban organization and problems. Counsellors are Harold Wells, Director of Wesley Foundation in Little Rock, and Miss Arla Elston, student minister to Disciples students at U. of A.

## ARKANSAS NEGRO WINS ELECTION

Mrs. Ruby Mc Coy, teacher in Carver School, Little Rock was elected Vice President of the Classroom Teachers Association of NEA in June. The Arkansas Department of Classroom Teachers of the Arkansas Teachers Association (Negro) sponsored her.

## RESULTS OF PEABODY SCHOOL SURVEY

The report of the George Peabody College survey of North Little Rock School District released on June 13 included among its recommendation the abandonment of Jones Senior High (Negro) and the merging of the NLR District with Little Rock and Pulaski County districts.

Abandonment of Jones and the building a new high school elsewhere were among the policies vigorously pursued by the North Little Rock Council on Human Relations and especially by its Education Committee chaired by John W. Smith who is also a member of ACHR's Board.

## COUNCIL DIRECTORS WRITE TO HOWE

To counter the pressures from Arkansas schoolmen and congressmen on the U.S. Office of Education, ACHR's Director joined with all other directors of human relations councils in a strong statement of support to Commissioner Howe in enforcement of the new Guidelines for School Desegregation.

## ADOLPHINE TERRY DINNER

Unfortunately the state edition of the Arkansas Gazette did not carry the report of the Adolphine Terry Dinner on June 14 and the masterful address by Harry S. Ashmore to a capacity audience (500) in the Ball Room of the Marion Hotel.

Special thanks are due Grainger Williams and the following members of the committee: Mrs. Joe Brewer, Mrs. Patrick Murphy, Mrs. Clothilde Bush, Mrs. James Youngdahl, Dr. E. Upshur, Mrs. Hugh Patterson, Jr., Mrs. Gwendolyn Floyd, Fred Darragh, Steele Hays, Rev. William Willcox, Fr. Walter Clancy, Dr. Ira Sanders, and Phillip Back.

In writing the SRC about the affair Harry Ashmore said, "When we founded the Arkansas Council on Human Relations as a chapter of the Southern Regional Council some ten years ago we could assemble the entire membership in my office at the Arkansas Gazette. A couple of weeks ago the Council filled the biggest ballroom in town from wall to wall, and made the leading members

ADOLPHINE TERRY DINNER (CONT'D)

of the local Establishment pay handsomely to get in."

(Reprints of Ashmore's speech will be available soon for those present. Others should ask ACHR's office for copies.)

HEW CHECKS ARKANSAS HOSPITALS

Ozell Sutton was loaned for a number of days in June assisting representatives of HEW in their crash check on Arkansas hospitals in anticipation of the initiation of Medicare. By July 1, all but 30 Arkansas hospitals had met the nondiscriminatory requirements, a total of 79 qualifying.

"OLD ORDER CHANGETH"

On July 15 Mr. Sutton became the Field Representative for the Commission on Community Relations Services under the Justice Department (Room 502, Post Office Building, Little Rock). He says he considers that he has changed desks but continues the work of ACHR in his new job.

Elijah Coleman will be the new Associate Director, beginning in August. He has been principal of Townsend Park School, Pine Bluff, since 1954. He is past president of the Arkansas Teachers Association and an official in regional work of the Boy Scouts.

The Board asked Nat Griswold to continue as Director until September 1, before beginning his research assignment announced earlier.

NEW EMPHASIS OF ACHR

New emphasis of the work of ACHR as announced by Fr. Walter Clancy, Chairman of the Board, will be organization of effective affiliates in many Arkansas towns and cities. He holds that the human and civil rights movements are at the stage that only local groups can achieve for individuals full realization of rights provided under law. The staff and members of the Board will vigorously pursue organization of local groups. If you have ideas, let us hear from you.

IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

The enclosed pamphlet is selfexplanatory. Why have not candidates for state offices spoken out on the subject of school desegregation. Every school district in Arkansas is confronted with this revolutionary change. The well being of nearly one half million students

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION (CONT'D)

is at stak

is at stake including that of 120,000 Negro children and young people. It seems to be another case of the ostrich technique which, as a U.N. delegate remarked, not only blinds the ostrich but sets him up for a target for a boot. Some candidates say it is not an issue because it is the law. We say compliance is an issue because it is the law, and more importantly, because it is right.

LEST WE FORGET

"You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, 'You are free to compete with all the others' and still justly believe that you have been completely fair. ... We seek not just legal equity but human ability -- not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and equality as a result." President Johnson, June 4, 1965.

FLASH!

• The Civil Rights Act will be on the floor of the House of Representatives by the time you read this. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights urges that it be supported as is without further weakening.

You may not agree with this. But let your Congressman hear from you as to what you think. Wire, write, or go to Washington.

DESEGREGATION AND SCHOOL SITES

The issue of whether the construction program of a school district can be guided by a federal court to help achieve desegregation has been put squarely before the courts in two Arkansas cases; one involves the Gould School District, the other, Altheimer. The Gould case has been appealed by Attorney John Walker to the Eight Circuit Court of Appeals. On June 3 Judge J. Smith Henley dismissed the Altheimer suit. Both cases involve constructing new buildings on sites of former Negro schools.

POPULATION BOOM

With a birth every 7½ second the Demograph Clocks, a net gain of one new citizen of the USA every 12 seconds. And in the rest of the world? Equitable experts estimate that every minute 220 more babies are born and only 100 people die - two more human beings every second.

Ala- PUBLICATIONS

# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Jerry Roden, Jr.
Executive Director

August 24, 1966

## NOW IS THE TIME

The record of ACHR chapter work shows that the Alabama Council is now making some significant contributions to the improvement of human relations in our state. The greatest weakness in our program is the limited geographic scope of our impact. More than 50 of Alabama's 67 counties remain virtually untouched by our crusade for equality, human dignity, brotherhood, and progress. And in several other counties our influence has been but slight. Only in those counties where we have active chapters is our influence truly significant.

Working cooperatively with ACHR President C. G. Gomillion and the East Alabama Chapter, the ACHR state staff this month outlined a plan for chapter expansion that we hope will appeal to all chapters enough that each chapter will actively participate. East Alabama Chapter has already begun working on the plan, and the Executive Committee of the Mobile Chapter has agreed to give it a try.

Here's the plan in simple outline: First Step--To begin work immediately on each border of the state to establish a new chapter in a county adjoining, or nearby, a county in which a chapter already exists--Volunteers in East Alabama have chosen three counties for their initial efforts--Gene Porter is working in Russell County; the Rev. King Pogue, Mrs. Grace Hooks, and Mrs. Fannie Harris are working in Bullock County; the Rev. E. D. Porter and his wife, Frances, are working in Chambers County. Working cooperatively with these volunteers are East Alabama President Nancy Spears and Executive Director Jerry Roden, Jr. Mobile Chapter's Executive Committee has agreed to begin work in Baldwin County. ACHR Rural Improvement Director Lewis Black, is working to establish at least one new chapter in the West Alabama Black Belt. And ACHR Associate Director Bob Valder is planning to work for a new chapter in the northern section of the state.

Second Step--To encourage each remaining chapter to follow the lead of East Alabama and Mobile by joining actively in developing a new chapter.

Third Step--The Executive Director and the Associate Director to study other counties throughout the state that appear promising and begin to work in the most promising as time permits.

Fourth Step--To seek additional professional help and aid for continuing expansion after we have gone far enough with the first three steps to prove that we mean business and are capable of helping ourselves.

This appeal for volunteers to join in the chapter expansion drive is not to officers only. Anyone with a few contacts and willing to do some leg work will be welcomed. The state office will offer advice, counsel, and on-the-scene assistance--when at all possible--to any volunteer or group of volunteers.

(Continued on Page 2)

NOW IS THE TIME (Continued)

Now is the time for us to grow if we ever intend to do so. If we dally long, the opportunity may pass forever. Most competent observers agree that councils on human relations must either expand rapidly during the next two years or give up the ghost to become footnotes in the history of a great democratic movement that failed.

## AN UNFINISHED TASK

A report from Southern Regional Council reveals the magnitude of the task remaining in voter registration. In the spring of this year 235,572 Negroes were registered to vote in Alabama; the Negro voting population according to the 1960 census was 481,320. Thus only 48.9 percent of the eligible Negroes in our state have taken the step necessary to exercise the most basic right of democratic citizenship.

No concrete figures on registration since spring exist. But the very absence of extensive news coverage on the subject indicates that the turnout of new registrants has been light. Thus the available evidence indicates that approximately 50 percent of the eligible Negroes are still unregistered.

The Alabama Council's role in voter registration to date has been a slight one. The statistics from SRC and the results of the May primary suggest that the State and local councils should consider voter registration and voter education urgent problems demanding immediate and consistent attention from us all

## ANOTHER PROFILE IN COURAGE

In January, 1953, Miss Frankie Brundage of Auburn left Lee County Training School after having completed the first half of the ninth grade. Mother needed her help at home after the birth of a new brother. Before school started again next fall, Miss Brundage was in love with Mr. Willie King, and plans for a November wedding prevented her return to studies.

Eleven years later, Mr. and Mrs. King were the parents of six children--Lewis, Tony, Stanley, Timothy, Stephen, and Michele. Mr. King was a stock clerk in Kwik Chek, and Mrs. King was working as a maid to help round out the family budget. The future for the King family didn't appear as bright as Mr. and Mrs. King desired. So they decided to attempt to change the prospect by getting Mrs. King back in school if possible.

Mrs. King asked the forerunner of the East Alabama Chapter's Adult Education Committee to expand its literacy program to include high school studies. The committee granted her request, and Mrs. King began studying at night after working all day and then rushing home to do housework and care for her children.

Last month, after 18 months of night study, Mrs. King passed a 10-hour series of examinations, received a Certificate of Equivalency (the equivalent of a high school diploma) from the Alabama State Department of Education, and promptly entered the new Opelika State Vocational School's business education curriculum--helping to integrate that institution for the first time. In the meantime, Mrs. King continues to work--but not as a maid any longer. Her new educational attainments have qualified her for a secretarial apprenticeship with the Lee County Head Start Program and her salary is now two and one-half times what it was before.

When she has qualified as a secretary through studies and apprentice training, Mrs. King will not be ready to relax. Her eventual goal is a degree from Auburn University. She is blazing a trail for her children to follow. On the basis of her performance to date, we are willing to bet that she goes all the way.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

Huntsville President Don Ring believes that a monthly newsletter from each chapter--with an exchange of newsletters among chapters--would prove to be a fruitful stimulant to more effective council activities.

Rural Advancement Director Lewis Black considers the establishment of credit unions one of the most important steps in the improvement of the Negroe's

(Continued on page 4)

# BIRMINGHAM CHAPTER REPORTS

During the fall of 1965 and into the winter, the Birmingham chapter formed interracial teams to investigate hospital policies and to check on compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. Each team attempted to set up meetings with the hospital administrations wherever possible, to talk with employees and patients, and to do some snooping. A long report was filled out on each hospital and then sent to the state office before being sent to Washington.

During January and February SCLC conducted an intensive voter registration drive in Birmingham and Jefferson County. Hosea Williams was the speaker at the January meeting of the Council. He told the Council members how they could participate in the drive, and after that a number of members became very active in the voter registration drive here.

An incident in which five Negroes were beaten by police and a security guard at a major supermarket in Birmingham set off a withdrawal of trade campaign and picketing at the store. Three days after the picketing began, a young man drove his car into the line of pickets at one of the parking lot's exits and fired eight shots into the crowd. Five people were hit, two very seriously injured, one of whom is still in the hospital and listed in fair condition. Because of very incomplete and one-sided press coverage of both incidents, a committee from the Council was appointed to investigate and make their findings public. They conducted a very thorough investigation, interviewing witnesses on both sides in both cases and documenting their testimony. They attended the trial where the five people who were beaten were all found guilty of charges ranging from disorderly conduct to assault. After the grand jury refused to indict the man who had done the shooting, a group from the committee visited the attorney general, Earl Morgan, to see about the possibility of reopening the case. They received no satisfaction from Morgan, and therefore sent letters to the U. S. Attorney General to request that the Justice Department enter the case. The Justice Department has done no more than acknowledge receipt of the letters.

The above mentioned incidents plus the long standing issue of the lack of Negro policemen in Birmingham inspired a peaceful protest march and freedom rally in Birmingham in March. The Birmingham Council was one of the sponsoring groups. Members of the Council worked on various committees organizing the march and the Council president was one of the speakers at the Rally. Shortly thereafter, two Negro policemen were hired in Birmingham for the first time in the city's history.

In April the Birmingham chapter held its first annual banquet with Attorney General Richmond Flowers as the speaker. The banquet was attended by 102 Council members and friends.

After the May election chaos, in which people in Birmingham were forced to wait in line up to seven hours in order to cast their votes, a committee from the Council investigated and prepared a detailed report showing the number of voting machines per registered voter at each polling box. The study pointed out the difference between the number of machines per voter at many predominantly Negro boxes and many predominantly white boxes. One all Negro box had 520 voters per machine, while a nearby white box had only 135 voters per machine. This study was followed up by a study of conditions during the run off election and then by letters and phone calls to the voting commission to see what can be done about the situation before the November elections. It was thought that

(Continued on Page 4)

BIRMINGHAM CHAPTER REPORTS (Continued)

this should remain a standing committee and that it should also look into the possibility of the Council having legal poll watchers during future elections.

Our main project this year is school desegregation. Committee co-chairmen, Mrs. Willa Adams and Dr. Neil Freidman, and several other members attended a March school desegregation conference. Twenty visiting students and teachers from Valparaiso University, Miles College students and Council members went to about 750 homes in five different areas. The American Friends Service Committee has provided some financial assistance and much literature. Approximate results for the five areas combined as of mid-July are 282 transferrs in 14 different schools. Last year these same areas had 65 transferrs in 7 different schools. Council members served as registrars and panelists for a state-wide school desegregation meeting sponsored by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in June.

The Council holds regular monthly meetings which always include some type of speaker or program. Issues presented in the past few months include voter registration demonstrations, the city's reasons for the relative absence of Negro policemen, anti-povety programs, and the White House Conference "To Fulfill these Rights." Speakers included a City Councilman, Mr. Hosea Williams of SCLC, Attorney General Richmond Flowers and four Negro candidates for the Alabama House from Jefferson County.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS (Continued)

financial position in Alabama. He is busily working to help establish credit unions in the Black Belt. And he has sold the idea to the Huntsville and East Alabama chapters, both of which are now working to organize credit unions.

NOTE: We want to make "Notes and Suggestions" a monthly feature. Please jot down those good ideas you have and address them to Alabama Council Newsletter, P. O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama 36830

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Ala - Publications

COUNCIL NEWS

THE MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — Mobile, Alabama

Kathleen Wood, President
Joan Lamb, Editor

Vol. II, No. 3
August, 1966

## No Meeting

The Month of August — Anywhere

Program: — Enjoy Yourself!

Due to so many people being away on vacation and to the general summer slump, the Board decided to dispense with the usual meeting for the month of August. Enjoy yourself, get a good rest, and come to the September meeting refreshed and ready for work for we have a lot of exciting plans for the coming year and we will need your help!

Because the September meeting promises to be a most interesting one we are hereby giving you adavance notice to keep the evening free. On September 27 we will show a very fine movie on the John Birch Society and other extremist groups, "Star Spangled Extremists." Mr. Irwin Schulman, the regional director of the Anti-Defamation League, will introduce the film and talk to us about extremism in Alabama. More about this in the September newsletter!

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## Report on the July Discussion Groups

Education is the primary concern of the members of the Mobile Council on Human Relations. This was definitely indicated by everyone participating in our July meeting. Every suggestion made concerning Council activities in the coming year was either directly or indirectly related to education.

In addition to study hall programs for the transfer students in the Crichton and Cottage Hill areas many of those present felt a need for some sort of cultural enrichment program to broaden the horizons of our children. It was agreed that a study of Negro historical and cultural contributions to this country might be an appropriate starting point. The Board has decided, therefore, to sponsor such a course for high school children (and those adults who would like to come and listen) to meet perhaps once a week for six weeks. The details are now being worked out and we hope to have all the information for you at the September meeting. If there is enough interest shown in the course we will recommend to the School Board that they include a similar course in the regular school curriculum.

We will also continue to work on our program of encouraging school transfer applications. We will have to delay work on it, however, until we know what changes will be made as a result of the Court's recent ruling.

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## Council Library

The Council is submitting an application to the Southern Regional Council for books on the Civil Rights movement, race relations, and Negro history and culture. If the request is approved the library will be available free to our members and to the students enrolled in our study series. The Board believes that such a library would be of great help to us all, giving us a better understanding and appreciation of one another and the problems which we must face. We hope to have more to report on this in September.

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## Selma Inter-Religious Project

We are happy to report that we raised $35.12 at our July meeting for the Selma Inter-Religious Project. This is, of course, just the merest fraction of the money needed to carry them through to October but we hope that it will help. The Council Board is presently considering sponsoring an auction of the products of the Freedom Quilting Bee sometime in early November. We could all do our Christmas shopping and help the people of the Black Belt at the same time!

---

## Graduate Fellowship at Auburn

Auburn University is offering two fellowships (tuition and $2.000. for nine months) for graduate study in mental retardation. Negro applications have been requested through the Alabama Council. This would be a marvelous opportunity for advanced study for anyone with interest in this field. For futher information please phone Dr. Kurt Tauss, 342-8454.

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## Our Thanks to Mr. Roden

The members of the Board want to express their thanks to our new executive director, Mr. Jerry Roden, for making a special trip to Mobile to attend our August Board meeting. Mr. Roden was of great help to us and we are sure that under his direction the Councils throughout the state will grow and prosper.

---

HAVE YOU RE-IDENTIFIED YET? DON'T LOSE YOUR RIGHT TO VOTE.

Ala- PUBLICATIONS

# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Bob Valder
Associate Director

September 30, 1966

## BOARD LAYS FUTURE PLANS

On September 17, ACHR's Board of Directors wrestled manfully for twelve full hours with a seven-page agenda of topics centered around the question: "Where do we go from here?" At the end of that long and often turbulent session, some thorny questions remained without definitive resolution. But the Board had, nevertheless, charted in bold outline a proposed course that, if followed by local chapters, will place the Alabama Council more squarely in the forefront of the crusade for a better society in this state.

By common consent, the Board adopted two major new policies: (1) A plan to go all out in developing new local chapters. (2) A recommended minimun program for all chapters and the state staff to follow.

The new chapter plan is basically that published in the last issue of this Bulletin with two significant additions: First, the Board voted to accept a strong leadership role as its own responsibility. And, second, it voted to request that each existing chapter, working in cooperation with the state staff, assume the responsibility for organizing at least one new chapter during the coming year. Behind these actions lay the explicit recognition of a two-fold need for new chapters: First, the human relations approach requires local attack on most problems, and second the state staff needs local contacts to launch effective attacks on a state-wide basis.

The recommended basic minimum program covers seven broad areas: (1) Voter registration and citizenship education. (2) Public school integration and improvement. (3) Consumer education and the establishment of credit unions and cooperatives. (4) The promotion of fair employment practices. (5) An undeviating pursuit of equal justice. (6) The promotion of open housing. (7) The elimination of discrimination in all hospitals and other health facilities.

In adopting this comprehensive minimum program, the Board explicitly noted that it was not laying down a blueprint for chapters to follow. Each chapter must, Board members noted, define its area, or areas, of greatest concentration on the basis of local needs and abilities. But the Board does recommend that each chapter remain constantly aware of the problems and developments in each of these major areas and that the chapter act, either alone or in cooperation with other agencies, to the best of its ability to achieve solutions in each area.

Other affirmative Board actions included: (1) The adoption of a plan to divide the Board into committees responsible for studying and planning attacks on major problems. (2) The approval of a plan to hold a training session on fund-raising and membership prior to the campaign at the first of 1967. (3) Establishment of a committee to study legal defense resources available to Council members and to distribute the results of its study to the chapters through the state office.

# THE COUNCIL'S UNIQUE ROLE

Unresolved by ACHR's Board of Directors at their seminar meeting were a number of issues revolving around two basic, related questions: (1) What is the unique role of the Alabama Council on Human Relations? (2) What posture, or stance, should the Council adopt in fulfilling its role at a time when the extremes of left and right are hardening into irreconciliable positions?

Although the Board made no attempt to formulate definitive answers, members, at the conclusion of the seminar, seemed to be in closer accord than ever before on the fundamental purposes of the Council. Perhaps a few summaries of pertinent comments may stimulate further fruitful discussion of these topics.

By common consent, Board members seemed in unanimous agreement that the basic goal of the Council is the development of an integrated society. Both those sympathetic to the "black power" movement and those who view that movement with considerable dismay expressed, implicitly or explicitly, their desire to work for a society in which a man stands on his own two feet as an individual human being.

RAP Director Lewis Black emphasized that the stance necessary to achieve communication varies from community to community. Allen Black, Jr. stated that, whatever the posture and means employed to reach our goals, Council members must always stand firmly, without any hint of equivocation, upon the principles of absolute justice. President Charles G. Gomillion asked that Council members test each proposed action by asking "What good will it accomplish?" And SRC's Ed Stanfield suggested that Council chapters should weigh the possible good from each proposed action against the possible good of the same amount of energy and intelligence directed in another way. Both Dr. Gomillion and Mr. Stanfield expressed the conviction that the Council, in order to attain its goal, must gear its programs to winning reluctant moderate whites to the Council movement. Another major point made by several Board members, with no dissent from anyone, was that the Council must intensify its efforts to work directly with those victimized by discrimination and by economic and cultural deprivation and to encourage them to become active Council members.

# JUSTICE--TUSCALOOSA STYLE

On Tuesday, August 19, 1966 Mr. Ross Bonner, then Acting President of the Tuscaloosa Council on Human Relations, was arrested. The purpose of this article is to explain to our readers what happened then and since with an appeal for their assistance.

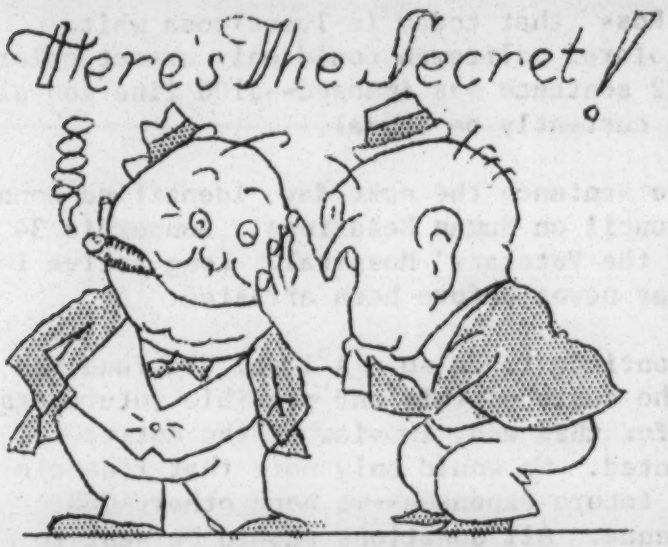
On that evening an orderly demonstration was sponsored by the Tuscaloosa Citizens Action Committee (TCAC), an affiliate of SCLC. There were three adult men leading this demonstration. Two of these men, field workers of SCLC, were separated from the march and arrested by Tuscaloosa police. This left one adult man and four women leading approximately 150 children. Mr. Bonner was called to the scene because of the separation of the men from the march. Upon his arrival the remaining adult male was arrested, along with reporters covering the march for The Southern Courier. One of the officers told the remaining marchers, "Scatter you little niggers." The leaderless children, more afraid of the white police than the oncoming traffic, proceeded to run across a main avenue. Bonner in an attempt to protect the children from the dangers of traffic and to restore order regrouped the demonstrators and gave a short speech. The demonstrators were then dismissed by a board member of TCAC.

The four women, some board members of TCAC, and other adults engaged in conversation with Mr. Bonner. Two policemen who had arrested the SCLC field workers returned to the site. One of these officers asked to speak to Mr. Bonner privately so he and the officer moved about 25 yards away from the group. At this point the policeman cursed Bonner who then asked if the officer was cursing a citizen in his capacity as a police officer. When the cursing began the rest of the group moved in closer. Mr. Bonner, a Negro, turned to the group and asked, "Do you hear this officer cursing me? What do you think we should do about it? Report it?" Turning again to the officer he said, "What is your badge number?" At this point the officer put Bonner under arrest and he was booked for disorderly conduct.

Bonner was tried in the court of Judge Burns. The day before his arrest the Justice Department had sent a representative to Tuscaloosa to investigate a complaint signed by Bonner and Dr. H. A. Nelson concerning segregation in Judge Burns' court, on the police force and in jail facilities as well as complaints of police brutality. This complaint was a Human Relations Council Project.

(continued on page 4)

# HUNTSVILLE CHAPTER REPORTS




In January the Huntsville Council held its fourth annual dinner which was the highlight of a successful membership and fundraising drive.

Two important projects were also started under the direction of Mr. Joe Gannon's Education Committee. The first was a study hall which was held in a low income area twice weekly during the school year. This was helpful for the children participating and it had the added advantage of involving many people in Council work and of educating them to some of the realities of their city. It also made it possible to establish communication and rapport with Negro teachers in the community. This project is continuing this school year with the addition of a second study hall.

Project two was conducted by a School Desegregation Committee, made up of representatives from the Council, the NAACP and the Community Service Committee. Mrs. Bill Reed provided continuing leadership of this project over a period of months. With assistance from the American Friends Service Committee committee members were first educated about school desegregation methods. This step included trips to Montgomery and Birmingham for meetings as well as meetings with both county and city superintendents of education, contacts with government officials and regular attendance at school board meetings (the Council has had two or more members at these monthly meetings for well over two years). It was then decided to make every effort to close Huntsville's only Negro High School by encouraging as many students as possible to transfer elsewhere. So bi-racial teams visited the homes of <u>every</u> student in the school encouraging parents to apply for transfers for their children (all but about 40 students requested transfers and the school was closed). When it became obvious that the Board of Education did not intend to make any effort to inform the community about grades 1-8 and about the rapidly approaching transfer deadline, a tape-recording covering the essential information and offering aid in obtaining and filling out the forms involved was frequently played by the local Negro radio station during the week preceeding the deadline. The School Board also closed a Negro elementary school (which had eight grades and four teachers). In all, some 600 Negro students (compared with 62 last year) are now attending desegregated schools in Huntsville's school system.

Other Council projects include: (1) A program featuring the equal employment opportunity officers of Marshall Space Flight Center and the U.S. Army, the two largest federal employers in Huntsville. (2) Correspondence was initiated and continues with the U.S. Civil Service Commission concerning Federal hiring polices and safeguards against discriminatory hiring of civil service applicants. (3) A continuing effort to secure Social Security coverage for domestic workers. (4) Steps to establish a credit union for low income persons form Huntsville and Madison County--Mr. Lewis Black of ACHR's staff and Mr. Al Ulmer of the Southern Regional Council have participated as resource persons. (5) Cooperative efforts with the local anti-poverty program including attempts to involve low income white persons in anti-poverty programs, recruiting students, teachers and host families for Head Start, Upward Bound, Neighborhood Youth Corps and Project Discovery, and appointment of a Council representative to serve on the Policy Advisory Committee of Community Action Programs. (6) Meeting with State Employment Agency officials regarding policies and practices affecting domestic workers. (7) Work with a Vista Volunteer to establish a union for domestic workers (more about this in a later <u>Bulletin</u>). (8) Sending complaints to the Justice Department and meeting with the Superintendent of the Madison County School System with regard to that system's discriminatory operation of a summer educational enrichment program. (9) Participation in a program honoring Negro students and the parents of those students who attended desegregated schools during the past school year. (10) A picnic for Council members and friends honoring children who had participated in the study hall.

JUSTICE--TUSCALOOSA STYLE (Continued)

During the trial Judge Burns told "Ross" that today in Tuscaloosa white policemen could only arrest whites and colored policemen could only arrect colored. "Ross" was found guilty. On September 22 sentence was imposed--$100 fine and six (6) months at hard labor!!! The case is currently on appeal.

A local newspaper, in announcing the sentence the next day, identified Bonner as Acting President of the Tuscaloosa Council on Human Relations. Bonner is 34 years old. He is a psychiatric nurse at the Veterans' Hospital. Long active in civil rights and a council officer, he has never before been arrested.

Legal costs have mounted and will continue to do so. A legal aid fund has been established in an attempt to meet the costs of this and possible future cases. ACHR has been asked to help raise money for this and, in view of the entire incident and the sentence, quickly consented. We would only note that financial assistance is needed to meet current and future expenses--we hope other ACHR members will come to Mr. Bonner's assistance. All donations should be sent to Mr. Al Vreeland, Secretary, Legal Aid Fund, 15 Hillcrest Drive, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Mobile President Kathleen Wood and the Mobile executive committee believe that courses in Negro history and culture offer council chapters the opportunity for really meaningful action--they are working on this now. (Such projects, by the way, may utilize the Southern Regional Council's paperback book fund for securing materials)

SRC's Field Department writes that "if every local council did nothing else but assign a couple of people to monitor every meeting of (1) their city council, (2) their board of education, (3) their county commission, and (4) their police or recorder's court, their existence would be justified. Why not make this 'standard operational procedure'"? Some chapters are doing this and think it's great. It is amazing what can be learned and acted upon by attending these and other similar meetings.

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Ala - PUBLICATIONS

COUNCIL NEWS

THE MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — Mobile, Alabama

Kathleen Wood, President
Joan Lamb, Editor

Vol. II, No. 4
September, 1966

## Meeting

| | |
|---|---|
| 8:00, September 27 | Church of the Good Shepherd<br>605 Donald Street |
| Program: | The Radical Right |
| Speaker: | Mr. Irwin Schulman, Alabama Director, Anti-Defamation League |
| Movie: | Star-Spangled Extremism |

Our program this month is an especially interesting one, particularly in view of the general election soon to be held. The film is a documentary, narrated by Dr. Alan Westin of Columbia University Law School, which illustrates the activities of extremist groups such as the John Birch Society and analyzes their impact on American life. Following the film, Mr. Schulman will speak on extremism in Alabama and the threat which such groups pose to freedom in Alabama. This should be a most interesting and informative evening. Don't miss it!

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## Would You Believe?

The Mobile Council is about to become the proud owner of a free paperback circulating library. The Board has selected over 400 books which will be sent us free of charge by the Southern Regional Council. The books which we have chosen cover a wide range of subjects and include fiction and non-fiction. We have tried to select books not easily available in other libraries which are of interest to both adults and teen-agers.

Our library will be housed at the Church of the Good Shepherd. Council members, members of the church, and the young people in our Negro history course may check out books without charge. Others interested in using the library may do so by paying a small yearly fee.

We hope that you will use these books and that through them we can all reach a better understanding and appreciation of one another and of the problems which we must face and solve.

## Who Am I?

For a young person whose racial history and culture has been largely eliminated from the history books, the answer to this question is indeed difficult. The inspirations, the examples and the security of a proud past linking an individual to the present provide the basis for sound decisions about personal goals and values.

In order to make up a little for the neglect given Negro history in our schools and textbooks the Council is planning a weekly series of meetings on Negro history and culture. We will begin with early African civilization and work our way up through the Negro explorers to the freedom movement of today.

While we are planning this program for high school students in particular we hope that adults will also be interested in attending. The program is now planned to begin in late October or early November. Keep this project in mind and think of people who would be interested in attending. As soon as possible we will send you details in a special letter.

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## Board Replacement

It is with real regret that we announce that Father Ellard has been transferred to New Orleans and can no longer serve on our Board. We feel very fortunate, however, that Father Moore has consented to fill this Board vacancy.

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## Study Hall Program

The Council's study hall program is about to get under way. Father Moore is in charge of the Crichton study hall and Mrs. Lamb is organizing the program in Cottage Hill. If you can help with these study halls, especially tutoring in English and/or math, please call Mrs. Lamb, at 344-0030. There will be a meeting for all interested parents and children in the Cottage Hill area Saturday, October 1. If you are interested in attending this meeting please call Mrs. Lamb or Mrs. Tauss (342-8454) for further details.

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## Voter Re-Identification

It is getting near the deadline for re-identifing as a voter in Mobile County. All you have to do is go to the Board of Registrars at the County Courthouse and give them your name, address and date of birth. It only takes a few minutes now, but the longer you wait the longer the lines will be. Re-identify this week: don't put it off.

Ala- PUBLICATIONS

# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Bob Valder
Associate Director

October 27, 1966

## TUNE IN

The political season is upon us and in keeping with the spirit of the season the League of Women Voters of Auburn has announced a unique, highly original and very informative program. The Auburn League, through a grant from the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, is preparing a proposed series of three statewide television programs for the purpose of interesting persons in and educating them about our political system.

*The first program in this series will be shown this weekend.* It will be seen this Saturday, October 29 at 4:00 p.m. on WSFA-TV, Channel 12, Montgomery and at 2:00 p.m. on WMSL-TV, Decatur. This same program will be shown sometime this weekend on the NBC stations in Birmingham and Mobile--persons in these two viewing areas should consult their local listing for the exact time. This first program not only shows how to use a voting machine, what the various forms having to do with voting look like, and various facts of interest to Alabama voters, but it emphasizes the need for interest in voting and the necessity of becoming informed about current issues involving good government.

The second part of this series will deal with the duties of elected officials. It will be shown sometime between November 1 and November 8--probably, but not definitely, on the weekend of the 5th and 6th. Persons interested in seeing this program will need to watch their local NBC listings.

The topic, date and time for the third program in the series have not yet been determined. We hope to have this in a later Bulletin if possible.

(Continued Page 2)

## "DUAL JUSTICE" MEETING

An interesting project on "Southern Justice" has been occurring across the South this fall, and comes to Alabama in November. This program consists of statewide workshops on "Dual Justice in the Courts--Unconcerned Community," and is a joint project of The Fellowship of the Concerned, the State Councils on Human Relations and the Southern Regional Council. *Alabama's workshop will be held in Montgomery on Tuesday, November 22, 1966. It will begin at 10:00 a.m. and end at 4:00 p.m.* The site of the meeting has not been determined. We will contact chapter presidents telling them where in Montgomery the meeting will be held and you can find out from them or by writing to ACHR's state office.

The main purpose of the workshop is to better acquaint participants with the legal process on the local, state and federal level. Topics discussed will include the police and minority group relations, the problems and rights of poor clients, state and federal court systems, methods of jury selection, the role of the jury and judge and other similar topics. Some time will be devoted to projects which local citizens can undertake to change things. A session devoted to "We have visited the courts" will provide more ideas for local projects.

(Continued on Page 4)

# MORE BOOKS AVAILABLE

We wish to call our readers' attention to Books for Equal Education, which is a joint project of the United States National Student Association and the United State Youth Council. It is a non-profit, charitable organization engaged in distribution of college texts and fiction to unaccredited Negro colleges in the southeastern region. The book distribution office is located in Atlanta.

Many of the books received by BEE are not suitable for use at the college level, but are in good condition and perhaps could be utilized in other areas. These materials include: texts in mathematics, science, English and social studies at both the elementary and secondary levels; juvenile fiction; pre-school reading pamphlets and other similar materials. Suggested uses might be: adult literacy programs, Head Start projects, community libraries, and the like. Those interested in the books for such purposes should be forewarned that many of the texts are out-of-date. However, the books have been "culled" so that the ones offered are in good condition -- and many are definitely "quality" books.

There is NO CHARGE for the books, but the recipient is responsible for transportation of them from Atlanta to their final destination. Interested persons should write for a copy of the BEE guidelines. The address is: Shawn Boles, Southern Director Books for Equal Education, 416 Marietta Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

TUNE IN (Continued)

In order for this project to be effective, the telecasts will obviously have to be seen by those persons to whom they are directed, such as unregistered voters and registered voters who, because of apathy or lack of information, do not usually take an intelligent and active part in the election process. It seems to us that all of our Alabama readers might make a special effort to "get the word" to as many people as possible about this week's and future programs. We're sure everyone who sees these telecasts will wish others had seen them too.

# SOME JOB STATISTICS

A new report by the U.S. Department of Labor shows that Negro workers, with a jobless rate running twice that of whites, are disproportionately concentrated in the less-skilled, slower-growing occupations. Although this is not really "news" to any of us, the report does document once again that in spite of all the civil rights legislation and anti-poverty programs and other government projects "things" have not changed for many citizens.

The report says that "if they (Negroes) do not gain access to white-collar and skilled jobs at an even faster rate than they have in recent years, they will continue to have more serious employment problems than their white fellow citizens." By 1975 about 12 million new whitecollar jobs will be available--three times the increase in blue-collar jobs. The need for more professional and technical workers will go up 54 percent. The demand for nonfarm laborers will show no increase while the demand for semi-skilled workers will experience only a slight increase.

Another Labor Department report said that Negro unemployment has shown little change in September after deteriorating from April to August. The unemployment rate among Negroes, at 7.8%, was slightly below the 7.9% average for the May-August period. In September the jobless rate for whites was 3.3% and 3.4% in May-August. So the ratio Negro-to-white unemployment continues at 2.4 to 1 -- much more than the 2-to-1 ratio that has existed in recent years. The jobless rate for all civilian workers was down considerably form the 4.4% rate for September 1965, but it was down only three-tenths of a point for Negroes. "The worsened job climate for Negroes in the late spring and summer resulted from inadequate job gains among Negroes in the semi-skilled, unskilled and farm occupations along with a consequent rise in the unemployment level of experienced workers." Where are all these Federal dollars and civil rights acts???

# MOBILE CHAPTER REPORTS

The Mobile Council on Human Relations has undertaken a number of new projects in the past year. Some have been original and others similar to those undertaken by other chapters. The main programs have dealt with school desegregation, hospitals, and political education. Their most recent program is a course in Negro History.

Last fall the Mobile chapter did an intensive survey of the practices and policies of hospitals in the area. By using lengthy and detailed questionnaires, by talking to officials and by observing practices in the hospitals they were able to obtain an accurate picture of what was going on. To quote from one of the chapter's monthly newsletters - Generally speaking the information supplied was all quite 'acceptable' in that these hospitals now claim a policy of complete desegregation." Information gathered from this survey was used to help bring the hospitals more into compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The chapter also worked for passage of a referendum for a 3-mill property tax increase for the support of Mobile General Hospital.

School desegregation was a year long program of the chapter. In February the school desegregation committee met and officially got to work. As a result, many parents applied for transfers for their children during the transfer period of April 1-15. Much work was done on this project, but the chapter was not able to achieve its objective of more than token desegregation because Mobile was operating under an old court ordered plan for school desegregation.

One of the most interesting projects was the political education program, also started last fall. A series of "Know Your Government meetings were started with the intention of helping people understand the workings of each level of government and thereby interest them in becoming registered and active voters.

Three meetings were devoted to city government. Topics included the duties of the city commissioners, Mobile's general administrative organization, fire and police protection, water and sewer systems, paving and drainage and the whys and wherefores of housing and urban renewal. Three meetings were devoted to county government with such topics as the school system, and the bureau of pensions and welfare. Other meetings dealt with state and federal government organization. Speakers in this program included Mayor Joseph Langan, Mr. E. C. Doody, Administrative Assistant to the Board of County Commissioners, and Dr. C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute.

Subjects of monthly chapter meetings included: (1) the annual challenge meeting in January with Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, speaking to over 100 persons; (2) a panel on the most pressing civil rights problems in Mobile; (3) a panel on school desegregation in Mobile County; (4) a general session in May to discuss project and program concerns for the coming year and (5) the annual picnic in June.

This fall the Mobile Chapter has started work on new projects. The October, 1966 meeting started a two-part series on the public school system. Dr. Cranford Burns, Superintendent of the Mobile County School System, spoke about the duties of the State Board of Education, the State Office of Education and local school systems with an explanation of how persons are elected or appointed to local school positions. In November, Mr. William Crane, County School Board member, will explain the work of the local school board and their policies.

In the middle of this month the chapter sponsored an exhibition and sale of the products of the Freedom Quilting Bee at Mobile's Annual Art Fair. The Freedom Quilting Bee, featured in a previous ACHR Bulletin, is a cooperative organized by poor people in Wilcox County. Proceeds from the sale of the products go to the co-op which in turn lends the money at low interest to its members so they can purchase goods for improving their income and their standard

(Continued on Page 4)

MOBILE CHAPTER REPORTS (Continued)

of living. Several women from the co-op also demonstrated their quilting techniques at the Fair, which drew over 10,000 people last year. We hope to have a progress report on the success of this venture in the November Bulletin.

Beginning in November, the chapter will hold the first meeting of their study series on "Negro History." This is a six weeks course with one meeting a week. The course will be repeated as often as the demand for it requires.

A study hall project has also been started this school year. About ten study halls, each meets weekly, are currently in operation. One meets in a church and the rest meet in individual homes. Children from surrounding homes attend them. About 30 volunteer students from Spring Hill College are lending their assistance each week.

"DUAL JUSTICE" MEETING (Continued)

Anyone interested in attending this workshop is welcome. ACHR chapters might consider sending a delegation to this meeting to learn more about the legal process and to see what can be done back home. Persons planning to attend this meeting in Montgomery on November 22, should pre-register. All you have to do is fill in the form below and return it to ACHR's state office. However, if you do not pre-register, feel free to come anyway.

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PLEASE RETURN TO: ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, POST OFFICE BOX 1310, AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830.

_____I will attend the Alabama workshop beginning at 10:00 a.m. on November 22.
_____Please indicate the approximate number of persons from your area who are planning to attend this meeting, but who have not sent this form back to us.

Signed_____

Address_____

Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830
RETURN REQUESTED

Bulk Rate
U. S. Postage
P A I D
Permit No. 99
Auburn, Ala.

MR. J. EDWIN STANFIELD
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Ala- PUBLICATIONS

# COUNCIL NEWS

THE MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — Mobile, Alabama
Kathleen Wood, President — Vol. II, No. 5
Joan Lamb, Editor — October, 1966

## Events

| | |
|---|---|
| October 15 and 16<br>10:00 a.m. till dusk | Art Fair<br>Art Gallery, Municipal Park |
| November 8 | Election Day |

## Meeting

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|---|---|
| 8:00 p.m., October 25 | Church of the Good Shepherd<br>605 Donald Street |
| Program: | The Alabama School System |
| Speaker: | Dr. Cranford Burns,<br>Superintendent,<br>Mobile County School System |

This month's program is the first of a two-part series on our public school system. This month, Dr. Burns will discuss with us the duties and responsibilities of the State Board of Education, the State Office of Education, the local school boards and the local school administrations and how people are elected or appointed to these positions. Before we can make demands of our school system we have to know and understand how it works, how it is financed, and by whom policies are decided. Do YOU know how are textbooks are selected? How the school lunch program is operated? How much control has the state over our schools? How the school system gets the money with which it operates? How and by whom the teacher-pupil ratio is decided? Who determines what courses are to be offered in any given school? These are some of the questions which Dr. Burns can answer for us. Next month Mr. William Crane, a member of the Mobile County School Board, will be our speaker and will talk with us about the work of our local school board and their policies.

Because this is such an important meeting we are asking you to think about the questions you have regarding our school system and to write them down before the meeting. We will collect these questions at the start of the meeting and give them to Dr. Burns to answer after his talk, eliminating those which he has already answered. Questions which he cannot answer we will save for Mr. Crane at the November meeting. We will, of course, call for questions from the floor as time permits but we do not want to bog down in questions of interest to only a very few, such as "Why did Miss Smith give my child a D when he is clearly the smartest child in the class?".

Our increasing awareness that the solutions to many of our problems depend upon the success of our public school system make these two meetings a "must" for every member.

## Art Fair - Freedom Quilting Bee

For some time we have been talking about the Selma Inter-Religious Project and the Freedom Quilting Bee which it organized in Wilcox County. This week-end, October 15 and 16, the Council is sponsoring an exhibition and sale of the products of the Freedom Quilting Bee at the Art Fair in Municipal Park. The Fair will be held outside the Art Gallery and will be open from 10:00 a.m. till dusk both days.

Articles made by the Freedom Quilting Bee include not only quilts but tote bags, pottery and basketry. All are beautifully made and worthy of your attention -- and your money! Shop for yourselves and for those on your Christmas gift list. The money raised from the sale of these items goes to the co-op which, in turn, lends the money at low interest to the poor people of Wilcox County so that they may purchase things such as sewing machines with which they can make money for themselves and improve their standard of living.

The Rev. Francis Walter, director of the Selma Inter-Religious Project, is bringing with him several ladies from the co-op and they will demonstrate their quilting techniques for us at the Fair.

This is a very informal event. There will be cokes, pop corn and such for sale and ducks on the lake for the little ones to feed. Last year over 10,000 people visited the Art Fair. Be sure that you are one of them this year: take advantage of this chance to see and buy the handwork of our neighbors in Wilcox County and help them while enjoying yourself.

While you are at the Fair, be sure to see the work of the New Group which will be hung next to the Freedom Quilting Bee exhibit. Many of the members of the New Group are members of the Council and it was through their efforts that the Council was able to sponsor the Freedom Quilting Bee's display.

See <u>you</u> at the Fair!

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## Negro History

If all goes as planned, the first meeting of our study series on Negro history and culture will begin Monday night, November 7, at the Church of the Good Shepherd. We <u>think</u> that the first class is full, but if you are interested or know someone who is, call Mrs. Wood at 342-5627 as there may be room. We hope that there will be sufficient demand to justify repeating the course several times over the year (each course will last six weeks, with one meeting a week), and if you can't get in the first series we will be happy to make your reservation for the next one.

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## Report on Study Hall Projects

Father Moore, the chairman of the Crichton study hall project, reports

that there are now some eight to ten study halls operating in individual homes in the Crichton area, each drwaing children from the surrounding homes. We want to thank Father Moore for his work and also the approximately 30 volunteers from Spring Hill College who journey to Crichton each Wednesday evening to work with the children.

The first Cottage Hill study hall met Monday evening, October 10, at the Ebenezer Baptist Church and it will be meeting there regularly each Monday evening from 7 until 9. Except for a shortage of math experts, soon to be corrected, and a few organizational problems natural in a new program, the study hall was a great success. We only hope that we can live up to the expectations of the very enthusiastic and cooperative students and parents in the Cottage Hill area.

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November 8

We must all try to think of new ways to get across an old message --- VOTE!

Acceptance of this responsibility of citizenship is so vital and so basic that we sometimes forget that it is difficult for many to feel the connection between the lever of the machine and our own lives. Nevertheless, the connection is there and it affects us every day of our lives.

It is true that in some of the races this year the choice seems to be between Tweedledum and Tweedledee and many of us may be thinking of going fishing rather than going to stand in line. But in many of the races there is a real choice to be made. Sometimes the choice is between a good man and a bad one; more often it is between a mediocre one and a bad one. But in either case it is important that we elect the best candidate possible. If you "go fishing" you can rest assured that others won't and the good man and the mediocre one will go down to defeat. It is difficult to get good men to run now: we must support the few we have running now if we ever expect to have more good men offer themselves as candidates in the future.

And don't forget to re-identify now, if you haven't already done so!

Ala - PUBLICATIONS

# HUNTSVILLE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Our purpose . . .

To promote channels for prompt and easy communication between individuals and groups of all races.

To foster an atmosphere and environment in which citizens of all races, creeds, and colors can exist and work together in decency and dignity.

## NEWSLETTER, OCTOBER 1966

### NEXT MEETING:

Speaker: Mr. Charles Brandon
Time: Wednesday, October 26, 8:00 p.m.
Place: Pulaski-Calvary Hill Rehabilitation Center, 2205-F University Dr.

Mr. Brandon is Director and one of the founders of the Pulaski-Calvary Hill Rehabilitation Center. This agency is funded by the Department of Labor. One goal is to develop on-the-job training situations for unemployed and under-employed persons. The Brandon family have long been residents of the area for which the Center was initially established.

### GRADUATE SCHOOL RECRUITMENT

"The Federal Government's new equal opportunity program calls for eradicating all vestiges of prejudices, for a complete review of Federal employment practices, and for heavy emphasis on training and development of employees." So spoke John W. Macy, Jr., the Chairman of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, on February 24, 1966, in announcing a government-wide effort to insure equal employment opportunity. Those knowledgeable about the difficulties of achieving meaningful Negro professional employment in government agree, however, that long-run solutions require a special effort, not only by the Federal Government, but also by institutions of higher education, and of graduate education in particular, to attract qualified Negroes to graduate schools and to educate Negroes for graduate school."

Following the above introduction, Warren I. Cikins, in an article, Graduate Education, Public Service, and the Negro, described several new graduate studies programs designed to identify and prepare talented Negro students. In assessing the programs Cikins stated that..."in each case one or two persons have served as the moving forces in getting these programs off the ground. The committees set up to administer the program have an important role to play, but generally respond to the initiatives offered by the leaders... The majority (of students) have adjusted very well, and have done better in their course work than was anticipated....

One of the five successful programs cited was cooperatively sponsored by three federal agencies and Howard University in Washington, D. C. The Ford

(continued, page 2)

### CALENDAR

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|---|---|
| Oct. 22<br>1:00 p.m. | S.O.C.C.*Board Meeting<br>327 Church St. N.W.<br>(536-5853) |
| Oct. 24<br>7:30 p.m. | S.O.C.C. General Meeting<br>First Baptist Church<br>216 Church St. N. W. |
| Oct. 26<br>8:00 p.m. | Human Relations Council<br>General Meeting |
| Oct. 27<br>7:30 p.m. | City Council Meeting<br>Municipal Building |
| | Policy Advisory Committee<br>(to Anti-Poverty Program)<br>Salvation Army<br>305 Seminole Dr. S.W. |
| Nov. 7<br>8:00 p.m. | Human Relations Council<br>Executive Board Meeting<br>327 Church St. N. W. |
| Nov. 8<br>7:30 p.m. | Election Day - Vote wisely<br>School Board Meeting |
| Nov. 9<br>8:00 p.m. | Huntsville Community Action<br>Committee meets, Salvation<br>Army Bl., 305 Seminole Dr.SW |
| Nov. 10<br>7:30 p.m. | City Council meeting<br>Municipal Building |

*Sisters of Concern Club
(Maid's organization)

### EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING

The Huntsville Council Executive Board met on October 10th and:

Appointed a nominating committee of Fred Drosten, Chairman; Ann Wilson; and Ralph Lee. They will submit a slate of officers to the membership at the December meeting.

Appointed Evelyn Falkowski to serve as Huntsville chapter member of the state nominating committee.

Asked Mackinley Bailey to spearhead project to register potential jurors.

Appointed Mary Pandow finance drive chairman.

Instructed the Employment Committee to prepare a recommendation for future council action in regard to Civil Service hiring practices.

Heard report on a meeting called by A.H.A.C. and addressed by a Ford Foundation Director of College

(continued, page 2)

GRADUATE STUDENT RECRUITMENT (Cont'd)

And Field Foundations supplied funds for grants to the students selected.

Another promising program is being conducted at Emory University School of Law in Atlanta, Georgia. Field Foundation funds provide Negro students a summer course to help them qualify for admission to law school.

--Public Administration Review, September 1966

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING (CONTINUED)

Placement Services. Local personnel officials attended, and the Human Relations Council was represented by Evelyn Falkowski and Jane Reed. Mr. Beaumont, the speaker, stressed the importance of sensitive and sustained placement counselling in Negro colleges. Ford foundation and/some federal agencies are cooperating with some colleges in strengthening their placement programs.

INFORMATION FROM THE UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

The Huntsville Council has been corresponding with the United States Civil Service Commission relative to federal agency employment practices and problems. We have been particularly concerned that applicants can apparently be dropped by any or all local agencies without the applicant's knowledge. The Council's employment committee is studying problems of proving discrimination, protection of the rights of confrontation and cross examination, and weaknesses in law enforcement.

The Council has begun to receive bulletins and other information from the U. S. Civil Service Commission. If we haven't received all the answers we wanted, we have received an information explosion. When this has been digested, the employment committee will recommend Council action. Meanwhile, here are a few of the good quotes from the wealth of material the Civil Service Commission sent us:

"For many positions Federal appointing officers can stop applying the old criterion of "What have you done? and start applying a new and equally valid criterion of "What can you do? ...Managers should take a look at the job mix in their installation. What is the proportion of laborers and helpers to journeymen? What is the ratio of technicians to professionals? How has the current job mix been arrived at? Does it represent the most economical way to organize? Does the job mix provide an opportunity for all segments of the community to compete for job vacancies? ...This kind of review is becoming more and more necessary from the standpoint of best utilizing our scarce professional manpower."

Foregoing statements are from U. S. Civil Service Commission Bulletin No. 300-9. This bulletin cites several excellent examples in which managers separate out lower level duties from professional and journeyman positions to provide better use of personnel and more opportunities for the educationally disadvantaged. (Examples and all material is available for review by any member). These examples tend to substantiate the closing paragraph of a speech by Seymour S. Berlin, Director, Bureau of Inspection, U. S. Civil Service Commission, which should be remembered by all of us:

"I am confident that the creativity and imagination that the Federal establishment has always shown in meeting and overcoming its varied operational problems can be brought to bear most effectively in this area. Progress does not lie solely in method, techniques, or processes. Rather it depends on that measure of human understanding and personal commitment that is characteristic of what we call democracy in action."

NEW OFFICE FOR HUNTSVILLE COUNCIL

The Huntsville Council on Human Relations has rented an office. Our new address is 327 Church Street, N. W. Temporary phone number is 536-5853. Office equipment was donated by John and Joan Cashin. Part-time volunteer staff includes Jane Reed. Mrs. Reed may also be reached at 883-0286. Sharing the office address will be the local chapter of NAACP, the S.O.C.C., the Community Service Committee, and the Madison County Voters League.

THE REV. EZEKIEL BELL

The Council shared in community-wide tribute to Rev. Bell, now in Memphis.

STATE BOARD MEETING

Don Ring, Joe Wilson, Jane Reed, and Ezekiel Bell represented the Huntsville Council at the recent state-wide meeting. A report of that meeting will be in your next newsletter.

JURY QUALIFICATION

Jury lists are open because of a federal court decision requiring admission of women. Any county citizen of a year's standing may fill out a jury qualification form. Forms are available from 1 to 5 at District Attorney Younger's office. Or call the Council Office.

Ala - PUBLICATIONS

YOU ARE INVITED

All interested Alabamians are invited to a week-end workshop at the Pleasant Grove Baptist Church in Gees Bend in Wilcox County to be held December 9, 10, and 11. Participants will spend Friday and Saturday nights at the workshop and leave after church Sunday (about 2.00 pm) If necessary it is permissable to leave Saturday night.

The workshop is being sponsored by the Selma Inter-Religious Project and the Pleasant Grove Baptist Church. Father Walter is responsible for recruiting participants and inviting the lecturers. The church is supplying the building, arranging hospitality, and recruiting resource people for the discussion groups.

It was hard to find a name for the workshop -- A NEGRO LIFE WORKSHOP, A SCHOOL FOR WHITE PEOPLE, or A RURAL LIFE SCHOOL are all approximations It will be a week-end of seminars, informal lectures, inspection tours and recreation; all designed to give the participants an appreciation of what it is like to be black in the changing rural sections of Alabama. Without understanding the agricultural roots of the American Negro one can't really understand the Movement, the urban ghetto, or white economic and cultural reaction to the Movement.

Noted local community leaders will give short lecturers and lead discussion groups in such subjects as: "The Growth of the Movement in Wilcox County -- Problems and Progress", "Tenant Farming: How It Works, Why It Is Dying Out, What Takes Its Place", "Credit: How It Controls the Negro Community," "The Operation of a Rural Church", and "The Cooperative Movement". There will be opportunities to visit local farms, take part in a coon hunt, enjoy dinner on the grounds after church on Sunday, and to meet all sorts of people.

If you would like to know more about this country's most pressing domestic issue -- more than your family maid or any Alabama newspaper will tell you -- fill out the registration slip below. The deadline for applications is December 5.

Bring warm informal clothes for the workshops and one set of good clothes for church on Sunday. Bring a flashlight. All meals and expenses are included in the $5.00 registration fee.

A map and directions are on the back of this page.

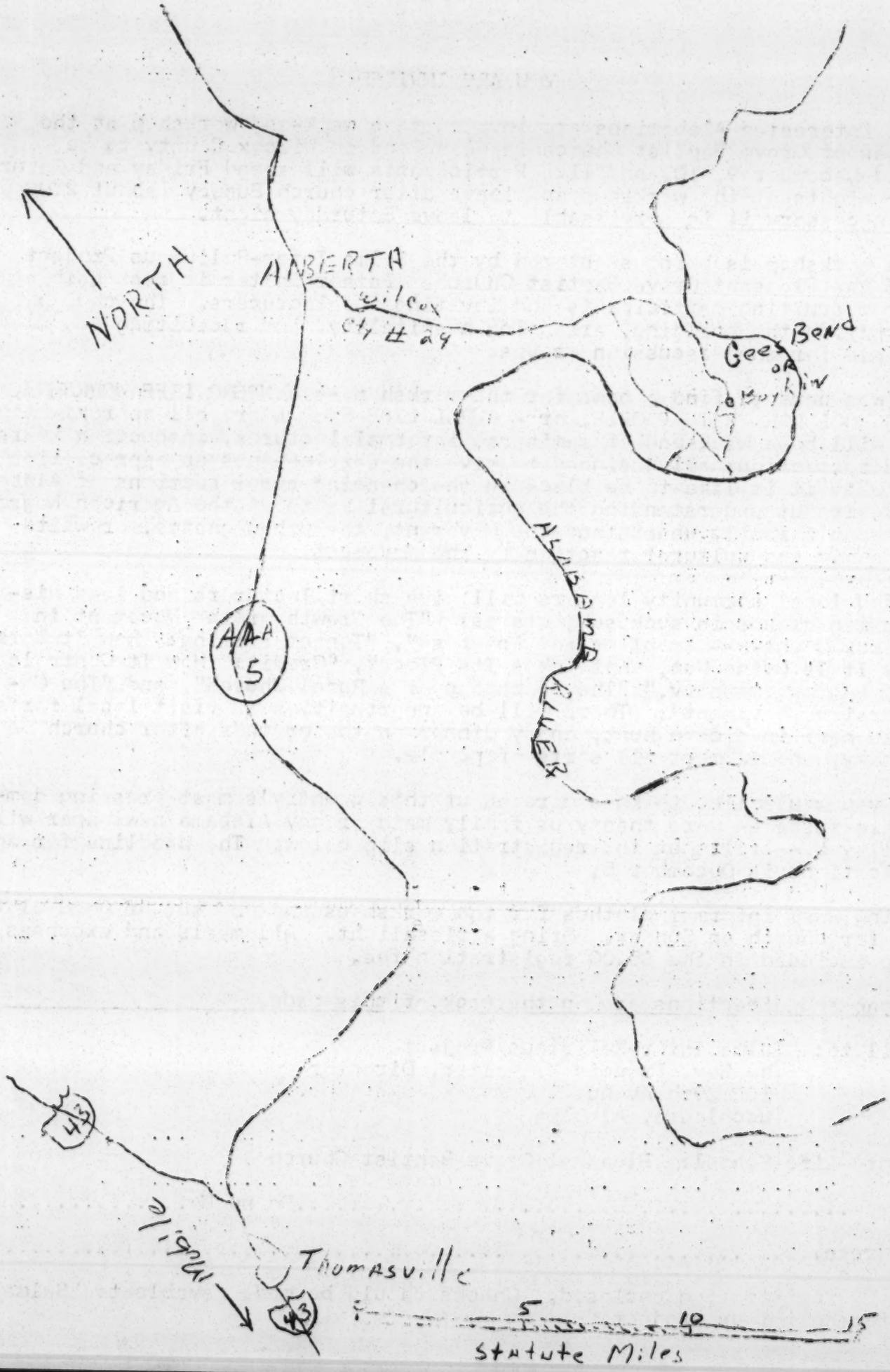
Mail to: Selma Inter-Religious Project
The Rev. Francis X. Walter, Director
810 29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Negro Life School: Pleasant Grove Baptist Church

Name .....Phone No.....

Address.....

$5.00 registration enclosed. Checks should be made payable to "Selma Inter-Religious Project."


NORTH
ALBERTA
Wilcox
Cty # 29
Geer Bend
OR
Boykin
ALABAMA RIVER
AL-A
5
43
Thomasville
43
5
10
15
Statute Miles

COUNCIL NEWS

THE MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — Mobile, Alabama

Kathleen Wood, President
Joan Lamb, Editor

Vol. II, No. 6
November, 1965

## Meeting

8:00, November 22 — Church of the Good Shepherd
605 Donald Street

Speaker: — Mr. William B. Crane
Mobile County School Board

Topic: — Mobile County School System

We all complain to one another about our schools. Tonight is our opportunity to complain to, and learn from, the management! Mr. Crane has been a member of the School Board forthe past ten years and is eminently qualified to answer our questions. He will explain the new school desegregation plan, how the new school lunch program will be used in our schools, and school board policies regarding the use of federal funds for programs for the culturally disadvantaged and answer any other questions which you might have. This is a most important meeting: we hope you will plan to attend.

Once again, we would like you to submit written questions to avoid duplication and to insure that the questions are of general interest. We will call for questions from the floor as time allows, just as we did last month.

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## Library

Our library is in operation now, although only about one-third of the books have arrived. Members are invited to browse through the library and to check out any books which interest them. Books checked out at one meeting will be due at the next meeting and there is a limit of two books to a member.

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## Negro History Program

We have had an excellent response to the first two sessions of our history series. There has been a true interest shown and we feel that we are meeting a real community need. This is information which was not presented to any of us in school.

The November 7th program was a film strip on Negro history in America: about 45 attended, most of them students from Central. Some of the material was familiar to some of us; none of it was familiar to all of us. Did you know, for example, that the first wheat crop in the New World was planted by a Negro? or that 30 Negroes were with Balboa when he discovered the Pacific Ocean?

Over 60 people attended the second meeting where Miss Winnifred Galloway, an instructor at the University of South Alabama, spoke on early African history. She gave a vivid description of African civilization from a period long before the birth of Christ down to the time of the slave trade. Miss Galloway, who spent two years with the Peace Corps in Africa, also showed us some of the beautiful fabrics which are woven and dyed today much as they were then.

The dates and topics of the next four programs are:

Nov. 21 -- Explorers and the American Frontier
Nov. 28 -- The Freedom Movement - 1775-1865
Dec. 5 -- The Freedom Movement - 1865-1966
Dec. 12 -- The Arts

If you are interested in any or all of them, don't hesitate to come at 7:30 Monday evenings at the Church of the Good Shepherd. What would you think of having these repeated as Council programs?

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## Preview of Things to Come

Our December meeting will take place the second Tuesday in the month, December 13. We plan to combine small discussion groups with an informal Christmas party. Our history series grew from suggestions made at our last discussion meeting: now the Board would like further help in planning our activities in the field of education for the balance of the year. We hope that with the information gleaned at our two meetings on the schools and our experience with the history series that we can arrive at plans for really constructive action in 1967.

In January we will again have our covered dish supper to open our annual finance and membership drive. This will be held on the third Tuesday, January 17, to give us more time for the drive before we have to report on our success at the state convention in February. If you haven't finished paying your '66 pledge, do so now so that you will be ready for the new year. Start thinking, too, of friends you want to bring to the dinner. It is an excellent introduction to the Council.

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## A Sad Story

Joe Care is a responsible citizen. He cares about his community and he knows that informed participation in government is important if we are to keep our country strong and responsive to the needs of all the people. When election day rolls round he is first in line at the voting booth.

One bright election day, when Joe gave his name to the poll worker he was told that his name was not on the list. Joe could not vote! He had failed to re-identify. He had known he had it to do, but he put it off too long.

Don't be a Joe Care. If you registered to vote before February 1, 1964, you must re-identify at the Board of Registrars at the Court House on or before January 31, 1967. Don't put it off like Joe Care. Re-identify this week!!

Ala - PUBLICATIONS

# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Bob Valder
Associate Director

December 22, 1966

It's that time of year!! This is when we all are able to take one kind of accurate measurement of how folks are thinking in Alabama and elsewhere. Of course we're talking about the Annual Membership and Financial Drive, and the opportunity provided by it to allow people to indicate their concern about questions of justice, dignity, and community.

On November 19, representatives from local chapters across the state met in Birmingham to lay plans for the 1967 campaign. This meeting was the first of its kind and proved to be invaluable. Quotas for each chapter were agreed upon, a "Plan of Campaign" was adopted and many other good things were done. Following this, nearly every chapter has had a meeting of their local Board and of their Membership and Finance committees. At these meetings, the local campaign was decided upon, the date of the January Challenge meetings was set, and the plans for them were adopted.

Thus far, the following challenge meeting dates have been set: East Alabama, January 12; Birmingham, January 24; Mobile, January 17; Montgomery, January 26; Muscle Shoals, January 19, and Tuscaloosa, January, 4.

(Continued on Page 2)

## ANNUAL MEETING PLANS

*The 1967 Annual Meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations will be held at the Dinkler-Tutweiler Hotel in Birmingham, on February 3 and 4, 1967. So put those dates in your book right now!*

This year's Annual Meeting will be somewhat different from that in previous years--we have added an extra session, which will be held on Friday night, February 3. In the past, the Annual Meeting was a one-day affair. This year's plans call for a speaker and dinner on Friday night, workshops on Saturday morning, a speaker and luncheon on Saturday noon, and a business session on Saturday afternoon.

At this writing, we are not positively positive about who our speakers will be. Nor are we sure of the exact nature of all of the workshops, but we can promise you a stimulating and rewarding two days.

Complete details will be in the January Bulletin. But you should plan now to attend! And bring a couple of friends.

THIS YEAR's GOAL (Continued)

The two charts below should give our readers an accurate picture of the success of the 1966 campaign and of the goals of the 1967 campaign. It should be noted that at the September meeting of ACHR's Board of Directors, it was decided that in the future each local chapter's rebate will be increased significantly which will provide them with additional money to increase and expand their activities. The new rebate system calls for each local chapter to receive back 10% of all they have helped raise and after their quota is reached, they will then receive back 75%!!

1966 FINANCIAL-MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN RESULTS

| CHAPTERS | FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN | | | MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Pledged & Rec'd | Total 1966 Goal | Per Cent of Quota Rec'd & Pledged | Total Pledged & Rec'd | Total 1966 Quota | Per Cent of Quota Rec'd & Pledged |
| Greater Birmingham | $ 952.00 | $ 2,800 | 34% | 125 | 200 | 63% |
| East Alabama | 3,254.00 | 4,600 | 71% | 352 | 400 | 88% |
| Huntsville | 1,573.00 | 1,600 | 98% | 90 | 100 | 90% |
| Mobile | 1,793.50 | 2,600 | 69% | 150 | 150 | 100% |
| Montgomery | 821.00 | 1,300 | 63% | 52 | 75 | 69% |
| Muscle Shoals | 1,717.50 | 1,900 | 90% | 89 | 100 | 89% |
| Talladega District | 591.00 | 700 | 84% | 71 | 50 | 144% |
| Tuscaloosa | 1,445.00 | 2,100 | 69% | 126 | 150 | 84% |
| Special Gifts | 4,758.14 | 10,000 | 48% | 56 | | |
| At Large | 88.50 | | | 17 | | |
| TOTALS | 16,993.50 | 28,000 | 61% | 1,128 | 1,250* | 90% |

*Includes 25 for Enterprise

1967 MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCIAL GOALS

| CHAPTER | MEMBERSHIP GOAL | AM'T OF FEES | DONATIONS GOAL | TOTAL GOAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| EAST ALABAMA | 500 | $2,000.00 | $ 2,800.00 | $ 4,800.00 |
| GREATER BIRMINGHAM | 200 | 800.00 | 1,300.00 | 2,100.00 |
| HUNTSVILLE | 150 | 600.00 | 1,300.00 | 1,900.00 |
| MOBILE | 200 | 800.00 | 1,900.00 | 2,700.00 |
| MONTGOMERY | 75 | 300.00 | 900.00 | 1,200.00 |
| MUSCLE SHOALS | 125 | 500.00 | 1,500.00 | 2,000.00 |
| TALLADEGA | 75 | 300.00 | 400.00 | 700.00 |
| TUSCALOOSA | 175 | 700.00 | 1,400.00 | 2,100.00 |
| ALABAMA - At Large | 25 | 100.00 | | 100.00 |
| OUT-OF-STATE | 75 | 300.00 | 100.00 | 400.00 |
| SPECIAL GIFTS | | | 7,000.00 | 7,000.00 |
| TOTALS | 1,600 | $6,400.00 | $18,600.00 | $25,000.00 |

*TOTAL GOAL OF CAMPAIGN . . . $25,000.00*
*AND 1,600 MEMBERS OR MORE!!*

Plans call for personal visits to all who have not renewed their membership and indicated their support by the time of their local Challenge Meeting. *Meanwhile, if you live where there is no organized chapter, or if you live outside Alabama, please let us have your renewal at your earliest convenience. Use the application on Page 4.*

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We wish to direct our readers' attention to the three enclosed brochures. One is a list of the products of the Southern Consumer's Cooperative which is composed almost entirely of and provides income for low-income families. Many of our readers have availed themselves of these products before and we are delighted to give them and others an opportunity to do so again. The other two brochures are publications of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. One is an explanation of the EEOC and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; the other offers a brief explanation of the EEOC and Title VII and is to be used for filing a complaint with the EEOC because of discriminatory treatment in employment committed by employers, labor organizations, state and private employment agencies and labor-management apprenticeship programs.

## MONTGOMERY CHAPTER REPORTS

The Montgomery Chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations acted as the host chapter for ACHR's Annual Meeting in February by taking care of the arrangements before and during the meeting.

They are now undergoing a period of revitalization in attendance and membership. The last three monthly meetings have had 25-30 persons in attendance, which is a large increase over most previous meetings.

In October a committee was appointed to call on the proper officals in an attempt to obtain some Negro poll watchers--Montgomery County has none. This committee has spoken to the chairman of the Montgomery County Democratic Committe and hopes to see his Republican counterpart soon. Elections for the three-man city commission will be held in March of 1967 so the Montgomery chapter hopes to have some results on the poll watchers issue by then.

The chapter has also begun a series of political education programs recently. Their last three meetings have been addressed by persons explaining how various levels of government work. City Commissioner for Public Affairs, Mr. L. B. Sullivan, spoke to the December meeting explaining how the city commission form of government works in Montgomery.

The Montgomery chapter is now hard at work planning its January challenge dinner. The date of the dinner is Thursday, January 26. They have appointed a chairman for this meeting and have a committee ready to go. They think they may have 100 persons or more in attendance!!

## "JUSTICE", JAILS AND JURIES

Much has been said and done lately in Alabama about the whole idea of the administration of justice. Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, most of the things said and done show that "business as usual" is still the way of life in this sovereign state.

On November 20 James Earl Motley, a young Negro man, was found dead in the Elmore County jail--to date there is very little to report other than that there is very little to report as far as bringing his murderers to trial is concerned. Earlier this month Marvin L. Segrest was found not guilty of second-degree murder in the January, 1966 shooting of Tuskegee civil rights worker Samuel L. Younge, Jr. The trial was moved from Macon County to Lee County on the grounds that Segrest could not get a fair trial in Macon County--scene of the shooting (some wonder if it was just coincidental that Macon County's jury list is two-thirds Negro and that a federal court hearing about segregation in the Lee County jury system will be held shortly--a jury of 12 white men found Segrest "not guilty"). Also last January in Wilcox County a white farmer, Mr. Reaves, shot and killed a Negro, Mr. David Colston, in broad daylight and in full view of many persons. Reaves was also found not guilty earlier this month by an all-white jury. Since then the jury commissions of Hale, Perry and Wilcox counties have been ordered by a federal court to desegregate.

This list of lynch law (and that's what it is) could go on and on. But why belabor the obvious.

But there are faint signs of hope. On December 12 a three-judge federal court said that Alabama laws requiring segregation of prisoners are unconstitutional. The judges ordered complete desegregation of every jail and prison in the state.within a year. This order applies to all honor farms, educational programs, youth centers, hospitals in the state prison system, minimum and medium and maximum-security prisons, and to all city and county jails.

(Continued on Page 4)

"JUSTICE," JAILS AND JURIES (Continued)

*And there is something which we can do. That's for people who believe in justice to offer themselves for jury duty and to get others to do the same. All you have to do is go to the Jury Commissioner at your county court house and apply for jury duty. It's almost that simple. Since women are now first-class citizens in Alabama they too are eligible for this and should consider doing it.*

Two words of warning. Due to the nature of the beast simply getting on the jury rolls is no guarantee of actually serving on the jury because there are too many ways of striking "undesirable" persons. The only real guarantee of getting "good" people actually serving on juries is to get large numbers of them on the jury rolls--volume is the secret. And that means you need to do some work to make sure that a whole lot of folks volunteer for jury service because they can't strike everybody. And, secondly, based upon what has happened in those counties where Negroes and fair-minded white citizens have served on juries, it should be noted that this will not necessarily result in impartial justice. *But the effort should definitely be made.*

Perhaps local chapters should set up a temporary "Committee on Jury Duty" whose job would be to encourage ACHR members and all other interested persons to apply for jury duty. Many telephone calls and a few volunteers driving people to the Court House should do the trick.

# THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS

The following quoted material is taken from a December 14 news release by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council entitled "What Happened in the South, 1966." It is an analysis of the Negro vote in the November election.

"Alabama Negroes, faced with choosing between two segregationists who were the major candidates in the governor's race, did not turn out as heavily as they did in the May primaries....the Negro turnout was less than half the registration. The May 3 turnout was estimated at 74 per cent. Negro registration...(is) just under 250,000."

"... In some areas Martin ran ahead in predominatly Negro boxes and in others Mrs. Wallace did. But in many cases, the front-runner among Negroes was the third candidate, Robinson."

"In the Senate race, Negroes voted heavily for Sen. John Sparkman..."

"Five Negroes were elected to office in Black Belt counties. Among them was Lucius Amerson, who turned back a write-in effort to be elected sheriff of Macon County."

"In Lowndes County, an outnumbered but unified white vote prevailed over the independent Lowndes County Freedom Party ("Black Panther") slate. A light Negro turn-out and the fact that some Negroes voted for white candidates contributed to the defeat of the "Black Panther" slate....There were charges that intimidation kept some Negroes from voting."

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APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

I would like to lend my support to the program of the Council by becoming:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. A Single Member ($5.00) | ( ) | New ( ) | Renewal ( ) |
| 2. A Joint Member, Husband and Wife ($8.00) | ( ) | Check Enclosed | ( ) |
| 3. A Student Member ($3.00) | ( ) | Cash Enclosed | ( ) |
| 4. A Contributor ($ ) | ( ) | Bill Me | ( ) |

NAME_____ ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZIP CODE_____ COUNTY_____

OCCUPATION_____ DATE_____

NOTE: Memberships and contributions to ACHR are Federal Income Tax deductible.
PLEASE INCLUDE YOUR ZIP CODE ON APPLICATION.

Ala - PUBLICATIONS

COUNCIL NEWS

MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — Mobile, Alabama

Mrs. Kathleen Wood, President
Mrs. Joan Lamb, Editor

Vol. II, No. 7
December, 1966

## Meeting

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|---|---|
| 8:00, December 13 | Church of the Good Shepherd<br>605 Donald Street |
| Speaker: | Everyone |
| Topic: | School Desegregation |
| Added Attraction: | Christmas Party |

This month we will combine a little business with what we hope will be a great deal of pleasure.

After a brief survey of the new school desegregation plan submitted by the School Board, we will separate into discussion groups to plan our work in this area for the coming year. Our work last year proved that this is a job which the Council can do effectively. We must now select target areas in which to work this year and enlist volunteers to work on the project this spring. We know from experience that the plans which we all make together are the most successful.

Following our discussion we will have Christmas refreshments and time for the socializing which we so rarely can do in our busy year.

(For those of you who are wondering, we have decided against having our usual Council Christmas party this year. With over 150 members now we feel that we have simply out-grown this tradition.)

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## Negro History Course

This Monday night, December 12, we will complete our history series for young people. The programs have all been most interesting and informative to the adults as well as the young people attending. We want to give special thanks to our excellent "faculty:" Mrs. Dorothy Raine, Miss Winnifred Galloway, Mr. Hosea Perry, Father William Alerding, Mr. David Jacobs and Mr. James Kennedy. They are all very busy people and we want them to know how much we appreciate the time and thought they gave to making the series a success.

Over 100 persons attended the programs and average attendance has been about 45 at each session. Special recognition is due the six students who have had perfect attendance throughout the series: John J. Baxley, Linda Jean Coleman, Edna May Crenshaw, Margaret Lockett, Neal Tauss, and Juliette Thomas. We also want to thank Mr. Joe Woodie, one of

several adults with perfect attendance records, for his help in setting up the chairs before the meetings and tidying up after them.

We hope that this course will spark an interest in Negro history among other groups throughout the community and we would be happy to repeat any or all of the series for any interested church or other organization. If you know of any such group which would like to sponsor one or more of these lectures please call Mrs. Wood at 342-5627.

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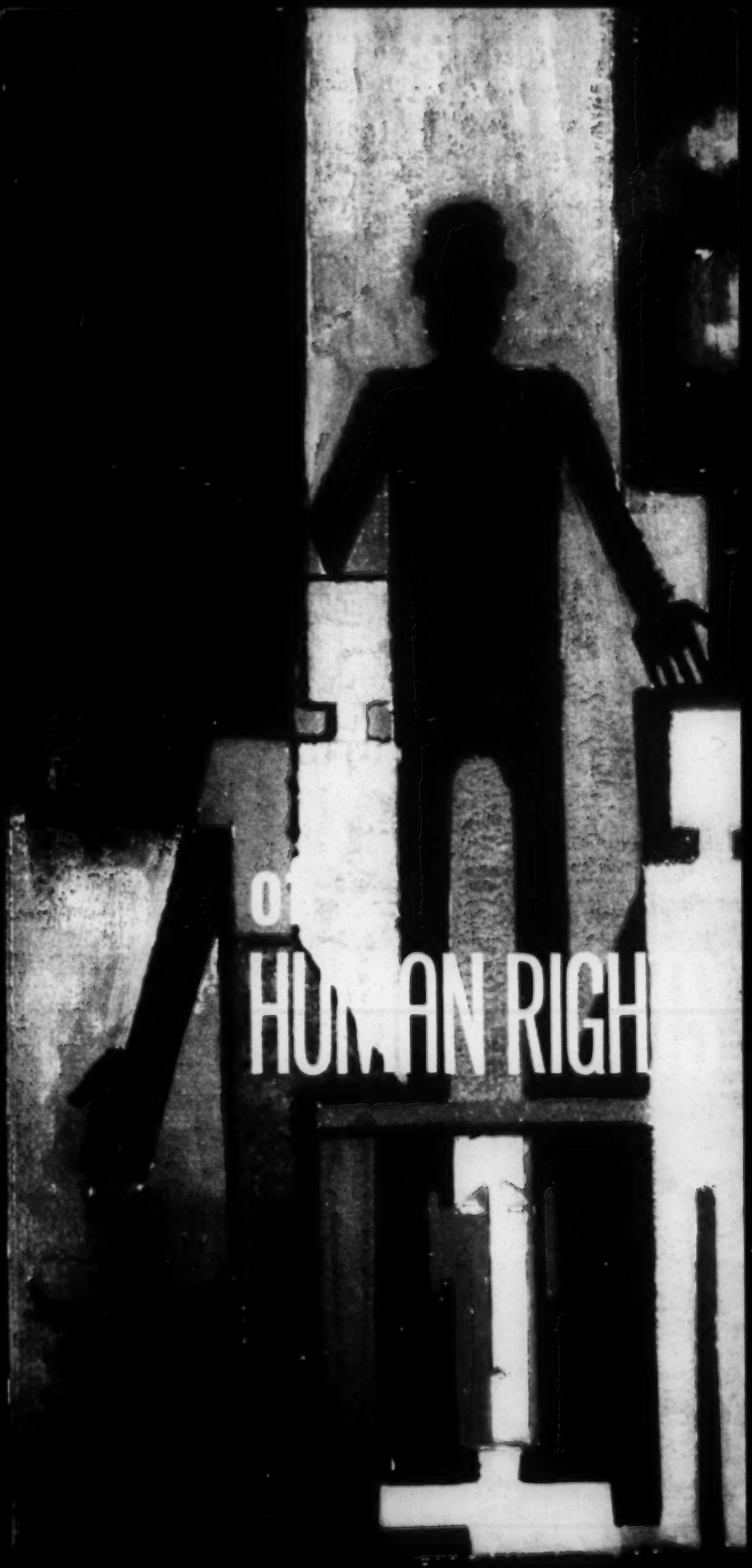
## Covered Dish Supper

We all look foreward each year to our January dinner meeting and this year we are especially excited about it because our guest speaker will be the Honorable Richmond Flowers! Mr. Ed Stanfield will also be a speaker at the dinner but we consider him an old friend rather than a guest because he has been a most welcome participant at every Council dinner since we first began having them. The dinner will be held on January 17 at 7:30 at the Toulminville-Warren Street Methodist Church. (We are moving for the dinner because we need more space -- as you will agree if you were there last year!) For those new to the Council perhaps we should explain that the dinner is free but that everyone attending, bachelors excepted, is expected to bring a dish with enough food for themselves and a few others. Because we generally bring whatever we consider to be our "speciality" -- salad, a meat or chicken dish, cake, pie or what-have-you -- and we all sample as much as our plates or appetites will allow, the dinner is really a feast and the company -- as you already know -- is excellent.

This dinner marks the formal opening of our annual membership and finance drive -- the drive that makes all of our various programs possible. Our Finance Committee is already at work soliciting advance gifts and pledges to our quota this year of 200 members and $2700.00. Reaching this goal will require cooperation and generous contributions from everyone.

This year we are asking your help in a new approach. Will you ask your minister to announce the dinner to your congregation or announce it yourself to any interested organizations. When you do this please ask (or have the minister ask) those interested in attending to give you their names so that you can report the number to Mrs. Lamb at 344-0030. Please explain also that they are expected to bring one large dish of food to share. We must know how many to prepare for so that we will have enough places set, coffee prepared and all the other housekeeping details attended to properly.

This will be Richmond Flowers' first appearance in Mobile since May and we know that you have many friends who will also want to hear and meet him. Speak to them now about the dinner and the Council before they have made other plans for the evening.


HUMAN RIGH

## TEXT OF REMARKS by LeROY COLLINS

**Director, Community Relations Service, U. S. Department Of Commerce, To The Annual Meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, Birmingham, Alabama, January 30, 1965, 1:00 P.M.**

My first feelings today are of commendation to this Council for what you have done and are doing. Your work is of extreme importance—to the people of Alabama, to the people of America—and you richly deserve the heartfelt thanks of us all.

More important, of course, you deserve our cooperation—and I am here to offer our help in any way that it can be utilized by you.

President Johnson has said "the time has come to bind up the nation's wounds and heal its history." This, essentially is the work in which you are engaged—just as it is the essence of the assignment of the Community Relations Service, which it is my privilege to serve as Director.

Civil rights is a touchy subject, to say the least. And, as in all fields of controversy some false and some exaggerated statements are uttered. So I am neither surprised nor too distressed that some confusion may exist in some places about the Community Relations Service, which was created under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

For example, during the congressional debates one member of Congress painted a picture of the Service as some kind of a monster "without any particular authority or function other than to meddle in community affairs."

Let me take just a moment to set the record straight as to what this Service really is and what we are striving to do.

In creating the Community Relations Service, the Federal government has for the first time assumed direct responsibility in the field of community relations, and it has accepted a role in the prevention as well as in the resolution of disputes arising out of unlawful racial discrimination.

Title X of the new Civil Rights Act, provides a broad mandate for our Service to go into any community, with or without an express invitation, to assist that community: to settle disputes arising from racial tensions which threaten community peace, or which may affect interstate commerce.

And under Title II, the Community Relations Service may accept referrals from Federal district courts of specific disputes arising out of discrimination in places of public accommodation.

All settlements—and I want to emphasize this—all settlements, of course, must be made within the letter and spirit of the law.

We have quickly learned that we cannot be content to settle a dispute, that we cannot leave the deep-seated reasons which created the disturbance in the first place. So, we encourage and assist communities to develop plans of action, designed to remedy the root causes of their

trouble. This may involve a whole range of reforms—in education, employment, law enforcement, housing, recreation and public facilities, as well as public accommodations; and it will involve the fostering of new attitudes through the opening of better lines of communication.

Beyond this it is our job to assist all Americans to understand that the Civil Rights Act—which the overwhelming majority of them approve and enacted through their elected representatives in Congress—is the law of this land and therefore must be obeyed.

But, more than that, we try to persuade people that the Civil Rights Act is right, that it is fair, that it responds to the best impulses of the true American character, that it meets the moral imperative of a concerned society and that it is too important to be allowed to suffer evasion, much less outright defiance.

We seek to demonstrate that not only is the law in keeping with the nation's democratic and spiritual commitments but that good human relations produce good business, and bad human relations invariably provoke bad business.

Obviously, this is not a job for Washington alone. Unless problems in this field are attacked and solved in the communities by the people who live in them it would be foolish to anticipate any lasting solutions.

Therefore, we have come to value more and more the role which state and local human relations groups can—and must—play.

Limited as our staff and resources are, we stand ready to help your state human relations council, as well as any other group in Alabama, private or public, in the development of local human relations councils.

Our staff will be happy to meet with you or with local leaders, offering the benefit of experience we have gained from many other states and localities on how they have succeeded or failed in their human relations programs.

I am hoping we will be able to move this coming year into an expanded program of special assistance to state and local groups.

It is a sad commentary, but just as America most needs them, the available supply of trained community relations professionals in this country is woefully inadequate to meet current and anticipated needs.

We hope to find funds, public or private, to establish training centers, located at and operated by, universities in the East, the South, the Midwest and the Far West, where states and communities can send their people to receive the specialized training necessary to developing professional community relations competence.

First, of course, a state or locality must decide that it will not abandon the welfare and future of its citizens and their businesses to the fires of whatever racial passions may be blowing down the street at the time.

Once a community or a state has decided to master its own destiny and to work to solve its racial problems rather than to remain the victim of racial unrest, then generally it can profitably use expert assistance to help it do the job.

As I am sure you are aware, there is hardly anything more useless, and sometimes even harmful, than a human relations group, or a community relations agency, which is off on the wrong foot or which—to be blunt about it—is no more than a sham.

To succeed, a community relations group must represent the entire population and thus merit the confidence and support of all groups in that community. Otherwise, it becomes either an ineffectual pleader for a worthy cause, or an all-too-effective defender of the *status quo*. A community is better off with no agency than with one of this type.

A human relations committee's aims must be to bring about change—peaceful, constructive and lawful change, but change nonetheless.

No community would install a new water system without obtaining professional assistance. Where there is substantial racial tension, the same insistence on professional help for the improvement of human relations is required.

Of course, we have all long realized that any time you deal with a problem involving the emotions of human beings, you will find manifestations of human shortcomings. At the very least, you will run into differences in viewpoint on how things should be done.

Also, it is quite a temptation to blame others, and pass on to them your own assessment of what you think they should be doing.

There are plenty of things about the civil rights groups and the Negro leadership in this country which undoubtedly could stand improvement. Being human, Negro leaders naturally disagree at times among themselves. And I am sure you have on more than one occasion heard criticism of them.

Well, I will not join in that—not because I have no criticisms to make, for I do. (I also have some strong views on how the New York Yankees should be managed.)

But I am not going to try to tell the Negro leadership how to perform their role—for the very good reason that I am not a Negro. The old injunction notwithstanding, in the final analysis it is impossible for any man to put himself in another man's shoes.

But as a white man I can try to understand the problems a Negro faces. I can try to imagine what it must be like to be a Negro, what it must be like to be black in a predominantly white society, what it must be like to go to sleep every evening and wake up every morning knowing that so long as one lives and no matter what he does it never will be possible for him to walk the streets with the full dignity and assurance he would have if his skin were not dark.

I feel that the role of Negro leadership within lawful bounds should be left to those Negroes who emerge as the spokesmen of their people.

Of course, I am entitled to have strong views on the problem of civil rights, for—as a white man—I most certainly am a big part of that problem.

And I feel especially challenged and obligated to speak on that subject to my fellow white southerners. For any criticism or suggestions I have for them must be direct-

ed to myself as well. And it is in this spirit that I would like to talk with you today.

Somewhere along the line as I was growing up in the small southern town of Tallahassee some people who took an interest in me as a little boy—my parents, teachers, a lot of people—somehow instilled in me a strong feeling that, to state it in its simplest terms, the right thing to do was to do the "right" thing.

Now if my life depended on it, I seriously question whether I could spell out for you precisely just what is meant by "right" in that context. Yet there never has been any question in my own mind as to what "right" meant. It is more a something you feel, or just know in your heart, than a something you can define in words.

Now there is nothing so special about this. Most southerners are brought up this way, just as are most Americans everywhere I suppose.

It is, perhaps, the most common of denominators which binds us together as a people—particularly in times of crisis, whether that crisis be the sight of a child drowning or a nation in peril.

As I was growing up and taking my place as a young attorney in my home town—an environment, incidentally, which was structured around the assumed second-class status of Negroes—all that I did and said I tried to do and say in keeping with what I felt to be "right." Sometimes I succeeded at this better than I did at other times. But I was trying, trying, and I hope I maintained a rather consistent conformity with my conscience.

Yet, I am the first to admit that over the span of my life I have been quite inconsistent in positions I have taken, both public and private, concerning civil rights and the place of the Negro in our American society.

Political opponents have rapped me pretty hard for what they have claimed to be contradictions. The fact that I was able to win election in my home state by unprecedented margins over a span of 26 years, and that as Governor I was able to win approval of an unprecedented majority of recommendations to the state legislature, has not altogether removed the sting of those blows when they have fallen.

What sustained me throughout all of this, and through subsequent abuse which has come my way for having changed my attitudes toward segregation, is the sure conviction in my own heart that my determination to do what was "right" had not changed. What had changed was my own understanding and comprehension of what was right.

I admit that I have looked at segregation through the eyes of a man who was raised from a boy on the privileged side of a racially segregated social system. In the past I have even rationalized that Negroes actually preferred it that way. And I have embraced other comforting justifications which the segregated society has held out to salve the consciences of its worried white participants.

I am not ashamed to admit that my thinking has changed over the years as I have been able to see this question more from the other man's point of view.

All the while I have tried to have my conscience keep up with my knowledge and understanding.

And when, as I grew older, this knowledge and understanding led me to the realization that forced segregation was in truth a violation of what I felt to be "right," I did not hesitate to say so, both privately and publicly. My obligations of leadership changed also, because leaders must stand for what they believe; else how can others know what their aspirations are, or the direction in which they seek to go.

The fact that the world had been changing at an ever-increasing rate undoubtedly helped accelerate my understanding. No longer was Tallahassee a sleepy southern town with magnolias and moss and a rigidly-defined place in society for everyone in the community.

It became a different Tallahassee, and I did my best to help it change. Better education had its impact upon whites and Negroes; new businesses were demanding new skills of the work force; new people came to town from distant places; universities expanded rapidly in teaching competence and through the influx of more cosmopolitan students; most important of all, Tallahassee became more and more in tune with the hopes and aims of Americans everywhere.

But with all the change I tried to remain steadfast in my determination to do what was "right." I keep emphasizing this because I know there have always been many, many others who have felt exactly the same way.

This is the point I want to get across to my fellow southern whites:

No one is asking us to abandon our moral values, to give up principles of "right" and "wrong" which we and our families and our neighbors have cherished for generations.

What is being asked of all of us as Americans these days concerning civil rights is to be faithful to our obligation continually to renew our assessment of what is "right" — to look about us and ask, in quiet and personal candor, is it really "right" that some people in our land should be treated as belonging to a separate caste, and relegated to second-class status, because of their appearance, or who their parents were, or where they came from? Can the denial to millions of our citizens of their right to be judged on merit alone be reconciled with our American ideals?

I have many vivid memories from my youth of Negro deprivations and disadvantages — observed and accepted as normal conditions. Back then, they were viewed simply as a part of the Negro's "place" in our community.

For example, I recall the time when I was around 13 or 14, and worked on Saturdays in a local grocery store. A Negro man we all knew as "Charlie" came in from the country one day, shabby and dusty after a fifteen mile wagon ride to town. He asked me for a nickel's worth of lard and a nickel's worth of syrup.

I put the lard in a tray and when I asked him if he had a bottle for the syrup he asked me to pour it directly from the barrel over the lard. I handed him the tray, he found a box in the back to sit on, and with a stick for a spoon he proceeded to eat this combination salad for his dinner.

I thought it was a little funny until I noticed that there was a leak in the tray and the syrup was dripping in his lap. My sense of justice then caused me to run to his aid, substituting a new tray, and, as best I could with a cloth I cleaned the syrup from his trousers.

But that is all I did; all I felt any compulsion to do. It never occurred to me to question that what this man was eating was anything but nutritious; or to question why he was so poor; or to wonder what kind of children he left back home and what opportunities they would have for a decent break in life; or how the suffering of one man like this caused all the rest of us to suffer also.

Not then it didn't. My sense of injustice went no further than stopping the hole in his paper tray.

Most white southerners, I am sure, join me in categorically condemning the Ku Klux Klan attacks on Negroes. These brazen assaults upon the conventional concepts of what is "right" are that obvious. Brutality, cruelty, defrauding, hate—all these things we can almost unanimously condemn.

But we begin to part company when the contradictions with what is "right" are less pronounced.

To many white southerners, it is still not wrong for white persons to occupy superior positions in our society solely because of their color, and to use this advantage to the disadvantage of the Negro in many, many ways.

And yet, when you come right down to it, for the Negro the differences between the ordinary manifestations of this attitude and brutality must really seem one of degree only.

For to be relegated to a second-class school, to find only second-rate jobs available, to be restricted to a slum or a second-class neighborhood, to be excluded from so very much of the main current of the life of your community and nation, to be reminded in countless big and little ways every waking hour that one is considered "inferior"—in short, to be a Negro in such a society—must really be like being lynched a little bit over and over again every day of a lifetime.

And this is just what segregation and discrimination do to these fellow Americans of ours who happen to be Negroes. And I come back to my basic contention that this simply is not "right."

Our problem here in the South, I think, has not been that we have lacked a proper commitment to do what is "right," or not to do what is "wrong," as much as it has been that we have failed to see how the realities of being a Negro in a racially segregated society relate to "right" and "wrong."

In the Bible, Jesus admonished some of his followers for not having fed Him when He was hungry or clothed Him when He was naked.

They were deeply troubled, for they simply were not aware of any instance in which they had thus neglected Him.

You will recall that He answered, in effect, that when they neglected any of God's children they actually did this to Him.

This means for us today exactly the same thing it meant for the disciples then: we neglect our God when we neglect the children of God. We serve our God when we serve our fellow man.

What we must seek for Negro Americans today is no more—just as it is no less—than what we must seek for all Americans. It is nothing other than simple justice. And there cannot be justice where freedom is rationed. There can be justice for none unless there is justice for all.

Wherever poverty is at its worst, there you also find that both the greater percentage of the poor and the poorest of the poor, are Negroes.

And this, friends, is no accident. No heartless God so willed it.

We did it, we white Americans.

It was we who installed the institution of slavery on this continent.

It was we who perpetuated it as long as we could.

It was we who found more subtle substitutions for slavery when it was ended.

It was we who set up the society of forced segregation and tried to make it function to our material benefit, even though in the process it contributed to our spiritual impoverishment.

Now, thank God, all of that is doomed to pass away in America.

This is a greatly changed America we live in now, compared with what it was like only a few years ago. And our children's America will be even more changed.

Among the things which are happening and which cannot be stopped is that the Negro in America is on his way to being free, as all other Americans are—to have opportunities for self-improvement as all other Americans do.

That day is not yet here for most Negroes, but it will dawn just as surely as there is still a sun to shine, and an earth for it to shine upon.

That day can come with a high degree of harmony or it can come with bitterness and untold anguish for all.

It will not come because we white Americans bestow it, for our bestowing days have already run out.

It will come because the Negro people, themselves, struggled to push it to the point where it could not be denied. We should have known all along, I suppose, that freedom never is given; it can only be won.

But this does not mean that white Americans have no hope for determining whether the day of equal opportunity for all Negro Americans dawns harmoniously or painfully. Indeed, we can play a very important role in determining the "how" of that dawning—especially we white southerners.

It will take changes in some of our thinking—changes in some of our attitudes toward Negroes; changes in our understanding of their lives.

To help facilitate these changes, to hasten the day of their acceptance, is for me and for you the greatest "right" to which we can commit ourselves; and the most noble task we can undertake.

Let me tell you a little story from my own life.

I was about 12, and a member of the town band. It wasn't much of a band, but we could play "The Old Rugged Cross," "The Stars and Stripes Forever" and two

or three other pieces.

In the early 1920's some of you may remember that my State was experiencing a great boom in real estate. Everybody was going wild buying Florida land, and auction sales of subdivision lots were very popular.

I never shall forget one slick outfit that moved into my town. They bought a field nearby where I had always shot rabbits; they subdivided it and then had an auction sale of the lots.

They engaged our little band to come out and play for the auction sale. They would sell a number of lots in one place, then move over to another and sell some more. And we would move and play, trying to keep the people coming.

Well, beyond blowing my cornet, I was very interested in what was going on and actually became fascinated by that auctioneer.

In the afternoon, business grew a little dull, and the bidders weren't responding well. My auctioneer friend moved to a new location, and was calling for bids, but no one would bid.

I don't know what moved me but, remembering that the other lots had been selling for $140 and $150 and knowing that these would soon draw a much higher bid and to help my friend get things going, I called, "Twenty dollars." Well, I never will forget the way that auctioneer looked. The band was right out in front, and he looked over us all and then said, "Who was that who said $20 for this lot?" With great fear I confessed with a weak, "I did." "You said $20 for this piece of real estate?" he said. "Sold to that young man!" he boomed. "I like to see young people investing in real estate. This shows they understand what this great free enterprise system we have in America really means. Sold to that young man for $20!"

I don't think I have ever been more scared than I was at that moment.

They had a rule that if you bought one lot, you had to take two. So, I had a $40 obligation—and I had a total of $14 in the bank. But the terms were one-third down and my bank account just covered this.

They made an escrow contract covering the balance and put it in the bank with a deed. Every month thereafter I went to the bank to make a payment on my lot. And every time I made a payment, I would get on my bicycle and go back out to that lot. I would put the bicycle down and just strut up and down in front of that lot—and all around too, just hoping somebody would come by and ask, "Who is this land-baron who owns all this real estate out here?" But no one seemed to feel the importance of my position quite as I did.

Finally, I made my last payment. I never will forget it. I got my deed, took it to the courthouse and had it recorded.

And then I went back out there to my real estate. I never have had such a feeling of exhilaration in all my life. I sat down, right in the middle of that lot, and I got my hands down as deep in the dirt as I could dig them. And with tears streaming down my face, I cried in great joy, "It's mine! it's mine!"

Friends, we have many millions of Americans in this country who have been paying and paying on the installment plan to achieve the full rights of American citizenship, and I say it is time for them to get their deed.

Before I was introduced you were singing "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Let us all help all Americans to get their deed to full participation in American citizenship.

Then can everyone feel "it's mine!"

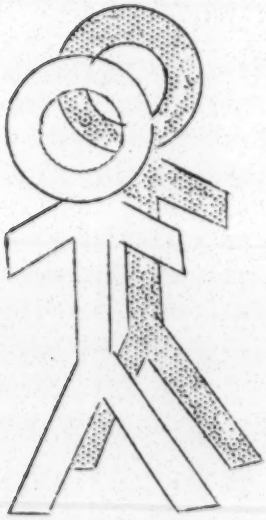
Then can all sing:

"Glory, glory hallelujah . . .
His truth is marching on."

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

# THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

## SOME "DO'S" AND "DON'TS" ON TITLE VII



*Provided as a service to employers by*

*Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.*
*2809 Governors Drive, S. W.*
*Huntsville, Alabama 35805*

## SOME "DO'S" AND "DON'TS" ON TITLE VII

The following are lists of "do's and don'ts" which are designed to assure against technical non-compliance prosecution under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, although not all of either list are specifically prescribed by the law.

Title VII is a sweeping provision concerning employment practices and discrimination. It doesn't follow that either the civil rights leaders nor employers are justified in "going overboard."

There are certain practices and procedures which have not worked out satisfactorily and could work to the injury of the employer, the employee and the community. Some of the most common of unsound procedures which are NOT recommended are listed:

### UNSOUND PROCEDURES

#### Conspicuous Tokenism

To make a public impression, a few very pretty Negro secretaries or a Negro "vice president in charge of the door" are placed conspicuously. Unless this is backed up with an across-the-board equal opportunity program, the public and the enforcement authorities will recognize it as a fraud.

#### Made Work Assignments

In some cases, direct action pressures have caused employers to assign unneeded Negroes to "made work." This is a disservice to those employed and to the community.

Quota Hiring

Quotas are considered illegal under most of the state laws and are explicitly not required under Title VII. Direct action groups have sometimes specified quotas in bargaining sessions. It is conceivable that a regulatory agency might specify quotas as a remedy after an official finding of unlawful discrimination. Quotas are dangerous traps and should be avoided.

Lowering Standards

Standards should always be realistically related to the work to be performed and to the expectations for advancement. Artificially high standards are likely to result in moral problems unless the chances for advancement are very good. Also while artificially high standards, if uniformly applied, are not illegal, they are likely to lead to complaints and tedious investigations. On the other hand, lowering standards below the requirements of the job in order to bring in more minority workers is likely to aggravate personnel relations and reduce efficiency. The one exception might be that persons are employed for their potential and then put through an intensive training program.

DO NOT

Print, publish, announce or permit to be printed any specification, limitation, or preference pertaining to race, color, religion, national origin or sex in any "help wanted" notice or advertisement.

Include in any employment application form or other pre-employment forms any requests for information pertaining to color, race, national origin or sex. Exclude any inquiries which may indirectly request such



information; e. g. , birthplace of parents, whether naturalized or native born citizens, etc.

Permit any personnel interviewer, receptionists or foreman or any other person responsible for qualifying or hiring, to make any pre-employment verbal inquiries which would suggest identification as to race, color, religion, or national origin.

Permit any company official, agent or employer to make any statements or take any actions on behalf of the firm which would tend to discourage persons of particular races, colors, national origins or sex to seek employment, training or advancement or the use of facilities or privileges.

Refuse or fail to hire, promote, approve for training or apprenticeship any qualified person for reasons of race, color, religion, national origin or sex.

Differentiate among employees on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin or sex in setting terms, compensation, conditions or privileges of employment.

Segregate, classify or limit employees in terms of race, color, religion or national origin.

Retaliate against any person who has filed a complaint of discrimination, opposed any discriminatory practice or participated in any proceedings under the Act.

Establish any specifications or qualifications for employment which are unrelated to the job and would tend to exclude qualified persons of particular racial,

religious or ethnic groups (e. g., do not establish "distance from residence to work" limitations that would tend to exclude persons of particular racial or religious groups).

DO

Post such notices as will be prescribed by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Issue a statement in writing informing all responsible employees including guards, receptionists, personnel officials, foremen, supervisory and management personnel of the requirements of the law, the firm's policy of compliance and their respective responsibilities.

Review all "help wanted" advertising copy, application and other pre-employment forms to make sure they are in compliance.

Conduct staff and employees conferences to review the requirements of law, company policy and compliance procedures and to persuade them to give their full cooperation.

Inform your recruitment sources of your desire to employ qualified persons of all racial, religious, ethnic groups.

Maintain for public inspection or inspection by appropriate authorities written specifications for all position classifications.

Maintain a daily log of recruiting and hiring instructions and adhere uniformly to the instructions for the day. (i. e. , if the instruction of the day is



"no openings today" for given positions, be consistent; take no applications from anyone that day. If applications are taken from some, take from all.)

Record on the application form the reasons for all decisions made--for either approval or disapproval. (This is for future reference in case there are complaints and investigations. It is not necessary that all that is recorded be disclosed to the applicant. However, what is disclosed to the applicant should not be inconsistent with the record.)

Caveat: Be sure your personnel people are trained and instructed concerning the proper reasons for decision. Improper entries may be incriminating!

Inform all rejected applicants as candidly as possible, but with appropriate discretion, the real reason for rejection. (Written specifications can be extremely helpful here. Specifications can include subjective items such as appearance, manner, speech, candor in answering questions, etc. Applicants can be shown or given a copy of the specifications with an explanation of where he or she fell short.)

40's
white wood Circle
Chapel Hill
1919

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 EAST THIRD STREET
ROOM 301 — TELEPHONE 376-6833
CHARLOTTE, N. C.

Off. 966-4131
home - 942-2371

January 2, 1965

Dear Paul:

Needless to say, the New Year's news of the additional Ford Foundation Grant for support of state council work is good news indeed. We will look forward to more details.

I want to bring you and Mr Stansfield up to date on our search for a new executive director. As you know, we are giving first priority to seeking the right Negro person for this position, for a number of reasons, the most important being that we think that such a person can be the most effective executive for our Council at this particular time. Thus far we have seriously considered three persons and had extensive interviews with two of these - I should say, thus far through about mid - December, for there are subsequent steps since then. Of the first three, one (Charles Davis of the AFSC) withdrew his name before we could go very far; the other two withdrew at about the same time we decided that they were not the best choices for us. It is worth noting that some of our most useful criticism of prospects has come from Negro members of our state executive committee.

We now have under consideration a person who appears to be a very good candidate, a Mr. Levin West, of Charlotte. He was first suggested by Mr. Fred Alexander. A native of Baltimore, graduate of Morgan State and with a divinity degree from Johnson C. Smith, a vigorous young person, he has worked for a while on a social welfare project of the predominately white Baptist churches of Charlotte and is currently working for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, on problems of industries' living up to the Civil Rights Act. He is currently being met and interviewed by most of our executive committee members and if the opinion of the others is as good as those who have thus far seen him, I expect that we will want to offer him the position with us. This should be settled one way or the other early in January. We would want him to come visit the SRC soon.

We have a few other names on our list in case we don't succeeed with Mr. West.

We have in mind the possibility of making Miss Blackwell an assistant director to Mr. West or similar director, and we certainly want to add an additional, white, person to our state council office staff. These details will of course depend in part upon the wishes of the new director.

Finally, our annual dinner meeting will be held in Raleigh January 22. We hope very much one or both of you can be with us. Details will follow.

Best New Year's wishes from Carter and me.

Frank Williams

Per file

*"To strive to improve the educational, economic and civic conditions of all people of North Carolina; to encourage intergroup cooperation for the common welfare; to strive to attain equal opportunity for all the people of the state as provided by the Constitution of the United States."*

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director

Telephone 539-4277

January 11, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I may not be too fast on the uptake. You know how slowly I talk? That's because I think that way.

I do hope you will plan to pay us a visit in Huntsville very soon. Could you plan to come to Huntsville after the annual meeting in Birmingham? The office will be disheveled, but who am I kidding? -- it will probably stay disheveled.

Another thing: I would like very much to have you come prepared to say a few words -- greetings from SRC and all.

I expect to get around to sending Pat Watters and Maggie a note inviting them to come. But in case I don't, assure them that they would be welcome. So would anyone else over there who can think up any excuse to travel at SRC expense.

You might note my itinerary for the next two weeks on one of the enclosed memos, just in case you want to reach me.

Cordially,

Ed

Stanfield

January 13, 1965

Mr. Albert Heffner
Kings Park Plaza Apt. #3
2600 Queens Chapel Road
Hyattsville, Maryland20782

Dear Mr. Heffner:

The executive committee of the Alabama Council on Human Relations has asked me to report to you that they are recommending to the Board the employment of Reverend James Sessions as Executive Director.

This decision was made after a long, careful, and difficult weighing of the great variety of talents and experience which the candidates had.

We sincerely appreciate your taking the trouble to visit us and your consideration.

Stop to see me whenever you are in Atlanta.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

February 2, 1965

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Ed:

You had a great meeting. I'm sorry Al and I couldn't stay until it was over -- especially to bask in the limelight of your success.

Also sorry I came away with the hotel key. Made a little effort to find you in the mob but time got in the way and then it never occured to me to give it to someone else. Shall return it to them.

This is being written 8,000 feet above Alabama -- en route to Mississippi -- and I use the excuse of being in this monster for the following observation: While I'll readily agree you are a director, you can't possibly be as good and talented and resourceful as you look at this moment.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ala Gen.

February 2, 1965

Mr. Nat Welch
Box 1192
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Nat:

This is to again tell you how grateful we are that you have accepted the presidency of the Alabama Council. I agree that Ed is doing a great job and the two of you should make quite a team.

Incidentally, it would be a pleasure, akin to that with no other state Council, for you to be awarded the George Mitchell award in November.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Recd 2/8/65

Ala Gen

MORELAND GRIFFITH SMITH
F. A. I. A. ARCHITECT
P. O. BOX 6023, CAROLYN STATION
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA 36106

5 February 1965

T A Don't remember this please reply

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

At the annual meeting of SRC last November, you mentioned that you could send me some suggestions or relative literature concerning the State Civil Rights Advisory Committee or my Chairmanship thereof. So far I have not received this.

I just received the copy of your report at the Annual Meeting. I am indeed delighted that you have set this down in black and white.

Hoping to see you soon, I am

Sincerely,

Moreland

Moreland Griffith Smith, F.A.I.A.

MGS/bp

6

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, SW
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

P. O. Box 1192
Auburn, Alabama
February 15, 1965

Mayor Joe Smitherman
City Hall
Selma, Alabama

Dear Joe:

It certainly was a pleasure to meet with Cap Swift, Seymour Palmer, and you Saturday afternoon.

I want to thank you and express my appreciation for the great effort you have made to maintain law and order in Selma.

You are to be commended on your outstanding choice of Wilson Baker as your Chief of Police. I attended a clinic for law enforcement officers the week after the 1961 riots in Anniston, Birmingham, and Montgomery which Chief Baker conducted here in Auburn. I was greatly impressed with his professional competence and wish you would pass on my observation to him.

If you feel the need for trained professional conciliators, may I suggest the following who can supply these at no cost to the City of Selma:

1. Rev. J. E. Stanfield (whom you have met), Executive Director, Alabama Council on Human Relations, 2809 Governors Drive SW, Huntsville, Alabama

2. Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

3. Governor LeRoy Collins, Community Relations Service, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

The Southern Regional Council has done depth studies of southern communities like Memphis, Albany, and Brunswick, Ga. I am asking Dr. Dunbar to send you material which he feels might be helpful.

Please feel free to call on me if I can be of assistance.

Cordially,

Nat Welch
President

Ala. Gen. Rec'd 2/16/65

Bzuk, Jax, Atl Aug, Albany, N.S. Macon Charlotte, Memphis, L'ville

February 8, 1965

TO: Governor LeRoy Collins

FROM: Nat Welch

SUBJECT: Report on Selma, Alabama

Yes For Action Page 4 please sub! Nat

On Saturday afternoon, February 6, I had an hour and fifteen minute conference with Mayor Joe Smitherman, City Councilman George "Cap" Swift and merchant Seymour Palmer. I was invited by Cap Swift to this session in the Mayor's home.

I was born and raised in Selma but in the last twenty years I have had very little contact with Selma. On January 25 I had lunch with Mac Segrest, of your staff, in Washington. Mac had just returned from a week in Selma. I felt quite inadequate in trying to advise him. The only thing I did was to give him the names of a few decent people he might go to see, including Cap Swift.

The Rev. J. E. Stanfield, Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, also sought my advice before going to Selma. I called Stanfield after his afternoon in Selma just before he was going out to dinner with Mac Segrest, who had returned. He said he had had a wonderful afternoon. He went to see Cap Swift using my name. Swift took the afternoon off and took him to see the Mayor, the Chief of Police, the Supt. of Schools, etc.

I went to Selma February 6 to see my 83 year old Father. I went by to see Cap Swift to thank him for the courtesies shown Stanfield. Swift was no in but called me after lunch to join the session at the Mayor's home.

Young Smitherman surprised the town last year when he defeated Mayor Chris B. Heinz, the incumbent of 20 years. Heinz is a past president of the Citizens Council. The election turned on the "young folks" beating "the old guard". Cap Swift is a 43 year old native, a druggist, a city councilman, very popular, and has a keen interest in seeing his town prosper and move ahead. Seymour Palmer is a New Yorker who married a prosperous Jewish merchant's daughter 20 years ago. He is able and has shown great adaptability in becoming a part of the community while retaining his ethical principles. For 100 years Selma has enjoyed wonderful Gentile-Jewish relations....perhaps the best of any city in the United States. The Jewish people have not been a separate group. They have been accepted and have become an integral part of the community.

The Mayor is an easy man to talk with. In fact I took a cue from Stanfield who was determined to "do a lot of listening". The Mayor talked about how the white community was becoming fractured and that this was not a time to be divided. This was an audience that Palmer had requested with the Mayor. Swift described this as one of the numerous conferences with apparently little good coming out of most of them. Incidentally, the Mayor was dressed in his pajamas, nursing a case of flu. Head State Trooper Lingo had gone to the hospital with a heart flare-up and Sheriff Jim Clark was in the hospital too.

Here is the way I sized up the power structure. Palmer described the leadership of the county officials as very weak. Dallas County is governed by Probate Judge Bernard Reynolds (executive head of county) and four county commissioners. Since the Negro population is even higher in the county....about 70%....the county government reflects the white supremacy of the Black Belt. The weakness of Alabama voting laws is that the three voter registrars are not responsible to anyone. The Governor appoints one, the Commissioner of Agriculture one, and the State Auditor one. No state official supervises registrars after their appointment.*

The three registrars, V. B. Atkins (70 year old retired wholesale grocer....I grew up four houses down the street from his home), Aubrey Allen (retired head of AAA....I worked for 20 years ago.... very old south attitudes), and retired Army Colonel Bibb....old Dallas County family. This board is probably of higher caliber men than most Alabama voter boards. It assumed the responsibility of protecting the white community from the onrush of Negro voters. The old guard is reinforced by Earl Godwin, wealthy manufacturer of the "Bushhog", who plans to run for Governor next year on a Wallace-type platform. The darling of the establishment is Jim Clark who has a mania for hitting national TV every day.

Opposing the "old guard" are the "young turks" who, according to Swift, are willing to admit that the "world is round". Their leader is young Mayor Smitherman. He and the newspaper editor, Roswell Falkenberry, are segregationists but strongly stand for law and order. Falkenberry has a short temper and a brainy wife.

A meeting had been called by the head of the retail merchants' association for Monday, February 8, to discuss withdrawing advertising in the Selma Times Journal because of Falkenberry's editorial policy and his headlining Selma news as it has been done throughout the whole nation. Palmer had requested this session with the Mayor to urge him to appeal to the head of the retail merchants' association to call off the Monday meeting. The Mayor made this requested call in our presence. As Palmer said, "I don't want to have to sit in a meeting and vote 'yes' or 'no' on boycotting the paper. We have enough dividing us. We need something to unite us."

Palmer appealed to the Mayor, as the leader and titular head of the community, to draft a statement of the mayor-council position....a positive statement of law and order which 80% of the community could support and to make this positive statement day after day after day. This statement would say, "We are going to obey the law and the law will be enforced...period. We are going to arrest anyone or groups who violate the law, such as parading without a permit. Federal court orders to register qualified people to vote regardless of color will be carried out. We are not discussing the past. We are discussing the present and the future. Our policy will be law and order."

---

*Attached is the new League of Women Voters' pamphlet, "Are You a Voter?", copy written by my wife.

Palmer appealed to the Mayor to take this action because the Mayor and the council, although not directly involved in voter registration, are more inclined to exert leadership in this situation. He urged the Mayor and Falkenberry to work together closely and to stand together.

These are some observations the Mayor made:

1. Chief Wilson Baker has done a tremendous job. "He is my Chief of Police and nobody is going to fire him but the council and me, and I'm sticking by him." The Mayor went on to tell what good rapport the Chief and the Negro community had with each other. The Chief has told them that he would meet non-violence with non-violence but has assured them that he would meet violence with violence.

2. If the Negroes demonstrate at night, there will be violence. So far wise leadership has prevented Negro night demonstrations.

3. The national press reporters have commented about the "uniqueness" of the Selma situation....the Gentile-Jewish relationship, the relationship of Chief Baker with the Negro community.

4. "Just after I took office, I asked three local Negro leaders to come to my office....a conservative, a moderate, and a liberal. This paid off. The liberal Negro made the SNICK group apologize to me"....over an apparent incident which warranted an apology.

5. "We refuse to negotiate with an outsider, Martin Luther King. We have shown that we are willing to negotiate with local people."

6. "Nobody will know that hours and hours....sometimes 16 to 20 hours a day it has taken to keep law and order in this situation." He told us some fascinating off-the-record incidents of this. "We are very proud of the fact that there has not been a single incident of violence between our own Selma Negro and white citizens during this crisis."

7. Smitherman said he was in almost daily touch with Governor Wallace's office. Cecil Jackson, the Governor's #1 man, is from Selma and is a good friend of the Mayor.

I made sure before leaving that I positively identified myself with Smitherman, whom I was meeting for the first time....that I was born and raised in Selma and that I was a member of the NCCCR, a Presidential committee dedicated to peacefully carry out the Civil Rights Act. I asked him if there was anything that Governor Collins' office could do which was not being done at present. The Mayor said not at the present time with the explosive crisis at hand. Seymour Palmer reiterated the Mayor's position but made this request. "We are not asking King to leave but if Governor Collins' office could persuade SNICK to get the small Negro children back in school, this would be helpful. They are being taught to hate at an early age and this is not good."

Recommendations to Governor Collins:

I was in Selma on a day's social visit and time prevented my discussing the situation with Negro leaders. Hence, these observations and recommendations are based solely on contact with the white leaders plus past knowledge of the community.

1. Write Mayor Joe Smitherman and commend him for preserving law and order and for his leadership in this situation. Commend him for appointing the first-rate professional police officer he has in Wilson Baker. Offer to the Mayor and the City of Selma, the services of the CRS.

2. Write Roswell Falkenberry, Editor of the Selma Times Journal, and commend him for his editorial leadership and the new reporting of his paper. Commend him for his "law and order" policy. Tell him you are writing to the Mayor and offering the full services of the CRS.

3. Exert whatever influence you can to return the children to school. This is a deplorable situation which serves no good.

4. The original legitimate protest was against the delaying tactics of the Board of Registrars. This situation was corrected by the federal court order issued by Judge Thomas. Mr. Atkins, the Chairman of the Board of Registrars, has stated the board will comply with the court order....to process 100 applications a day, if made, and to provide additional space for registration. The stumbling block now is the impossible examination which hopefully the courts will eliminate soon. But the point is the local white people are suffering demonstrations about something over which they have no control....I suggest that your conciliators point this out to the Negro leadership.

* * * * * * *

Here is what I'm doing:

1. Writing Mayor Smitherman the attached letter.

2. Writing Palmer and Swift recommending that if the Mayor-Council do not move on their law and order unifying statement, the community leaders prepare a law and order statement signed by 500 or so leading citizens to be published in a full-page newspaper ad as was done several weeks ago at McComb, Miss.

3. Asking Dr. Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council to send to the Mayor, Palmer and Swift, SRC community studies and information pamphlets bearing on the Selma situation and offering to mail any of this material to the names provided and requested by Palmer and/or Swift. Their addresses are: Mr. Seymour Palmer, Isadore Kayser & Co., Broad St., and Mr. George Swift, Swift Drug Co., Broad St., Selma.

4. I am sending this report to the Alabama members of the National Citizens Committee for Community Relations and requesting each member to contact close personal and business friends in Selma urging them to back the Mayor and the Editor in their law and order stand.

Cordially,

Nat Welch

February 17, 1965

Mr. George Swift
Swift Drug Company
Broad Street
Selma, Alabama

Dear Mr. Swift:

At the request of Mr. Nat Welch, we are sending you several Southern Regional Council studies and publications.

If we can provide additional materials, or otherwise be of assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mm

February 17, 1965

The Honorable Joe Smitherman
Office of the Mayor
City Hall
Selma, Alabama

Dear Sir:

At the request of Mr. Nat Welch, we are sending you several SRC studies and publications.

If we can provide additional materials, or otherwise be of assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mm

February 17, 1965

Mr. Seymour Palmer
Isadore Kayser & Co.
Broad Street
Selma, Alabama

Dear Mr. Palmer:

At the request of Mr. Nat Welch, we are sending you several SRC studies and publications.

If we can provide additional materials, or otherwise be of assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mm

Ed St

March 1, 1965

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Ed:

Nat Welch has spoken of sharing information on McComb with some of your mutual acquaintances in Selma. For whatever purposes you think best, we are sending two booklets of editorials and other pieces reprinted from the Enterprise Journal.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

875-9241

Ed S

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director

Telephone 539-4277

March 1, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Pursuant to our conversation in Atlanta last week, I am enclosing a list of names and addresses and asking that you get addressograph plates embossed for me. The order should be addressed to the "Embossing Department" of the Atlanta office of Addressograph-Multigraph Corporation. It should read somewhat as follows:

> For the enclosed list of names and addresses, please emboss CB plates only and send blank index cards. Do not send frames.
>
> The Addressograph on which these plates are to be used is a Model 30.

The serial number is 744511, in case they need to know, but I'm not for volunteering any information! I hope this puts a fly in Al Lingo's soup.

And (as airport traffic controllers say when they want you to get the hell off the runway) "Please expedite!"

Thanks.

Cordially,

Ed

Stanfield

Ala
Gen

March 1, 1965

Mr. Moreland Smith
P. O. Box 6023, Carolyn Station
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Moreland:

Les has bucked to me your letter requesting "relative literature concerning the...Advisory Committee." Frankly I don't know what's called for here.

However, you get each of our publications and we will be happy to send copies of any of them to all the members of your committee. Also, if you wish we'll send copies of all of our recent publications to you so that you can review them or have the extra set for your own use.

I feel this isn't what you asked for and if there's something else we can provide let us know and we'll do so promptly.

It was good seeing you at that fine Birmingham meeting.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

PN
MM

March 17, 1965

MEMO TO: Ed Stanfield

FROM: Nat Welch

Your telegram to the Governor and the letters you wrote to newspaper editors were excellent.

I want you to know I have a very high regard for your judgment and intelligence....the ability to analyze a situation and to come up with a reasonable and compassionate answer.

Nat

NW:kw

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Paul — Couldn't Maggie use this as filler in New South?

Humbly,
Ed

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director

Telephone 539-4277

April 5, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Here--at last-- are my quarterly reports for the last quarter of 1964 and the first of 1965. According to my calculations, that's $3000.00 worth.

Any suggestions for improving these reports will be appreciated, just so they don't entail any work.

Incidentally, I expect to improve that financial report form and to issue a financial report-membership report at the end of each month, as you requested.

If you need to reach me during the rest of this week, I'll be at my father's home in Dardanelle, Arkansas: Area code 501 -- 229-4211. I expect to be back in the office on Monday or Tuesday. It sort of depends on the weather.

Cordially,

Ed

Stanfield

April 8, 1965

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Ed:

Here, by various means, are the comments Les, Pat, and I have on your proposed statement.

It's a good statement.

When you have the final copy, share it with us.

Will we see you next week?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

ed st

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director

Telephone 539-4277

April 14, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for helping me get some valuable criticism of the proposed statement of the ACHR's executive committee. Enclosed is a copy of the form that I've come up with after adopting most of the suggestions made. Please express my appreciation to Maggie, Pat and Les.

We have postponed our release date on it. Nat called me from Washington to say that he had talked to Jay Janis, and that Milton Cummings and some other big wheels in Alabama were going to release a statement on Thursday of this week. Janis and Nat suggested that we wait one week to release our statement.

I have your note about the meeting with the Presbyterian group at Rogersville on April 23-24. As my calendar now stands, I could give this speech if Dr. Proudfoot asks me.

Cordially,

Ed

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

JES:llr

Enclosure

Proudfoot called a few minutes ago, and we made a date.
E

Ed Stanfield

April 19, 1965

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Ed:

This will acknowledge receipt of your two quarterly reports. Good reports. Our check for $3,000 is enclosed. Our auditors now require a receipt for funds expended in this program. Therefore, will you please have this acknowledged on the enclosed copy of this letter and return it to us at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Rec'd 4/28/65

Ala - Gen.

NAT WELCH
BOX 1192
AUBURN, ALABAMA
April 27, 1965

Dear Les and Paul,

You will recall I discussed with you a possible story in Business Week, Newsweek or the Wall St. Journal on Milton Cummings. He is the greatest citizen in Alabama in my opinion. He has taken Brown Engineering from a small tool and die shop to a $32 million company. His greatest interest in life is furthering the equal employment opportunity program. This he does out of deep Christian conviction. All the more remarkable is that this is an Alabama company!

Last night Charlie Grainger, asst. to the President of Brown, called me on another matter. I had a chance to discuss with him the apparent faux pax he made with Business Week as you related to me. He told me that a stringer for Business Week named Fred Allen of B'ham came to him and that at Allen's request he prepared this information on Cummings. I would like to assure you that Grainger is a professional journalists and you can count on him performing with judgment and good taste.

I am asking him to send you three copies of the equal employment brochure put out by Brown.

I want to ask you to renew your efforts with the Atlanta correspondents to get this important story into print.

Warm personal regards,

Nat

Nat Welch

P.S. I am serving on federal jury duty in Montgomery this week. Please send me six copies of "Segregation in Federal Courts". I will personally deliver copies to Judges Johnson and Rives and will mail copies to the other four federal judges in Alabama.

Ala-Gen

April 30, 1965

Mr. Nat Welch
Box 1192
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Nat:

In response to your letter of April 27, both Les and I have again talked with Jack Patterson, regional reporter for Business Week. He is definitely interested and will get to it as soon as possible. I am certainthe Wall Street Journal will also remember and eventually do something about it. However, these will in all probability treat the subject in a broader story. Personality stories, no matter how commendable the individual, seldom get printed. Reporters are leary and editors get suspicious.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ed St=

May 4, 1965

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Ed:

Enclosed are copies of materials about an outfit, Operation Freedom.

Do you know anything about them or the effectiveness of their work in Alabama?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

ala - Ed St
~~PA - phone call~~
LWDV
mm

# ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805
J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director
Telephone 539-4277

May 10, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regioaal Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

June 2 will be fine with me for the directors' meeting, and June 3 for the showdown (right?) with SRC.

I may be knee-deep in Project Headstart by that time. A call from some woman on the staff, checking on Title VI compliance plans, told me just by the way that we could pretty well count on approval.

Concerning your communication of May 4 about "Operation Freedom": I had never heard of the outfit until I got your letter. However, I have not been to Selma for longer than I care to admit.

In this connection, I note the names of Anne and Carl Braden and some others from SxCEF, and then there are a couple of names with the notation "Highlander" after them. We received today a check for $200.00 from an organization in Berkley, California, called "Berkeley Friends of Highlander." Treasurer is Mayer Segal. Chairman is Mrs. Marge Frantz. What I want to know is, does "Highlander" indicate the organization which owned or operated Highlander Folk School? And would you guess that "Berkeley Friends of Highlander" means what it says? and does it matter? And -- most important -- if we cash the check, does that make us communists?

Yours paranoicly,

Ed

Stanfield

May 13, 1965

Representative William L. Dickinson
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Dickinson:

Thank you for your note of May 10 expressing appreciation for the materials we sent you.

I am particularly intrigued by the notation of the "strange coincidence" that your wife's father is named Edwin Stanfield. Would you mind telling me what your wife's mother's name was? And was she, by any chance, at a Klan rally in Montgomery in the fall of 1935?

Hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. Edwin Stanfield

JES:llr

Blind Copy: Paul Anthony

EDS

LWD ✓
mm

WILLIAM L. DICKINSON
2D DISTRICT, ALABAMA

DISTRICT OFFICE:
ROOM 406 POST OFFICE BUILDING
PHONE: 263-7321, EXT. 483
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

COMMITTEES:
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

2D DISTRICT COUNTIES:
BALDWIN, CRENSHAW, BUTLER, ESCAMBIA, CONECUH, LOWNDES, COVINGTON, MONTGOMERY, PIKE

May 10, 1965

J. Edwin Stanfield, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Thank you for your letter of May 5, 1965 and for the enclosed pamphlet, "Of Human Rights", and the Appeal from the Alabama Council on Human Relations, "Let Us Go the Second Mile".

Sincerely yours,

Wm L Dick

WM. L. DICKINSON

WLD:dd

P.S. By strange coincidence my wife's father is named Edwin Stanfield
Bill

Ed St

LWD
AV
mm

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director

Telephone 539-4277

May 27, 1965

Mr. Milton Cummings
Brown Engineering Company
300 Sparkman Drive
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Cummings:

This is to acknowledge your very generous gift of one hundred shares of Brown Engineering stock, which we received yesterday. Needless to day, I do so with great gratitude.

I am sure that the officers and other leaders of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, as well as I myself, will appreciate not only this financial support, but also the personal encouragement and interest which it evidences.

Please call on me for any service I can render.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

JES:llr

Selling at 13⅛ three days.

Paul – our Head Start grant was approved. $83,150.00! See you Wednesday.

Ed

Ed St-

May 3, 1965

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Ed:

We are working on your money requests. Les now has on his desk a slightly revised version of your large request cut down to four or five thousand to be submitted to the Norman Fund. (That amount being the maximum they could consider.)

At an early opportunity Les will speak to Vernon Eagle of the New World Foundation to see if there is any possibility there. And, generally we'll keep looking.

Have faith, but don't overdo it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ala -
Ed Stan -

June 22, 1965

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Ed:

Re June Bulletin: It was a good newsletter, as usual.

Your reporting of the formation of the Enterprise group - and more particularly of the Alabama politics of Head Start - were masterpieces of understatement.

I still say you aren't that good and suspect it may somehow relate to your flying airplanes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ala.
Ed Stan.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director
Telephone 539-4277

June 30, 1965

Dear Paul:

I'm sure you all saw accounts of the report of the Alabama Legislature Commission to Preserve the Peace, which labeled SNCC, et. al., "communist". Enclosed is a copy of the UPI dispatch as printed in one of the local papers. (I'm thinking about getting out a tongue-in-cheek report labeling the Alabama legislature, executive department, state troopers, etc. as "communist dupes" because they insist on setting up precisely those conditions -- facism, high taxation of the poor, etc. -- to which classic communist literature points in arousing people to revolution. What do you think?)

We had a pretty good meeting on Saturday. The committee asked Nat to continue as titular head of the organization until the annual meeting in February. They okayed Valder's employment, and Bob plans to move his stuff up here (hopefully) some time during the week of July 11. He will then go to Washington for the orientation, while his family will visit his wife's folks. He will join us to stay around August 1.

On the overtures from Mobile and East Alabama we merely appointed Ray Fowler, Powers McLeod, and Dr. Gomillion to consult with the officers of the two groups as to their desires, the problems involved, the experience of other experiments along the line proposed, etc. -- in other words, talk the thing out. They are to report at the September meeting of the Board, with or without recommendations.

Two or three requests:

9 (1) Are any more of the desegregation kits that you (SRC) distributed jointly with AFSC available? I would like to obtain nine or ten.

(2) Can you send me a copy of the proposal that was sent to the Norman Fund on our behalf? I don't even have an address that I could put on our mailing list.

(3) There is something in the NAIRO rules about the supervising officer's taking some training along with the intern. What is my obligation along that line? Or will it be sufficient -- I hope -- for <u>you</u> to take the training?

<u>Illegitimus non carborundum,</u>

Ed

Ala. - Ed Stan.

July 6, 1965

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Ed:

Sounds as if it was a good meeting of the Executive Committee.

Ten of the SRC/AFSC kits are being sent separately. As many are available as you need.

Enclosed is a copy of Les's letter to the Norman Fund.

As painful as it will be, I'll take the training for supervisor at the NAIRO affair.

Much more later.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
Enclosures

Ala - General

August 4, 1965

Mr. Moreland G. Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery 6, Alabama

Dear Moreland:

Have tried to call you and learned you were out of town. At your convenience would you be good enough to give me a collect call here at the office or at home (351-1844).

Hope your absence indicates a vacation.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ala - Ed Stanfield, etc.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director

Telephone 539-4277

August 5, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Greetings from Huntsville. I'm slowly getting acquainted with what's going on here. Shouldn't be too long and I'll know enough to keep my head above water.

Ed and I have talked over this matter of money, income tax, withholding, etc. and reached a couple tentative conclusions dependent upon what you think. It is our belief that this claim of a fellowship will appear more credible if it is payed by someone other that the agency which pays me the other half. That is IRS will probably accept the Foundation grant as non-taxable income more readily if it comes from somewhere other than the agency which pays me taxable income. Secondly, going on Ed's theory of least resistance we think it better to not withhold any of the Foundation money since it will be more difficult for IRS to come and get what wasn't withhold (if they are so disposed) than it would be for them to simply refuse to refund what was withheld.

So we are saying two things: 1)could the Foundation money be payed directly to me by SRC and 2)if this is done we think it would be better if nothing is withheld from the Foundation money (except social security, of course). And it might be added that in line with above theory this would all mean that IRS would have to go to SRC instead of ACHR for any redress of grievance which would make it a little more difficult for them.

We'd appreciate hearing of your thinking on all of this. Thanks for your interest. Say "hi" to Al the Fisherman.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

P.S. As you and Ed discussed yesterday, regardless of the disposition of the above ACHR would still be the agency to issue me the checks for the other $2,500. Could you give us a collect call about this?

Ala - General

August 5, 1965

The Rev. William F. Holland
Eutaw Baptist Church
Eutaw, Alabama

Dear Mr. Holland:

Martin England has told us of your good work and of your difficulties.

While we can seldom be of specific help in these circumstances, we are certainly available to offer any possible assistance that an agency such as ours can provide.

Also, the Director of the Alabama Council, the Rev. Edwin Stanfield (Alabama Council on Human Relations, 2809 Governors Drive, S.W., Huntsville), is, I am sure, available to offer the assistance of his office.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
cc: Mr. Martin England
Mr. Edwin Stanfield

Ala - general

August 6, 1965

Mrs. James N. Wood, Jr.
4100 Ridgelawn Drive
Mobile 8, Alabama

Dear Kathie:

Thanks for the good thoughts. I hope I never get too busy to get back to Mobile. It's the only place I ever get a good press!

Thanks too for the clipping. It's nice to be welcomed by so many different people -- and in print.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ala.—
Ed Stanfield, etc.

August 9, 1965

Mr. Bob Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Regarding your letter of August 5, I trust the conversation here with Ed and my letter clears up the matter. If you still have strong feelings about this, we'll keep the discussion and the decision open.

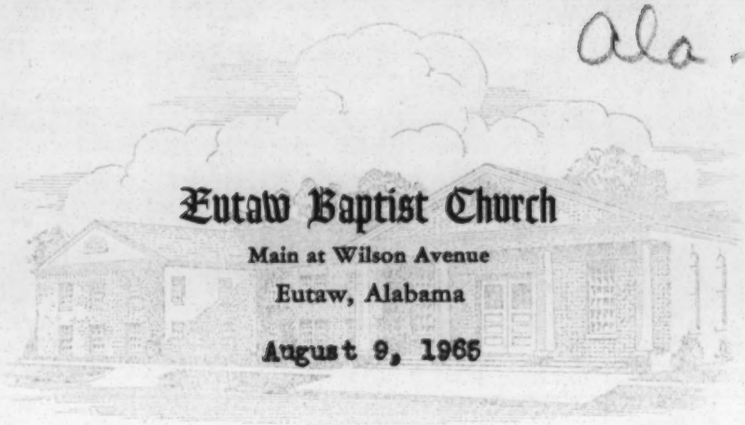
Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PAimm

Ala. - General



# Eutaw Baptist Church

Main at Wilson Avenue
Eutaw, Alabama

August 9, 1965

The Rev. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is to acknowledge the receipt of your letter and to thank you for your interest and encouragement. These are indeed difficult days for everyone who would apply the New Testament to daily life and personal relationships. Buffetings come both from the "Right" and from the "Left".

The pressure to which Martin England referred comes from my previous pastorate in Trussville, Alabama. Because of my racial views, I came under such pressure there that I finally had to leave without a place to go. Even now, certain people in that church continue their efforts to injure, if not destroy, my ministry. The continuation of their harassment is the problem I face, and it is proving to be a serious problem.

So far, my relationship with the people of Eutaw has been filial, in spite of the fact that my differing views are known. However, the situation, inflammable as a tinderbox, could change at any moment.

Thanking you for your brotherly concern, I am

Very sincerely yours,

William C. Holland

William C. Holland

Ala -
Ed Stanfield

August 10, 1965

Mrs. Deborah M. Cole
Aaron E. Norman Fund
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Cole:

Mr. Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council was kind enough to write to you in our behalf last May. I understand that he gave you some information about the growth and improved program of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and quoted a memorandum from me to the effect that we needed an additional $4,000-$5,000 income during the next twelve months.

This is to thank you for whatever consideration the Norman Fund has been able to give us and to provide you with more recent information on our activities. To the latter purpose, I send herewith several exhibits, including our May, June and July newsletters, a copy of our quarterly report for April-June, and a copy of a study of discrimination in several Project Head Start programs in Alabama.

I would like to call your attention particularly to our continued growth (our membership now exceeds 1,000) and the fact that we have an Eleanor Roosevelt Human Relations Intern with us for the next twelve months. He is Mr. Robert S. Valder, and I think that you will enjoy reading about his background in our July newsletter.

Please let me know if further information would be helpful or if we can render any service to you.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

JES:llr

Blind Copy: Paul Anthony

Ed Stanfield etc

August 11, 1965

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Ed;

Heartiest, most enthusiastic congratulations on going over 1,000!

I would especially like to make the September 25 meeting and have it on my calendar. But, things being as they are it will have to be tentative.

1,000!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ala - Ed Stanfield
AL
MM

August 16, 1965

Mr. John S. Hawley, Chairman
Seminary Chest Fund
Union Theological Seminary
Broadway at 120 Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Hawley:

Your letter of August 11 and the enclosed check in the amount of $200 from the Seminary Chest Fund came to us as a pleasant surprise. The donation will be a real help indeed. Our official receipt is enclosed.

You will notice that we have moved our office from Birmingham to Huntsville, and that I have been employed as executive director, succeeding Mr. Norman Jimerson who is now director of the field service program at Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Michigan. I am a Presbyterian minister, a graduate of Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, and a member of the Presbytery of Bluestone, Presbyterian Church, U. S.

Under separate cover, I am sending you a packet of materials which I hope will help to bring you up to date on what we have been doing. Included are our quarterly reports for the first and second quarter of this year, and copies of several of our monthly newsletters, which contain some details about our program activities.

In general, this has been a notable year for the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Our membership has grown from 336 last year to more than 1000 this year, with our membership year not yet finished. At the same time, members and friends within the state of Alabama have contributed in the neighborhood of $16,000 toward a budget that will probably exceed $25,000. I tell you this because I think it shows a strong response to our program among residents of Alabama, and I think this is something the Chest Fund and other out-of-state contributors would want to know.

Some of the highlights of our program have been organization to effect school desegregation, the operation of Head Start centers in Lee County, a report on non-discrimination compliance of Head Start programs in the state, other efforts to secure desegregation under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (as in the Agriculture Extension Service throughout the state and hospitals in Birmingham, Tuscaloosa and Florence), and efforts toward employment under Title VII, particularly in Mobile. Our Birmingham Council is now working to secure Negro policemen in that city. We have this month secured a NAIRO Intern, Mr. Robert Valder, who is very able and shows real promise of being an asset in strengthening our local councils and their programs.

All this is meant to convey to you my conviction that we can use your contribution wisely and effectively, and I want to thank you on behalf of our members for giving this encouragement ~~for~~ which I believe they richly deserve.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

JES:llr

Enclosure

Under Separate Cover

cc: Mr. Nat Welch

Ala
Ed Stanfield
VAU
MM

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director

Telephone 539-4277

August 20, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Attached is a copy of a letter I received from that Rev. William C. Holland of Eutaw, Alabama. I had written to ask him for a few more particulars when he indicated that he would like to find "secular" employment. It seems that when he moved to Eutaw he had to take a cut in salary at the time when his son was about to enter college and he needed, if anything, an increase.

The guy intrigues me. Note that he has both a masters degree and a doctorate in theology from what is now a relatively progressive Baptist seminary. (It might not have been so in 1947.) I can'g guess the meaning of his having sold insurance and real estate "intermittently" during his 20 years as a pastor.

I just wondered if you thought it might be worthwhile trying to meet the man, perhaps next time I'm in Tuscaloosa, to see if he ~~might~~ would be a likely sucker for human relations work. (It looks like the field is surely going to need a few. ~~ki~~ Kelly's going government is depressing.)

Anyway, the man seems to have something on the ball and some commitment to racial justice. If he isn't neurotic, he might have possibilities. But if he is neurotic, we might have a chance of interesting him.

Cordially,

Ed

Stanfield

Eutaw Baptist Church
Main at Wilson Avenue
Eutaw, Alabama

August 19, 1965

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
2809 Governors Drive, SW
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Your willingness to be of assistance is indeed gratifying and deeply appreciated.

As I stated in my previous letter, I doubt seriously that there is very much that you can do, not that you are not willing nor with adequate connections. In these times, it is simply almost impossible for a person with almost exclusively theological training to break into the secular field. In addition, my problem is compounded by the necessity of making a much higher salary than a novice in any field can make. I have a son entering the University next month.

However, I have had considerable experience in the selling field as a direct salesman of Bibles and an audio library. I have also sold insurance. The insurance field is wide open to me, if I should decide to go that direction. Insurance offers wonderful possibilities, but it takes a while to get going, and I can't afford the slack season.

I face the same situation in real estate, which I am almost prepared to enter. With a minimum of additional study, I could pass the State license examination. Given a little time, this field of work would become a wonderful thing.

It would seem that the best immediate area for me in the secular world, therefore, would be as a sales representative of some good substantial product being distributed by a company of stature and reliability. I would definitely not be interested in any door-to-door selling. Traveling would not be objectionable as long as I could be at home on week-ends.

# Eutaw Baptist Church

Main at Wilson Avenue

Eutaw, Alabama

In the secular field, the location is of no particular consequence. Alabama, or Texas, would be preferable.

As to salary, I would need a minimum of $750 per month, or, preferably, $800 to begin.

You requested some biographical material. The following facts should be pertinent:

Birth--April 28, 1917
Education--B.A. Degree, Baylor University, 1939
Th.M. Degree, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1942
Th.D. Degree, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1947
Experience--20 years pastor of Baptist churches
1 year professor of religion in a Baptist University
Intermittent experience in selling
Health--Good
Deformities--None
Appearance--Neat and acceptable
Family--Wife and 2 sons

Thanking you for your concern and interest, I am

Very truly yours,

William C. Holland

William C. Holland

Ala Ed Stanfield et al

August 31, 1965

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

As you know, we want to get you over to Atlanta sometime soon. The Southern Interagency Conference meets here September 15-16 and this would be a good time to meet a number of agency people.

Does it fit your schedule for you to come over on Monday the 13th and stay through the 16th?

Hope all goes well.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

Ala
Ed Stanfield
+ Bob Valder

# ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805
J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director
ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

Sept. 6, 1965

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S. C. Watkins, Tuscumbia
Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery
W. L. Williams, Birmingham

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I will be able to make it over on Monday the 13th and stay through Thursday the 16th. In fact, I've been looking forward to attending this Conference. I'm sure you have a number of things planned for Monday and Tuesday, but I'm wondering if I might have three or four hours on one of those two days. We've been attempting to get something going, especially in Huntsville, on housing, but neither Ed nor I know anything about it. So we've written to all of the appropriate Federal agencies and have discovered that most of them have Intergroup Relations Specialists in their Atlanta Regional Offices. So I would like to go over and talk to them to find out how they work, how they think we might tackle the problem and what help they can give us.

I've reserved a flight arriving in Atlanta at 9:18 A.M. on Monday; since I don't know for sure when I'm to return I've reserved a flight leaving Atlanta at 6:30 P.M. on Thursday. If this isn't satisfactory I can change it with no trouble.

Sorry I didn't respond earlier, but I was out of town all of last week getting Montgomery completely straightened out.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

Ala - Ed Stanfield et al

September 7, 1965

Mr. Bob Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Your schedule sounds fine, including the time to see federal officials.

Come on to the office Monday. We'll tell you of hotel arrangements then.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ed Stanfield

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

# ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director

ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

September 22, 1965

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Rev. J. L. Ware, Birmingham
S. C. Watkins, Tuscumbia
Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery
W. L. Williams, Birmingham

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth S reet
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Here are the newsclips on school desegregation in Alabama. We have a few others, but they are mostly from the Wall Street Journal, New York Times, or other papers that I know SRC's Research Department clips.

When you give these to whoever it is who is doing the report, please ask that our clips be sent back when they are no longer needed. Mrs. Rogers has tagged each one. I would like to be able to lay my hands on them to back up that report.

Got the word about the October 5 date for the meeting. I'll be there, and Joyce is threatening to accompany me. Well...scratch another good time.

How about calling me if you have any good word for me to pass on to the Board on Saturday -- you know, like the Norman Fund came through with $4,000 ... things like that.

Best wishes,

Ed

Stanfield

Ala - Ed Stanfield

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director

ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

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Stanley Rosenbaum, Florence
Franklyn W. Taylor, Montgomery
Rev. J. L. Ware, Birmingham
S. C. Watkins, Tuscumbia
Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery
W. L. Williams, Birmingham

September 24, 1965

Dear Paul,

Here is our third quarter report and September financial statement. I gather this is the last time they'll be worth $1,500.

Do we get another $625 for Valder now also?

By the way, Nat tells me we are front running for the George Mitchell Award. Great! Or has it been cancelled?

Let me know if I was too damned honest with Mrs. Cole. That sort of thing is new to me.

Best,

Ed

September 24, 1965

Mrs. Deborah M. Cole
Executive Secretary
The Aaron E. Norman Fund, Inc.
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mrs. Cole:

Thank you for your letter of September 21 concerning our request for a grant of approximately $4,000-$5,000.

This amount of money was needed to enable us to employ and furnish necessary travel money and equipment for an intern associate for the period August 1, 1965 through July 31, 1966. As you may have gathered from our newsletters, we have taken this plunge, going perhaps very foolishly on faith, and Mr. Robert S. Valder, an Eleanor Roosevelt Human Relations Intern, is now working out of our office. As you may know, the Eleanor Roosevelt Internship is administered by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. Our share of the intern's annual salary is $2,500. In addition, we have to provide his travel and incidental expenses, and we insist on providing an accidental death and major medical expense insurance policy for him and his family. In our case, there was also the necessity of buying additional office furniture in the amount of approximately $250.

As you can deduce from the enclosed financial report for September, the initial expense of the office furniture and insurance premium, together with the increased regular operating expense, have already noticeably darkened our financial picture. This was not unexpected.

Your observation that a financial statement can be misleading is accurate in our case. Ours is misleading in that our balance in July represented a disproportionately large part of our annual receipts which is received during the first part of the year. Our annual meeting and financial solicitation among members is in January. Many do not spread their contributions over the entire year, but donate in one lump sum. For this reason, our balance looks large through the middle of the year, but is continually dwindling. You can see that it is very small at the end of September.

I am sure that you are aware that the figure shown in the total receipts for the year to date does not represent actual receipts toward the budget. For instance, we have included as miscellaneous receipts the NAIRO portion of Mr. Valder's salary, the nearly $900 from sale of dinner tickets at the annual meeting, and money received from the Southern Regional Council for the item designated "volunteer subsistence." There are a number of smaller amounts which we have similarly received for special purposes and have run through our books. Thus, the amounts for total receipts and total expenditures to date would have to be considerably reduced to get an accurate financial picture in terms of our minimal budget of $24,500.

I might also call your attention to the fact that we have found it necessary to exceed the amounts provided on many budgeted items.

Let me be very candid with you and say that in my judgement, we would be able to make it to the end of this year without any additional source of income--but just barely. We would be able to do so because we anticipate winning the $1,000 George Mitchell Award of the Southern Regional Council for the state council having the largest increase in membership during the year. That award, together with other income which we can anticipate, will enable us to squeeze by, but we would come to the end of the year with no financial reserve at all. That would not be as alarming as it might otherwise be because our financial drive comes in January, and our coffers presumably will be replenished at that time. What you must understand, however, is that the increased expenses of our intern associate would continue all along, and we would in effect be using money that we should be holding in reserve for the latter half of 1966 to provide for the intern during the first half.

In a nutshell, we have proceeded to secure our intern because we needed him so badly and because we had to make plans one way or another before we could definitely secure the funds. And we shall be able to carry it off for the year that the intern is with us, fulfilling our obligation to him and to NAIRO, but only by mortgaging the vigorous and expanded future programs for the Council which we had hoped he could help us build. We had hoped to be able by the end of this year to have prospects sufficient to budget for a full-time Associate Director starting in the fall of 1966. But we couldn't dare do so if we do not secure help with our intern. The prospect of coming to the "lean" half of 1966 with no reserve would be too likely. An additional $4,000 or $5,000 at this time would, in my judgement, really make the difference in an Alabama Council limping along as it has in the past and an Alabama Council leading vigorously toward better human relations in the state.

We feel that we have made giant strides in creative leadership this year. Thanks to a wonderful and determined response from our membership. Under separate cover, I am sending more material which I ~~feel~~ justifies this feeling on our part. However, I do hope your board will understand that we are not yet at a point where we could carry on even our present program indefinitely without assistance. And the fact is, of course, that we need to expand our program even more because the need and possibilities in Alabama are virtually limitless.

I hope that you will write to me again if there is anything that you do not understand or if you need information which I have not yet given you.

We are most grateful for the consideration you are giving us.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

JES:llr

Enclosures

Under Separate Cover

September 28, 1965

Mr. H. D. Godfrey, Administrator
Agricultural Stabilization and
Conservation Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Godfrey:

We received your letter today expressing your policy of non-discrimination in the coming Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections. Needless to say, we were delighted to learn that your office is aware of the situation here and, more important, committed and dedicated to the task of eliminating discrimination in the administration of its farm programs and, particularly, as it relates to ASCS community and county elections.

Only yesterday, J. Edwin Stanfield, Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, wrote to Secretary Orville Freeman, Mr. Lester Condon and Mr. William M. Seabron expressing the concern of our Board of Directors about the probability that unless USDA take "strong, immediate, positive steps, another Department of Agriculture Program will serve to continue the oppression of and discrimination against Negro farmers, tenants and sharecroppers" in these elections. He asked me to reply to your letter. We are convinced that even with the regulations and personal commitment, both past and present, of the USDA, the only sure method of guaranteeing that the elections will be free of discrimination is for the Department to: "(1) oversee the process by which eligible voters are selected, and (2) appoint a person from outside the state to receive the ballots--this person would then give only the ballots to the election committee." And we should like to emphasize again the plain fact of life that in dealing with many of the white, rural leaders in the South, regulations and strongly expressed personal commitment alone will not guarantee compliance: the personal presence of officials of the Federal government with the will to use maximum enforcement is absolutely essential if we are to attain full and free participation by all people in all USDA programs.

We believe that the two pieces of literature you enclosed are excellent. Since we are sponsoring a Voting Rights Conference in Montgomery this Saturday, at which many people from the Black Belt will be in attendance, we called Mr. Victor B. Phillips asking him to send us as many copies of them as possible. He assured us that this would be done.

Thank you very much for your letter. Again, let me say that your indication that you are concerned about the ASCS elections is reassuring. If we can be of any assistance, please be sure to call upon us.

Sincerely,

Robert S. Valder
Associate Director

RSV:llr

cc: Secretary Orville Freeman
Mr. Lester Condon
Mr. William M. Seabron

@6a-Ed Stanfield
AV
MM

September 27, 1965

The Honorable Orville Freeman
Secretary of Agriculture
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Secretary Freeman:

It is with increasing anxiety that the Board of Directors of the Alabama Council on Human Relations views the approaching Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections in Alabama. We are fully aware of the United States Department of Agriculture's realization that in the South, discrimination has flourished in many of the Department's programs; we are equally aware of your policy to terminate immediately all discriminatory practices, and we applaud this policy. We believe that regulations and guidelines issued by the USDA in the recent past have been instrumental in beginning the elimination of some of the more overt discriminatory policies which permeate Southern agricultural programs.

In view of this, we know that you are deeply concerned about the probability that unless the USDA take strong, immediate, positive steps, another Department of Agriculture program will serve to continue the oppression of and discrimination against Negro farmers, tenants and sharecroppers.

Specifically, we refer to the critical need for: (1) guarantees that all county committees shall certify all eligible farmers, tenants and sharecroppers as eligible voters in the ASCS elections; (2) guarantees that all such certified voters shall receive ballots; (3) guarantees that it will be impossible (as is now possible by the "envelope system" used) for anyone to determine (a) which ballots have been mailed in by Negro voters, and (b) the candidates for whom a particular person voted; (4) guarantees that all ballots shall be counted; (5) guarantees that individuals nominated by the Negro community shall not be excluded from the election process; (6) guarantees that in communities where Negro voters nominate their own candidate, county committees shall not nominate additional Negro candidates if such nominations are designed to confuse and divide the vote in order to perpetuate white supremacy in community and county committees; (7) the recognition by USDA that if a significant number of eligible voters is prevented from voting by either intimidation or fraud, the election must be declared illegal.

We would strongly recommend two steps which we believe USDA must take: (1) oversee the process by which eligible voters are selected, and (2) appoint a person from outside the state to receive the ballots--this person would then give only the ballots to the election committee. We are convinced that, for obvious reasons, these two steps must be taken if USDA means to insure a fair and non-discriminatory election. And we would emphasize that, as you well know, this election is by far the single most important event in the lives of the rural farmers. We would remind you that county committees have traditionally served to direct Federal monies and favorable acreage allotments to the secure, powerful, large landholding, white segregationalists. And we most emphatically assert, Mr. Secretary, that you simply have to understand that in the rural South, especially where the Negro population is large, many of the white leaders are cruel, vindictive and vicious. Not only can you not assume that they will obey USDA regulations, but you must also assume that they will use <u>every</u> method at their disposal to deprive the Negro farmer, tenant and sharecropper of their rightful participation in the ASCS election process. It is our hope that you will see fit to alter this situation.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I am

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

JES:llr

cc: Mr. Lester Condon
Mr. William M. Seabron

Paul: Thought you'd like to be advised of this. We ran across this situation while I was in Selma last week talking to some SNCC people. The fact that we've written this letter is of course quite confidential. But the facts and situations and possibilities noted in the letter are not confidential of course and the more people that are aware of it the better. We are a littleconcerned that it not be know that ACHR is telling others of what we've done because Freeman may hear of this and take it that we are trying to "pressure" him. Powers McLeod and C. G. Gomillion both think this would be very bad; they feel that Freeman will act if he wants to but not if people are "pressuring" him. Just thought you'd be interested, though.

Bob V.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION AND CONSERVATION SERVICE
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250

SEP 24 1965

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

The Department of Agriculture has long had the responsibility for helping all the people in rural America overcome obstacles to their full participation in the economic and social improvement in this country. I want you to know that, as an agency of the Department, the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service is thoroughly committed and dedicated to the task of eliminating discrimination in the administration of its farm programs and, particularly, as it relates to ASCS community and county elections.

Our experience in recent elections of ASC community and county committeemen brought to our attention the need for more concise information on election procedures and farmer eligibility. To ensure that all farm owners, sharecroppers, and tenant farmers know about their eligibility to vote in ASC committee elections, to become candidates for office and to understand the voting procedure, ASCS has prepared a brief leaflet, "ASC Elections", PA-676, for wide distribution. A more detailed explanation of the election procedure, "Electing Farmer Committeemen to Administer ASCS Programs", PA-677 was prepared for all ASC committeemen and will be made available to civil rights groups and other interested organizations. A copy of each of these leaflets is enclosed. Additional copies may be obtained from Victor B. Phillips, Assistant to the Administrator - Civil Rights Coordinator, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 20250.

I have also instructed our county ASC committees to invite local civil rights group representatives to meet with them to discuss forthcoming elections and other items of interest. We hope that such a meeting will afford an opportunity for you to become better acquainted with our county office personnel and to become more knowledgeable about ASCS farm programs.

Please be assured of our continued interest and efforts to promote equal opportunity in all phases of our farm programs, including employment.

Sincerely yours,

H. D. Godfrey

Administrator

# THE SOUTHERN COURIER

PETER CUMMINGS, PRESIDENT
MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN, EDITOR
ELLEN LAKE, EXECUTIVE EDITOR

65 ELECTRIC AVE., N. W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30314
(404) 524-3957

620 Frank Lee Building
79 Commerce Street
Montgomery, Alabama 36104
10 October 1965

Mr. David R. Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Hunter,

I understand that the Stern Family Fund plans to send us a $10,000 matching grant. Those of us working with the Southern Courier here in Montgomery are, of course, overwelmed and happy. It will be this grant that will se us through at least until Christmas and allow us time to build up our circulation and advertising and hopefully keep the Courier in business.

We are greatly encouraged now.

As I understand the terms of the gift, the Southern Courier is to notify the Alabama Council on Human Relations when we raise a sizeable sum. This will be matched by the Stern Family Fund up to $10,000. I understand that the fund does not require certification of contributions, but we have on record here in the office names and addresses of donors. We have been counting contributions since October 1, 1965. Is this proper?

Miss Meisel of your office has asked about subscriptions for the board members. Could you forward to me their names and addresses so that we can start sending them complimentary copies?

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, executive director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Our regards to you and the board.

Yours truly,

RES

Robert E. Smith
President

Ala. - Ed Stanfield.

STERN FAMILY FUND
21 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
—
532-0617

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W. WILLARD WIRTZ
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 7, 1965

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

This is to advise you that the Board of the Stern Family Fund has approved a grant to the Alabama Council on Human Relations for the Southern Courier newspaper. The terms of the grant, which is $10,000, are that it must be matched on a dollar for dollar basis within a period of one year from this date. Any portion remaining unmatched at the end of the year must be returned to the Stern Family Fund.

Before releasing any part of the grant, we would appreciate receiving a copy of the tax exemption certificate of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. In order to avoid excessive check writing, we would appreciate applications being made for payments as infrequently as possible consistent with the operational needs of the newspaper.

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

David R. Hunter

Ala - Ed Stanfield
MM

October 16, 1965

Mr. Erskine Smith
City National Bank Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Erskine:

You may recall that I called you some time ago to ask if we could arrange to support The Southern Courier, if funds could be found, without jeopardizing the Alabama Council's tax exempt status. At the time you indicated that you thought this would be possible.

I have since discussed the matter with David, and he has serious doubts about the idea, which he may have discussed with you already. I hope I haven't started an intra-office argument.

Our Board of Directors has authorized the staff to receive funds for the purpose of supporting the Courier -- provided it can be done without jeopardizing our tax-exempt status (in the opinion of our attorneys and the Southern Regional Council's attorneys). I have talked to Paul Anthony about it, and he says that we are independent and what we do is not likely to affect them, and besides he figures our Alabama lawyers are better able to assess the risks, etc., than they would be. So you and David are our lawyers and it's up to you.

As you can see from the enclosed photocopies of letters, a grant has been secured. Let me suggest that you get in touch with Mr. Robert E. Smith directly to seek any necessary information and to make the arrangements you think best.

Needless to say, subject to the limitations specified by our Board, we are eager to use The Southern Courier as a means of gathering and reporting information on matters pertaining to human relations and as a means of training young journalists and acqainting them with the human relations field. I hope that we can work out a satisfactory contract with the Courier to do this!

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

cc: Robert E. Smith
Paul Anthony

October 28, 1965

Mrs. Deborah M. Cole
Executive Secretary
The Aaron E. Norman Fund, Inc.
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mrs. Cole:

Thank you for your letter of October 18 informing me of the grant of $2,500 to the Alabama Council on Human Relations and of the conditions under which it can be made.

Inasmuch as I have accepted, just this week, an appointment as Director of Field Activities for the Southern Regional Council, it appears that one of the conditions imposed by the Norman Fund Board will not be met. Frankly, I am a bit mystified by the stipulation that I must be the Executive Director in order for the Council to receive the grant. Would it be possible for your Board to reconsider? Perhaps some other criterion could be found by which the Board could assure themselves of adequate leadership for the Council (assuming that this was the purpose of the condition).

The condition that a full-time Associate Director must have been employed by September 1, 1966, is fair enough, but our meeting it will be the less likely if the first condition remains unchanged.

As I say, the first condition is a mystery to me. It seems to me that the Alabama Council's Board of Directors certainly would not take the step of employing an Associate Director unless they had assured themselves of the competency of the Executive Director by the criteria of membership, financial strength, and program potential. Thus, the second condition alone would be sufficient for the purposes that I am able to understand at this point.

Needless to say, whether or not we are able to claim the grant, we are all very grateful for the consideration you have given the Alabama Council on Human Relations. We surely will keep you informed of our activities.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

JES:llr
Bhnd Copy

ALABAMA - General

THE AARON E NORMAN FUND INC.
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N Y 10022

October 18, 1965

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Thank you for your thoughtful and candid letter of September 24th elaborating on the financial needs of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

I am very pleased to be able to advise you that the Board of Directors of The Aaron E. Norman Fund, Inc. decided at a recent meeting to make a grant of $2,500 to the Alabama Council on Human Relations, said grant to be paid on September 1, 1966 on the conditions that you are at that time the Executive Director of the Council and that you have engaged a full-time Associate Director to begin work on or before that date.

Needless to say, the Board and I are very much impressed with the Council's accomplishments. I hope that you will continue to keep me posted on your activities.

Sincerely yours,

Deborah M. Cole

(Mrs.) Deborah M. Cole
Executive Secretary

P.S. I thought you might be interested in the enclosed clipping from today's New York Times.

DMC:ac

Encl.

Ed — Suggest you give her a call. Please follow them as you see fit.
Pat

ala - Ed Stanfield

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

Pat Valdero

PW

MM

Reply 11/22/65

# ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director

ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

November 17, 1965

Sent to all persons named in newsletter.

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Dr. Herman Long, Talladega
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Jerry Roden, Auburn
Stanley Rosenbaum, Florence
Franklyn W. Taylor, Montgomery
Rev. J. L. Ware, Birmingham
S. C. Watkins, Tuscumbia
Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery
W. L. Williams, Birmingham

Dear Sir:

We are sending herewith a copy of "Southern Justice: An Indictment," which was recently published by the Southern Regional Council. We believe that this is a timely report and that you will find it interesting reading--perhaps helpful.

We think it worth emphasizing that the problem to which this report speaks is not limited to the courts of Alabama. It is a problem also for Federal courts serving Alabama and other Southern states. This point was made in a previous report by the Southern Regional Council, of which we have not enough copies to distribute. We would be happy to obtain one for you, however, if you wish it.

That former report, published in April, points out that in the ten Southern states there are no Negroes who are Federal Circuit Court Judges, District Court Judges, Referees in Bankruptcy, U. S. Commissioners, U. S. Clerks, Deputy U. S. Clerks, U. S. Attorneys, Jury Commissioners, or U. S. Marshals. There are only five Assistant U. S. Sttorneys in the South who are Negroes, and only nine Deputy U. S. Marshals. It is not known how many of those serving in approximately 364 secretarial and clerical positions are Negroes, but from observation the number appeared to be quite small.

We share with virtually all other Americans a near-reverential regard for the law and the courts. This veneration both causes us profound anxiety on reading such reports as these and gives to the whole issue an urgency which makes us bold to request, humbly, your reflection upon the problems treated.

Respectfully,

J. Edwin Stanfield

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

JES:llr

Enclosures

Ala-
Ed S.

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

# ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director
ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

Rec'd 11/29/65

(clips where? Miss. Meetings)

November 26, 1965

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Rev. J. L. Ware, Birmingham
S. C. Watkins, Tuscumbia
Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery
W. L. Williams, Birmingham

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I did go to Jackson, as directed, and found it a very interesting and enlightening trip.

As you can tell from the enclosed clippings, it was a very successful meeting. There were about 350 people at the dinner, which astonished me. Ken and everyone else was delighted with the participation of Owen Cooper.

Ken seems to have an enviable talent for getting close to people on both sides of the aisle, the newsmen, etc. With a little more attention to organization the Mississippi Council ought to be able to fly rather well.

We had a reception at Pat Derian's and she sent you her regards. Also Elaine Crystal.

Best wishes,

Ed

Ed Stanfield

MM
Need for Ed Stanfield

N.C. C.H.R.

December 2, 1965

Dr. T. Franklin Williams
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Frank:

I have your invitation to Ed Stanfield. Incidentally, he will not be available until the first of the year, and he is now up to his neck trying to end affairs in Alabama. I do think, however, given the record of his accomplishments in Alabama, that he could be of substantial help to you in the area of local council program and growth. I hope you will invite him back.

What progress are you making with staff?

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

**NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
121 EAST THIRD STREET
ROOM 301 — TELEPHONE 376-6833
CHARLOTTE, N. C.

November 30, 1965

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

A meeting of the officers of our Council and the chairmen and/or representatives of local councils on human relations is scheduled for Saturday, December 11, at 1:30 p.m., the Chapel of the Cross, East Franklin Street, Chapel Hill.

The enclosed copy of a letter to one of the representatives will give you detail information on the purpose of the meeting and discussions to take place. I hope you or someone from field activities can be present at this meeting. Would you please inform our office?

Sincerely yours,

T. Franklin Williams

T. Franklin Williams, M.D.
Chairman

TFW/b

Enclosure

*"To strive to improve the educational, economic and civic conditions of all people of North Carolina; to encourage intergroup cooperation for the common welfare; to strive to attain equal opportunity for all the people of the state as provided by the Constitution of the United States."*

C
O
P
Y

November 28, 1965

Mr. Lisbon C. Berry, Jr.
P. O. Box 508
Wilmington, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Berry:

I am writing at this time to ask that you and another officer or member of your new local council on human relations, of your selection, attend a meeting of such representatives together with officers of our state Council, on Saturday, December 11, at 1:30 p.m. Unless you are notified differently, the meeting will be held at the Chapel of the Cross, E. Franklin Street, Chapel Hill. Sandwiches and coffee will be available at 1:00 p.m.

The purpose of this meeting is to discuss and try to arrive at clearer guidelines for mutually helpful relations between local voluntary councils (and similar groups) and the state Council.

As you probably know, one of the primary current aims of the state Council is to encourage and help in the growth of local councils, with the thought in mind that involving more people in working together on the particular problems of their own community is of key importance at this time in improving human and racial relations. An indication of our progress is that seven to nine groups from North Carolina towns are likely to be represented at this meeting.

To date we have had only general views about how the state Council and its staff might help local councils, and conversely how the local groups might help support the work at the state level. We need reasonably prompt clearer definitions: we will soon have a new state executive director who will need better guidelines; we are having a growing number of local affiliates; our state budget needs more local support; our relationships with the Southern Regional Council are at this time undergoing changes towards clearer working together, again to the advantage of both in my opinion (I can report on this at our meeting).

I hope you can bring to the meeting ideas, discussed in advance with others in Wilmington to the extent possible, about: types of assistance the state Council may best provide local groups; your willingness to take part in periodic special projects of the Southern Regional Council (e.g., periodic reports on local events of significance; on degree of integration in local schools; on openness of public accommodations and job opportunities locally, etc.); ability and ways local councils or groups might offer financial support to the state Council; and forms of representation in state Council affairs. We can of course take up other topics.

I will bring information about income-tax and public solicitations status of such financial arrangements as we may discuss.

I hope your Wilmington group can be represented by you and a companion, or a substitute for you if you cannot come -- a bi-racial delegation of two if at all possible. Please let our Charlotte office know who will be coming.

Yours sincerely,

T. Franklin Williams, M.D.
Chairman

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

# ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director

ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

Rec'd 12/8/65

MM

December 7, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

Ed and I were talking today about plans for our annual meeting on February 5 and how we might work students into it. Ray Payne and Hayes and I had talked this over last month and thought it might be worth while to have a student oriented program on the previous evening, February 4th and then have the students participate in the annual meeting on the 5th just as anyone else would. That is, Friday night would concern itself with student problems, campus issues, ideas for campus and intercampus programs, etc. and on Saturday we would treat the students as adults.

Our problems are twofold: (1) money and (2) we need someone to organize a program, to get whatever resource persons are necessary and to conduct the Friday night meeting. The latter is necessary because, as you know, I'll be pretty tied up with other matters in January, and on Friday night, the 4th, the state board is also meeting. I'll have to attend the board meeting whether we have a new director by that time or not. We could take care of the publicity and promotional problems in order to get maximum participation, however.

In talking to Hayes he indicated that employed or not he would be interested in helping us set up a program and could probably attend such a meeting. It is Ed's and my understanding that SRC does have some funds available for student conferences and we were wondering (1) what types of expenses are covered, e.g., for resource persons and consultants, room and board and travel for such persons and for students, for facilities or what; (2) if Hayes is agreeable to doing those things outlined in number two above could part of such a grant be used to pay him for his services; (3) to whom does one apply for such a grant?

We don't have any figure in mind for any of these items, but thought it best to first determine what type of grant is available.

Ed will speak to you about this when he gets to town this week.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

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Rev. J. L. Ware, Birmingham
S. C. Watkins, Tuscumbia
Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery
W. L. Williams, Birmingham

~~E L~~

hold E. S.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

**FOR YOUR INFORMATION**

December 22, 1965

MEMORANDUM

To : 1966 Campaign Chairmen

From : Ed Stanfield

Subject: Miscellaneous matters concerning the membership and funding effort

1. Please do not forget to send us a report of your progress on "advance gifts" (your ten-percenters and five-percenters) on December 31. *This report should include "Number of Pledges or Contributions (or combinations) Received," "Total Cash Contributions Received," and "Total Amount of Cash Contributions and Pledges."*

This is important for two reasons: (1) These larger donors may wish to make an extra donation during 1965 for income tax purposes; so it is important that these solicitations be made before the year ends. (2) We want to encourage everybody with a good report in our newsletter to be issued early in January; if everybody is on schedule, we should be able to report about half of our goal raised!

2. We are mailing out additional pledge cards and membership application cards where we think you may not have enough. If you need additional descriptive brochures (with the stick-figures on the front), drop us a card. (These cost about 5¢ each, so don't waste them--but use all you need.)

3. You will need to make a "master list" showing the name of each prospect, to whom he was assigned, and a place to note result. It is important that every prospect be assigned to someone and that visitors do not call on people helter-skelter.

4. Urge visitors to seek joint membership wherever appropriate. Two members are better than one.

5. Also encourage use of the yellow pledge card wherever possible. It helps more to pay $2 per month or $6 per quarter than to pay a $5.00 or $8.00 membership fee. We want all the members we can enlist! But a membership fee scarcely covers the cost of serving the member with newsletters and notices. We need *contributions* from as many as possible.

6. The campaign chairman or committee should note on each "prospect card" a suggested asking for the guidance of the visitor; e.g., "Ask $24.00" or "Ask $36.00". See "Instructions for Campaign Visitors."

**FOR YOUR INFORMATION**

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION 1966 Membership and Funding Campaign

INSTRUCTIONS FOR VISITORS

1. Study the contents of the Alabama Council brochure, the fact sheet provided, and these instructions. Don't memorize them, but be so familiar with the contents that you can use them naturally.

2. Be sure to make your own pledge first. You cannot reasonably or convincingly ask another to do what you have not done yourself. You may very well be asking others to give more than you can give, but you should first commit yourself to a donation according to your means.

3. Call only on prospects assigned to you. If you have a friend or acquaintance whom you think a likely prospect for a membership or contribution, clear with the chairman to be sure he is not assigned to someone else. Duplicate visits can be annoying.

4. Be sure to call on all persons or families assigned to you. If you do not find a prospect at home, make a return visit. But do not give up until you have some result to report--even if it is negative (which is unlikely).

5. Make a personal visit to the home of each prospect. At the very least make a special call on him in his office or other place of employment for this sole purpose. This is not a casual matter, so please do not deal with it in a casual telephone call or chance meeting!

6. Ask for a definite amount--and know what you will ask for before you go. The Campaign Committee of your chapter should have noted a suggested asking on your prospect card. If there is no such notation, consult the chairman. The "asking" should be the estimated largest amount that the prospect could give if so disposed. (For example, if John Doe could readily give $10 per month, don't ask him for $5. He may only give $5 per month. But if you ask only $5, chances are he'll still dicker with you!)

7. Make pledging as effortless as possible to the prospect. Have the yellow pledge card filled out with address, occupation, etc.--all except the amount and the signature.

8. Be pleasant but purposeful. It is fine, for instance, to take your spouse along, if you are calling on another couple--but have it understood that there is not to be second conversation going on while you are talking about the human relations council! And it is fine to exchange a few pleasantries about the weather and the local political rascals--but you should get down to business shortly!

9. Be appreciative. If your prospect made a contribution during 1965, or if he is a good worker in the local council, thank him for what he has done.

10. Get to the subject. You might begin by saying, "George, I'm here today about the Alabama Council on Human Relations. We are rather proud of what the organization has accomplished during the past year, and we are eager to be even more effective in 1966." At this point you might show him one of the fact sheets which have been sent to your campaign chairman and say, "This is just a partial listing of the things the Alabama Council has done in 1965."

Talk about any of them in which the prospect is interested. Then talk about 1966. Emphasize the fact that the Rural Advancement Project will start soon and that the grant which makes it possible will be renewed for two more years, provided the basic operation of the Council remains strong enough to administer it effectively. Another talking point is this: We can get $2,500 from a foundation to help hire a permanent, full-time associate director provided we have other funds sufficient to hire one by September 1966. Having an intern associate on the staff in 1965 has shown us the value of an associate for program expansion, better services to chapters, and development of new chapters.

11. Get to the point--the point of decision, if you will. Something like this: "So we feel that we have a great chance in 1966 to make the Alabama Council an organization that will make a big difference in the state. But we all know that this will take a lot of doing. So we are trying to get everyone to be more than members this year. We are asking for regular support." (If your prospect is already a regular giver, you should change this, of course: perhaps, "So we are asking for increased support this year--which we think the record justified." At about this point pull out the yellow pledge card with the prospect's address filled out on it. With a pencil check the category you had previously decided to suggest (e.g., "$60 Sponsor" or $36 Underwriter"). And say: "We are asking you to be among those giving $5.00 per month--or $15.00 per quarter, if you prefer." Or, "I wonder if you would like to be among those giving $3.00 per month in 1966."

PERIOD!!! Don't say another word! Wait for him to respond! If he says, "Well, yes, I think I could do that," you say, "Fine. Just sign the card and the state office will bill you on the first of each month (or quarter). You can make the first payment now or later, as you prefer." If he says, "Well, I have a lot of organizations to give to, but I guess I could manage the $6.00 each quarter," you might say, "Well, that would certainly be a big help, too. Just sign the card . . ."

12. Check the pledge card to be sure that all pertinent information is on it. Be sure that the donor has indicated clearly whether he wants statements monthly, quarterly, or on some irregular dates. Be sure to note any cash payment as "Paid herewith $_____." And be sure to get the ZIP CODE.

13. Report promptly to your campaign chairman. Turn in completed pledge cards and any cash or checks collected as soon as you conveniently can, even if you have not finished all your calls.

14. Take satisfaction in having done well something that is important and worthwhile. You may not be much of a salesman. And maybe you never thought you could raise money. But if you have followed the suggestions above, chances are you and your group have been astonished at the results. Why? Because beyond and beneath the mechanics and techniques of soliciting funds, you have had going for you the fact that a lot of people in Alabama are genuinely and deeply concerned about human relations in this state and realize, however vaguely, that they have a rare opportunity and urgent duty just because they live here. Thus, in one sense you have not asked for anything. You have offered an opportunity, a tool for creative effort, a meaningful approach to problems about which the donor is deeply concerned. Maybe some people who gave even thanked you for asking them . . .

Hold for Ed the field

December 29, 1965

Miss Penny Niland
Station Manager KZSU
Stanford University Radio
Memorial Hall
Stanford, California 94305

Dear Miss Niland:

Thank you for the interesting information about your project. We appreciate knowing of it and would be grateful if you will continue to keep us informed.

Enclosed is a study of ours, "Encounter With The Future", which you may find of interest.

We have associations with a number of state and local Human Relations Councils and other groups. I am certain many of them would enjoy using your series in their own programs, and some of them would attempt to place the series with local radio stations. We can go into this further at a later date if you are interested.

Do you know of the Friendly World Broadcasting System? This is a fine, although very small, programing agency that makes programs available without cost to radio stations. They have had considerable success in southern states. If you would like to learn more of

them or to check on the possibility of their assistance in circulating your series, you might write to: Mr. Edwin T. Randall, Friendly World Broadcasting, 122 North Providence Road, Wallingford, Pa.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

KZSU 90.1 FM 880 AM
"The Sound Spectrum"

STANFORD UNIVERSITY RADIO
Memorial Hall, Stanford, California 94305
321-2300 x 4000

December 23, 1965

Mr. Paul Antorny
Director of Southern Regional Council
Number 5 Forsythe
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Antorny:

Many persons have urged us to write to you about a project initiated by our student radio station concerning student involvement in social change -- particularly in the Civil Rights Movement.

Under the direction of the Stanford University Sociology Department, we began early last Spring to devise a research plan for an exploratory study based on the interview method. We aimed to describe with some confidence the students who volunteered for Civil Rights work in the South -- what kinds of schools and homes they come from, why they go to the South, how they view their own role in social change, and how they themselves are changed by their experiences in the South. Eight of us spent the summer interviewing students in Civil Rights projects in towns from Louisiana to South Carolina. As students talking with other students, we have collected a vital and informative body of material.

We are now in the process of analyzing this data and attempting to draw conclusions and make predictions when possible. We are also preparing a series of radio programs, for mass distribution next spring, which will present our data and conclusions in the words and voices of the students themselves.

At this time we are also planning written reports which will be compiled for specific audiences interested in the growing activism of American college students. With this in mind, we have been encouraged to write directly to you, informing you of our work, and asking for your comments and guidance as to fruitful uses of our material.

We will be delighted to hear from you after you have had a chance to peruse the enclosed materials. We want you to know how much we appreciate your help.

Sincerely,

Penny Niland

Penny Niland
Station Manager

JWBC

Date: _____ Study: 1 2 1 _____

I: COMMITMENT Place: _____ TIME: _____ 2 _____

3 _____

Sex: M F Age: _____ Organization: _____ In CRM: _____ years _____ months 4 _____

Race: W N O 6 _____

| PARENTS: | Father | Mother |
|---|---|---|
| Occupations: | | |
| Education: | G 9 10 11 12 13-15 16+ | G 9 10 11 12 13-15 16+ |
| Religion & Extent: | 0 + # | 0 + # |
| Political & Activity: | 0 + # | 0 + # |
| Relations to Parents: | = - 0 + # | = - 0 + # |

Soc-Econ Status: L M U

Family Mobility: 0 + #

Siblings--relations to and effects from:

INTERVIEWEE: Religion and extent: 0 + #

How first involved in CRM:

| | High School | College |
|---|---|---|
| Home city & state: | | |
| School address: (unless same) | | |
| Political & Activity: | 0 + # | 0 + # |
| EXPOSURE: | | |
| 1. Issues | | |
| Direct | N = - 0 + # | N = - 0 + # |
| Symbolic | N = - 0 + # | N = - 0 + # |
| 2. Means | | |
| Direct | N = - 0 + # | N = - 0 + # |
| Symbolic | N = - 0 + # | N = - 0 + # |
| 3. Individuals | | |
| Direct | N = - 0 + # | N = - 0 + # |
| Symbolic | N = - 0 + # | N = - 0 + # |

Colleges attended (in order):

Last Completed Class: 1 2 3 4 5

Still In School? Y N

Major: _____ GPA: _____ General Activism: 0 + #

College Living Group: _____

HIERARCHY OF VALUES: 1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

CONVERSION EXPERIENCE: Y N

Personality Characteristics which affect CR attitude or action:

COMMENTS:

INTERIM REPORT

KZSW PRODUCTION TEAM

PROJECT SOUTH

AUGUST 2, 1965.

Tougaloo, Mississippi

Jim McRae
Mark Dalrymple

## INTRODUCTION

The Production Team has now been working for over a month gathering material in the South, and has about a month remaining in the South before returning to school. As yet there has been no analysis made of our progress and plans. It was felt that a short summary of the work that has been done and an analysis of our future plans would be useful and interesting, both to ourselves and to others. Because of the pressures of time, this will be but a brief account of what has been done, leaving the detailed account of how it was done to the end of the summer.

PURPOSE

The primary focus of the project is the study of the college students who come to the South to work in the Civil Rights Movement. It is an exploratory study to suggest answers to the questions of why the students come here, what they expect to find, what they actually do find here, the pressures they are under in their work, how they react and function under these pressures, what activities they are engaged in, their successes and failures in the South, and what their future plans are. It is a study of people involved in two of the major forces for social change in today's society — the Student Movement and the Civil Rights Movement. The answers to the questions raised above will help to explain the nature of the growing student activism which has been the subject of considerable comment in recent months.

Students have been defined in a rather arbitrary manner for the purposes of the study, and separated into three categories: 1) the short-term volunteers - those college students who plan to spend not more than five months at work in the South before returning to college; 2) the long-term volunteers - those who plan to spend more than five but less than fifteen months in the South before returning to college; and 3) the student staff - those who have suspended their education to spend more than fifteen months in the South, but plan to return to college at some future time.

The purpose of the project is to explain the results of the above study of the students involved in the Civil Rights Movement to others, in the form of a radio series. We feel that this will help to provide more accurate information about the students who are working in the South and what they are doing here, and will thus help the listener to evaluate both the Civil Rights Movement and the Student Movement with more basis in fact than is usually the case.

In order to carry out this study, the project has received grants from the Kalthenborn Foundation and the Stern Family Fund, as well as a loan from the University. In all of these there are no restrictions as to content, the only requirement being that the study be completed and that a radio series be developed and marketed to the radio stations of this country.

PROCEDURE

The basic tool of our research is the personal interview, tape recorded so that we may express the thoughts and feelings of the students in the radio series in their own words. In order to accomplish our objective of understanding the students, both students and others in the Movement must be interviewed. The students are interviewed concerning their reasons for coming, their expectations and findings, the pressures they encounter, their reactions to these pressures, and their future plans. Leaders, local workers, and others are interviewed on all of these questions as well as their reactions to the student volunteers and their evaluations of the students' importance to the Movement.

In addition to the interviews, material on what the students are doing and peoples' reactions to their activities will be important. Tapes of freedom schools, meetings, marches, canvassing, and other day-to-day activities of the students will be used in preparing the program series. In order to supplement the taped material, all of the members of the Team are keeping detailed field notes of their observations and analysis. The observations and non-student interviews are vital, because the students are reacting to a fluid situation, and are not individuals alone with a problem. Consequently, the students, their thoughts and actions, must be put in the proper perspective with the organizations, area, history, and problems with which they are working.

The eight members of the Production Team are divided into four groups of two each. Three of these groups are interview units, each consisting of one male and one female interviewer. Each is assigned to a geographical area, and their job is to visit the various civil rights projects in that area, interview the students and other workers on the individual projects, and analyze the students' role in each project. This, of course, necessitates understanding the purpose and activities of each of the projects visited. The fourth group is used more for group communications and technical assistance than for interviewing. It visits the interview groups to fix equipment and distribute tape, money, mail, and encouragement. The two male members of this group also listen to all of the tapes that have been made by the interview groups, copy them for editing purposes (as well as safety), and analyze the material gathered, with the purpose of finding gaps in the information, checking technical and editorial quality, and finding good lines of questioning in use by one group which everyone might profitably use. Wherever possible, each interviewer will try to use the same general type of questions. While doing this in all cases would greatly facilitate the production of the program series, it would also undoubtedly lead to an over-formalized interview, which would tend to reduce the rapport of interviewer with student. Consequently, all interviews are made in the form of directed conversations, with the really important consideration

being that the interviewer leave the interview with a good knowledge of the student's thoughts and rationale on the questions raised above.

In order to aid in the retrieval of the information, the interviewer fills out a retrieval form for each interview. This form summarizes the various factors leading to involvement, and records the interviewee's reactions and attitude changes since coming to the South. The communications group, in listening to the tape, fills out a form which analyzes its technical and editorial qualities, lists quotes useful for the program series, and gives instructions for the copying of the tape. These forms will be an invaluable aid in evaluating what we have collected, and will serve to help in locating the material needed for the program series.

In order to check the compatibility of the interviewers in filling out their retrieval forms, the communications group is also filling out a copy of the same form used by the interviewer for each interview, and measuring the correlation between the two forms. Likewise, the interviewers listen to each interview again and note useful quotes.

PRESENT STATUS

The project is divided into four phases: preparation for the work in the South, gathering of material in the South, analysis of the material gathered, and production of the program series. The preparation took place during the last two quarters of the past academic year at Stanford, and the analysis and production will not become our major concerns until the autumn quarter of the coming academic year, from the end of September to the end of December. At present, the Team is in the South gathering the information needed.

Good working relationships have been established with the major civil rights organizations sponsoring student volunteer projects this summer. As the three organizations are working in different areas, an interview group has been assigned to each area: Dick Gillam and Julie Wells are working with the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in Louisiana; Jon Roise and Mary Kay Becker work in Mississippi with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), a product of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), the group made up mostly of people from the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) which sponsored the large student project in Mississippi last summer. Roger Dankert and Penny Niland are in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina working with the Summer Community Organization and Political Education project (SCOPE) of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Jim McRae and Mark Dalrymple constitute the communications group, with headquarters at Tougaloo, a small community just north of Jackson, Mississippi.

In order to avoid having three sets of specialists on individual organizations who cannot effectively communicate with each other, and to give the interview groups insights into the ways in which their organization differs from the others, each of the interview groups has visited at least one project run by one of the other organizations. In addition, the communications group has visited at least one project in each organization, gaining at least a limited knowledge of each.

In all cases the members of the Team have found no difficulty in living with the members of the project they were visiting. This has two great advantages: first, it allows the interviewers to get to know the situations that the students live in, as well as to observe the students' reactions to this and other situations; secondly, it is very inexpensive. The disadvantage in this arrangement is that working space and privacy are quite limited.

In each of the projects visited, an effort is made to interview all of the volunteers working on it, in order to reduce any bias in the selection of the interviewees. This has proved to be rather difficult, as many of the students spend a condiderable amount of their time out in remote areas of the counties and are available

for interviewing only at very odd times, and in remote and separated places. However, only a few students have been missed.

To date groups of the Team have visited a total of thirty one different projects, many of them more than once, (see page eight for a listing of the projects visited by each group) and have made more than one hundred interviews, each lasting about one hour. Added to the tapes of orientation sessions, mass meetings, demonstrations (at Jackson, Mississippi, Bogalusa, Louisiana, Greensboro, Alabama, and Crawfordville, Georgia), and other tapes (such as the lobbying for the Mississippi Congressional Challenge in Washington, D.C.), the interviews make a total of more than 250 hours of taped material gathered to date. Because of a shortage of tape and the desire to copy all of the material gathered while listening to it, the communications group delayed listening to the tapes until recently, when work was begun in earnest on listening to and analyzing all of the material gathered. The job is monumental, as each hour of taped material requires more than two hours of listening and analysis, and one of the problems now facing the Team is the question of whether or not all of the tapes should be listened to before returning to Stanford.

The three major problems which now confront the project are finances, time, and tape. As to finances: funds expended for equipment ($1800), cars, and living expenses ($25 per group per week) have put the project nearly $800 in debt. More money will obviously be needed to carry the Team through the summer. Hal Williams, KZSU's Director of Station Relations last year, who did much of the work on obtaining financing for the project, is now working to find additional support while he is in Aspen, Colorado. Hal is also working to obtain tape for us, as we will be completely out of tape by next weekend. Approximately one thousand seven-inch reels of tape will be needed in order to continue gathering material and to begin to dub tapes during the summer. Time is the constant problem - only a little more than two months will be spent in the South, so it must be decided now how much time will be spent listening to tapes, thus reducing the number but improving the quality and usefulness of the remaining tapes made, rather than getting a quantity of tapes and listening to them at Stanford.

FUTURE PLANS

The material-gathering phase of the project will end on or about August 26, when the members of the Team will leave the South, taking a break until September 27, when the autumn quarter begins at Stanford. At that time the analysis of the material will have to be completed, and the production of the program series will begin. During the break between the Southern phase and the production phase, the members of the Team will try to organize their personal views and emotions into reports of their Southern experience. These reports will be valuable in the analysis of the interviews and other material gathered. During the autumn quarter the program series will be completed and marketed.

The time remaining in the South is divided into three sections. This Friday, August 6, the Team members, along with Dr. Kai Erikson, the sociologist from Emory University who is our field advisor this summer, and met with us in Atlanta on the weekend of July 16, will meet in Tougaloo to discuss the progress to date, listen to tapes, and plan activities for the last two weeks so as to fill any gaps remaining in the material. The groups will then return to the field until about August 20, as which time the Team will have a final meeting to attempt a detailed analysis of the material gathered up to that point. During that meeting a sketch of the results and an outline for the program series will be constructed. If some important material is still missing, an effort will be made to find it before August 26.

Hopefully, by the time of the final meeting the members of the Team will have made enough interviews to be able to make generalizations on them and will understand the situation and the volunteers well enough that the series will have some chance of being understandable. The understanding of the situation is the most important thing for the members of the Team to obtain this summer, for without that understanding, the program series will have no chance of being clear.

Projects visited by each group. Any project listed more than once in each group is omitted after the first listing.

Penny Niland and Roger Dankert:
- Jackson, Mississippi (MFDP)
- McComb, Mississippi (MFDP)
- Atlanta, Georgia (SCLC-SNCC)
- Washington, D.C. (MFDP-SNCC)
- Mt. Beulah (Edwards, Mississippi) (MFDP)
- Selma, Alabama
- Midway, Alabama (SCOPE)
- Luverne, Alabama (SCOPE)
- Greenville, Alabama (SCOPE)
- Crawfordville, Georgia (SCOPE)
- Orangeburg, South Carolina (SCOPE)
- Columbia, South Carolina (SCOPE)

Jon Roise and Mary Kay Becker:
- Jackson, Mississippi (MFDP)
- Atlanta, Georgia (SNCC-SCLC)
- Mt. Beulah, Mississippi (MFDP)
- Hattiesburg, Mississippi (MFDP)
- Indianola, Mississippi (MFDP)
- Shaw, Mississippi (MFDP)
- Cleveland, Mississippi (MFDP)
- Macon, Georgia (SCOPE)
- Montgomery, Alabama (SCOPE)
- Marion, Alabama (SCOPE)
- Greensboro, Alabama (SCOPE)
- West Point, Mississippi (MFDP)
- Holly Springs, Mississippi (MFDP)

Dick Gillam and Julie Wells:
- Jackson, Mississippi (MFDP)
- Mt. Beulah, Mississippi (MFDP)
- Baton Rouge, Louisiana (CORE)
- Clinton, Louisiana (CORE)
- St. Helena Parish, Louisiana (CORE)
- Bogalusa, Louisiana (CORE)
- Natchez, Mississippi (MFDP)
- Ferriday, Louisiana (CORE)

Jim McRae and Mark Dalrymple:
- Jackson, Mississippi (MFDP-NAACP)
- Mt. Beulah, Mississippi (MFDP)
- New Orleans, Louisiana (CORE)
- Clinton, Louisiana (CORE)
- Luverne, Alabama (SCOPE)
- Laurel, Mississippi (MFDP)
- Greenville, Mississippi (MFDP-NAACP)
- Cleveland, Mississippi (MFDP)
- Baton Rouge, Louisiana (CORE)
- West Point, Mississippi (MFDP)

hold for Ed Stanfield E

Dear

December 29, 1965

Mrs. Elizabeth C. Ledeen
Program Director
The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Libby:

If we are to also help out on the several good ideas which Bill and I talked about earlier, it will be hard to provide the whole $625.00 for the recruiting program, although I am very enthusiastic about that work. Could you shave enough and add enough to make it on $400, assuming that you will shortly be asking for the funds for these other matters.

We can send you the $400.00 immediately and hope that Bill or you can tell us of your other needs as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

file

# Georgia Council ON HUMAN RELATIONS

52 Fairlie Street, N. W. • 404/525-6468 • Atlanta, Georgia 30303

December 29, 1965

To: Executive Committee

From: Joseph Hendricks

First meeting of the New Year - January 6, 1966

Jay's Cafeteria - 12 o'clock noon

We need you!

**AGENDA**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minutes | - | Mrs. Harry Richardson |
| Finance Report | - | Mr. John Glustrom |
| Reports of tutorials: | | |
| Northside | - | Mrs. David Neiman |
| DeKalb County | - | Mrs. M. E. Richardson |
| North DeKalb | - | Mr. Philip F. Palmer |
| Report of Educational Committee | - | Mr. Robert Cousins<br>Mr. William Shields |
| Reports of Local Chapters: | | |
| Athens | - | Dr. David Broiles |
| North DeKalb | - | Rev. Carroll Payne |
| Southwest Georgia | - | Mr. Hubert Thomas |
| Report of Rural Project | - | Mr. Hubert Thomas |
| Adjourn | - | 2 o'clock |

MR. JOSEPH HENDRICKS, PRESIDENT
MRS. FRANCES PAULEY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
THE REVEREND AUSTIN FORD, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MR. A. J. MCCLUNG, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON, SECRETARY
MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM, TREASURER
THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Georgia Council on Human Relations
Executive Committee Meeting
December 2, 1965
Jay's Cafeteria

**MINUTES**

Mr. Hendricks called the meeting to order promptly at 12:30 with Rev. Ford, Rev. Hamilton, Mr. Shields, Mrs. Richardson, Rev. Payne, Miss Franziska Boas, Mrs. King, Mrs. Robin, Mr. Holmes and Mrs. Pauley present. Rev. Jones and Mrs. Alterman were visitors.

The minutes were read and approved. The Director was instructed to mail copies of the minutes each month to local Chapter chairmen and Board members.

Mrs. Pauley gave the Treasurer's report. $4,506.66 was raised in November. $3,000 of this is the quarterly grant to cover the cost of Mr. Thomas' work with the Rural Project.

Mrs. Helen King gave the Membership report. There were 18 new members and 68 renewals. It was agreed that local Chapters would receive materials and guides to have membership drives during the month of March. The organization of new Councils was discussed. It was agreed to attempt the following schedule for the metropolitan area:

January: Kirkwood area (Mrs. Richardson volunteered assistance).
Collier Road (Mrs. King volunteered assistance).

February: Decatur
Ansley Park and 10th Street area.

March: Lithonia

Mr. Shields volunteered to investigate the Lakewood area.

It was suggested that the time of meetings of all local Chapters be placed in the Newsletter, for the convenience of visitors.

In the State, Mrs. Pauley announced a proposed first meeting of a Southwest Georgia Council to meet at St. Mark's Episcopal Church in Albany on December 6. It is hoped that by having an area Council, people who might be fearful of attending a meeting in their home town might go to a neighboring town. A discussion followed whether or not the Board would organize a local Chapter if no white people would agree to participate. It was agreed that the Council policy of establishing only interracial Chapters would be adhered to. By having a Southwest Georgia Chapter, this would permit Negroes from Bainbridge and other towns where we have been unable to find interested white people to join an interracial Chapter.

Mrs. Pauley also announced that the staff hopes to move ahead in Carrollton and Summerville as soon after January 1 as possible. Miss Boas has been assisting with the organization in Summerville.

Miss Boas reported on the work of the Rome Chapter. Mr. John Carten has recently been elected chairman. The annual meeting was a great success. Mr. Holmes presented Mr. Capus White, the Membership chairman with a plaque honoring the Rome Chapter for having had the largest percentage of new members last year. Miss Boas also reported a fine new board - which included Rome business men and other active men and women. There is evidence of great vitality in the Rome group.

Rev. Hamilton reported on the Augusta Chapter which is having some lag in its work. Dates were set for a staff visit and plans for assistance.

Rev. Ford reported on the DeKalb Chapter. The next meeting would be held at Tucker. It was suggested that some testing of public facilities was in order in DeKalb. A complaint had been received that 'white only' signs still exist in the court house, and it is believed that many eating places in the county are not open. Rev. Ford agreed to inform the DeKalb Executive Committee. The DeKalb tutorial is under way.

Mr. Hendricks reported on the fine follow-up work with the transfer students in Macon.

The Council's role in the whole complicated field of education was discussed. It was agreed that Mr. Cousins, our Educational Consultant would be asked to give us guidance as to priorities and the role of the Council at this time.

Mr. Holmes reported on meetings that he and Mr. Thomas held in Southwest Georgia at Albany, Thomasville and Bainbridge. These meetings were well attended and much information concerning government programs and government farm loans was disseminated. Mr. Thomas is following up on the individual cases. Other meetings are being planned for other counties in the State. As Negro farmers get loans we find that they are in need of better counseling. Often the loan is too small to be of enough help to actually give the man a chance to get on his feet. Yet his pleasure at receiving this little help is so great that it is disturbing. We are cooperating with the farm agents in giving assistance.

We were shocked to hear that Mr. Sam Hill of Thomas County has had further difficulties. His house where his furniture was stored was burned.

Rev. Hamilton told of a case where he had secured legal help in McDuffie County. A man's house was burned. The firemen made no attempt to stop the blaze. In fact, they turned the hose on the owners when they attempted to use it to stop the fire.

Mr. Holmes also reported on work in Crawfordville. It looks as if our cooperative effort with SCLC and United Presbyterian's in establishing a small home industry is about to be successful. A silk screen industry will be set up in the building which has been used for the Freedom School. Although this will be a small venture it is giving hope to the community. Mrs. Pauley reported that it looks as if the food stamp and surplus foods might be arranged. Most of the necessary county officials are willing to cooperate. However, the final signatures have not been acquired.

Miss Boas reported on her visit to Cave Springs School for the Deaf. She plans a second trip to visit classes and get more facts for a documented complaint of this school which is receiving federal funds and seems to be completely segregated.

The need for a speakers bureau was suggested by Mrs. King. She volunteered to help establish such a bureau for the use of our Chapters over the State as well as other organizations in the metropolitan area.

Mrs. Pauley requested names of new contacts throughout the State.

Meeting adjourned promptly at 2 o'clock.

Personnel

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

December 30, 1965

MEMORANDUM

To : Executive Committee, Alabama Council on Human Relations

From : Ed Stanfield

Subject: Further Information on Rev. James Scott Sessions

The following is from a form filled out by Mr. Sessions on November 25, 1965, and on file with the placement office of the Board of Education of the Methodist Church, Division of Higher Education:

Mr. Sessions was born January 3, 1936, in Ballinger, Texas. He is 5 feet, 11 inches tall and weighs 165 pounds. He is single. He describes his health as "excellent."

His schooling was as follows:

Southern Methodist University, 1954-1958; received A.B. degree with a major in Philosophy and minor in Social Science.
Perkins School of Theology, 1958-1959; 30 hours credit.
Drew University School of Theology, 1959-1960 and 1961-1962; received B.D. degree. (During the school year of 1960-61, he served as Assistant to the Chaplain of Brown University on a Danforth Foundation Campus Ministry Internship.)

His service as a Danforth Intern is listed under "summary of other significant experience." Another item under this heading was the fact that he served as Associate Dean and Dean of the Northeast Regional Methodist Student Movement Conference. Another is "teach at Drew one course each year entitled: 'Contemporary Christian Thought'."

His career record is as follows:

Director of the Wesley Foundation, Princeton University, 1962-1963. (This was an interim appointment, apparently, but we understand that he did an outstanding job.)
Director of the New Jersey Methodist Student Movement and Executive Secretary of the Inter-Conference Commission Campus Ministry of New Jersey, 1962-1965.
Chaplain to the College, Drew University, 1963-1966.
(Note: I would assume that the last item, his present position, has been his main employment during this period, but with some sort of arrangement with the Conference for student work on a statewide basis. He seems to have been successful, since the Inter-Conference Commission replaced him with a full-time director in 1965.)
His salary as Chaplain at Drew was $7,000, paid on the basis of nine months, plus housing.

Under "Community and church participation, travel, special interests," he lists:

Human Relations Council of Morris County, New Jersey
Work Camps in West Indies; Brooklyn, New York; Montgomery, Alabama; Morristown, New Jersey.
Director of Newark Tutorial Project of Drew

According to his data sheet, Mr. Sessions will not be available for placement until June, 1966.

NEWS FROM

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
4500 Kensington Avenue (at Commonwealth)
Richmond, Virginia 23221 Phone Area Code 703 Number 353-8997

Robert Lee Combs, Executive Director David H. Scull, President

Volume I, Number 6 December 1965 Page 1

## HERE AND THERE WITH LOCAL COUNCILS

(Let us hear from you)

Alexandria recently had the Mayor to speak on "Progress of Civil Rights in Alexandria, Past and Future." They have a new committee idea - Personal Money Management (Consumer Education Committee) designed to help the poor to better understand how to make their money work for them, with Money Management Workshops, i.e., installment buying, mortgages, legal aid, etc. Arlington had Robert Lee Combs to speak. Blacksburg assisted VPI College to find living quarters for their first Negro student. Charlottesville has had representatives from the Virginia Students for Civil Rights Committee to speak about their Southside Project. Covington is working on Anti-Poverty Projects. Danville has had a Civil Rights Workshop, the Mayor (Hon. W. C. McCubbins) welcomed the VCHR Board at their November meeting, and working on a skill bank (employment) to improve and upgrade seasonal workers - mostly Negroes in tobacco work. Fairfax has established a legal aid committee and scheduled some very interesting programs - "Right Wing Movements vs. Civil Rights, Report on Council Activities, School Integration-where we stand today, The Role of Churches in Promoting Human Relations." Fredericksburg has had Dave Scull as a speaker, Mayor Josiah P. Rowe spoke at the Christmas Dinner Meeting discussing some of the needs of Fredericksburg and paying tribute to the group in facing inter-racial problems there, which he said has allowed the city to meet little problems before they become big problems. Franklin had Mr. J. W. Hope, Chairman of Southampton County Bi-Racial Commission, to speak on "What This Commission Has Accomplished." Giles (New River) has had Sheriff William Harmon to speak on the problems he faces as a law enforcement officers, NRCHR is also working with Economic Opportunity Programs. Hanover invited Mr. Abner Lee of the VCHR Staff to speak on Equal Opportunity in Employment. Hopewell has had Mr. Combs as guest speaker. Lancaster-Northumberland has recently affiliated with the VCHR. Loudoun, with aid of Mrs Carl Auvil, VCHR Board, recently affiliated with VCHR. Lexington had the Superintendent of Schools give a report. Mercer-Tazewell has had a program on Desegregation in the Local Church and also representatives from the Mayor's Commission on Human Rights to discuss their work. Norfolk had a forum on Integrated Housing and has joined with Virginia Beach in organizing Tidewater Fair Housing, Inc. They have also had a panel discussion by college students about their work. Peninsula is working on a membership drive. Prince Edward recently complained when a white teacher was fired by the school board due to her civil rights work. Prince William no report. Petersburg is working on the play "White America" with a drama group, and making a slum housing survey to challenge the City Council to remedy the situations. Portsmouth has been working on multi-ethnic textbooks and desegregation of several local establishments. Radford no report. Richmond has worked on the tutorial and representatives have appeared before Mayor's Commission on Community Relations to confront them with the problem of 'panic selling' in real estate and to work for Fair Housing. Roanoke has scheduled the Probation Officer of the Juvenile Court for a program. Rockingham recently confronted local officials about desegregation of the swimming pool, and the white and colored signs in restrooms at the courthouse. Virginia Beach recently questioned the Project Head Start as being segregated, issued a formal complaint with OEO, Washington, also had a forum on Integrated Housing. Warrenton no report. Williamsburg is attempting to get the community involved in the Economic Opportunity - Community Action Program.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING of VCHR is set for January 21, 22, 1966 at the Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia. Please reserve this weekend and plan to attend. Full particulars will be announced prior to that time.

SEASON'S GREETINGS AND THANKS to concerned Virginians and friends elsewhere for your interests and cooperation in extending understanding, appreciation and compassion to all men.

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
4500 KENSINGTON AVENUE
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23221

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Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, INNC
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NEW ADDRESS

4500 KENSINGTON AVENUE

(Commonwealth at Kensington)

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23221

NEW TELEPHONE NUMBER

Area Code 703 = 353-8997

The VCHR Office has moved in an effort to maintain adequate staff and better programing in the future. Yes, more efficient and economical operation!

Thanks to the Richmond Religious Society of Friends for sharing their Educational Building with the Virginia Council on Human Relations - rent free.

WE WELCOME YOU TO VISIT OUR NEW OFFICE

---

TEAR OFF AND RETURN TO: DECEMBER 1965 VCHR NEWSLETTER

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 4500 KENSINGTON AVE., RICHMOND, VA. 23221

In dedication to the task of making the American way work everywhere, every time for everybody, and believing in the principles and aims of the VCHR, I would like:

1. A Single Membership ($5.00).....( ) New ( ) Renewal ( )
2. A Joint Membership ($5.00).....( )
3. To Contribute .....$ Check ( ) Cash ( )

Name _____

Address _____

Council _____ Zip Code _____

NOTE: Contributions will be credited to local council's quota for VCHR

CONTRIBUTIONS ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

# ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director

ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

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January 4, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

How are you and the new job? As this letter will indicate, we miss you already around here, but things are going on. Thus far, so good.

Enclosed herewith are the quarterly income tax statements, prepared by Mr. Honeycutt, and several checks, all which need your "John Hancock." If you will notice, the checks are dated January 8. Being the procrastinator that you are, I wanted to give you "plenty" of time. (Smile)

This Eastern Airlines statement came, and I didn't know what to do with it. Are we suppose to pay the amount given? If so, please sign the blank check that is enclosed, and I will take it from there.

I found out today that no bank deposit for withholding taxes is made for the last month of the quarter. You neglected to tell me this. It is a good thing I can read!

Mr. Honeycutt and I got together on the posting, financial statements, etc. About the change in our fiscal year, he said the District Director wouldn't change it, and it has to be done in Washington. He got the forms, but since it was so involved, he just let it go, but would pursue it further if we so desired. I DON'T MAKE ANY DECISIONS! I left it at that and told him we would let him know. What is the score on that issue now?

So many enclosures! Thought I'd include your W-2 Form and save the Council 5¢. I'm learning.

I think that's about it. If you will sign all the forms and return them to us, we will get this show on the road. I promise to write sensible letters with no responsibilities the next time. Maybe.

The memberships are coming in nicely. We have received $99 in two days, all memberships. Several of those IMPORTANT letters that Nat Welch sent out were returned. The persons had moved and left no forwarding address.

Gone, but not forgotten. That is not meant to sound as deadly as it appears.

Sincerely,

Lillie L. Rogers

Lillie L. Rogers

Enclosures

January 5, 1966

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
308 Bibbs St.
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Dear Dr. Gomillion:

I was not sure after talking to you whether you intended to notify the members of the Nominating Committee of your meeting after the Executive Committee meeting or wanted me to do it. Not alllof the members of the Nominating Committee are on the Executive Committee. Dr. Oliver Ivey and Mrs. John Cashin would have to be invited.

I think it would be perfectly all right to have either or both attend the Executive Committee meeting itself. I will assume that you are taking care of the notices yourself unless I hear from you.

Sincerely,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

January 5, 1966

Mrs. Lilli Rogers
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
2809 Governors Drive, SW
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Dear Mrs. Rogers:

I appreciate your cheerful letter and I am glad to know that I am missed. I am also hurt that things are going so well without me!.

I have signed the checks and the tax forms as requested and they are enclosed. I have already written to Bob to say that any two signatures on those checks will make them valid (Howie, Jane's, and Joan's - any two).

Eastern Airline's bill is my responsibility and I'll take care of it.

As for the possible change in the fiscal year, I suggest that question be left for the new director to decide whenever he gets there.

News that the membership is coming in is encouraging but I hope that money starts coming in even faster in the near future.

Please note that I am answering your letter promptly. However, as a fellow Presbyterian I trust that you

believe the doctrine of procrastination.

My deepest sympathy to Benny.

Cordially yours,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

**FOR YOUR INFORMATION**

file

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

January 20, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : Local Council Presidents and Committee Chairmen

From : Bob Valder

Subject: Summer Projects for Student Volunteers

The Southern Regional Council is considering recruiting college students for summer work projects. They are contemplating offering a variety of projects from which a student can select the one for which he feels himself best suited. If and when funds become available, a modest honorarium will be awarded at the completion of the project.

They are attempting at this time to compile a list of summer projects. If you are interested in getting students for a summer project, please send me the following information within 7 to 10 days:

(1) A brief summary of the proposed project.

(2) The number of student volunteers needed.

(3) Whether or not the local chapter can furnish room and board to the volunteers.

Might I suggest that interested persons consult with the local council president before contacting us.

Thank you for your assistance and interest.

Ala-General

BERKOWITZ, LEFKOVITS, VANN, PATRICK & SMITH
FOURTEENTH FLOOR
CITY NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

January 26, 1966

COPY

Mr. Robert E. Smith, President
The Southern Courier
622 Frank Leu Building
79 Commerce Street
Montgomery, Alabama 36104

Re: Agreement between The Southern Educational Conference, Inc. and Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

Dear Mr. Smith:

We have been informed by Mr. Bob Valder, Associate Director for our client, the Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc., that the deletion of Paragraph 11 from the Agreement previously submitted to you is satisfactory to our clients. I have revised the agreement by retyping Page 3 and omitting therefrom Paragraph 11. I believe now with the signature of an authorized officer of your organization which can be witnessed, we can conclude this matter. I am enclosing herewith the original and one copy of the revised agreement which bears the signature of J. Edwin Stanfield, for our clients. If you will now sign and return the original to our office, it would seem the matter can be concluded.

I am sure that with the mutual interests of your organization and the Alabama Council on Human Relations that a satisfactory working arrangement can be established without difficulty. If there are further questions, or if I might be of further assistance, please call on me.

Yours very truly,

ERSKINE SMITH

ES/vst

Enclosures

cc: Mr. Robert S. Valder
Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield

January 28, 1966

Mr. Erskine Smith
Berkowitz, Lefkovits, Vann, Patrick & Smith
Fourteenth Floor
City National Bank Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Erskine:

Thank you for the copy of your January 26 letter to Bob Smith. I am sorry that you were put to this extra trouble over an inconsequential matter.

Please be assured of my own appreciation and gratitude for your help. I am sure this speaks for the Alabama Council, too.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

cc: Robert Valder

January 28, 1966

Mrs. William D. Spears
265 Cary Drive
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Nancy:

I called O.E.O. here again today and finally got a Miss Carol Clancy (526-4501) who seemed to be in charge of your application #3184. She knows of nothing lacking, but can only say that we can expect funding "soon".

By the way, judging from remarks by O.E.O. Regional Director Wilson Sloan at a Southern Interagency Conference meeting here, you probably would have difficulty getting another Headstart grant without a Community Action Program. They want to use "single purpose" groups to pressure the city-and-county fathers.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

# program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA

file

January, 1966

## HAPPY NEW YEAR!

The staff of the Georgia Council joins your Board of Directors in wishing you an exciting, rewarding, successful 1966!

## NEW LOOK IN THE LEGISLATURE

After many years of waiting, Monday morning at 10 o'clock January 10, 1966, an integrated gallery in the Capitol will look down upon a Senate with two Negro Senators, Mr. Leroy Johnson and Mr. Horace Ward and in the House we will see our Board member and past Chairman of the Columbus Council, Mr. Albert Thompson, our Atlanta friends and members, Mrs. Grace Hamilton, Mr. Julian Bond, Mr. Ben Brown, Mr. John Hood, Mr. J. C. Daugherty, Rev. J. D. Grier, Mr. William Alexander. Indeed there is a new day in Georgia.

Plan to visit the legislature. Come early to get a seat on the first day. The session will last 40 days. Usually Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays are more interesting than Friday and Monday. At the beginning of the session, the mornings will be better than the afternoons, since often the House or Senate adjourns in order to have time for afternoon committee meetings. Follow the papers for Legislative news, write your representative, come to Atlanta and see for yourself.

## CALLING ALL WOMEN

Come to the Georgia Woman's Legislative Forum. The Council is a member, so you are invited. The Forum is an organization of women interested in learning about and influencing legislation. The meetings will be held each Tuesday morning at 9:30 A.M. in the Agriculture Building starting on January 18, January 25, February 1, 8 and 15th. On January 18th, the group will hear legislators talk about the proposed legislation affecting education. This is of tremendous importance to the future of our children. Come and learn!

## SLOW-DOWN IN REGISTRATION

Georgia is setting a new record — a new low-one that will dishearten every Council member. Georgia has the slowest rate of Negro registration of any Southern state since the passage of the Voting Rights Act last July. Our State also has one of the largest percentage of unregistered Negroes. Why? Can it be because we have not had federal registrars? The Council has requested them. But the Justice Department says that they have received complaints only from Baker County. Does this mean that all of the other counties have free access to registration? Council members need to take a new look at their voting lists as they plan their Spring activities.

## EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was established by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It went into business July 2, 1965 "to assure that all in the labor market in the United States are considered for hiring, firing, promotion, and seniority on the basis of their abilities and qualifications without regard to race, color, religion, sex, or National Origin."

The Commission received 1,383 complaints charging discrimination in employment practices in its first 100 days of operation. Of these, only 33 came from Georgia. North Carolina sent in 131, Alabama 135, Mississippi 68. Complaints may be made against the employer, or against a union, or against the State Employment Service.

Do you KNOW what is happening in your town? When an employer says 'No one has applied' is this a valid reason? If he says 'No one is qualified' do you know that this is correct?

Send complaints to this office or directly to: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Equal Employment Opportunity Comm., Washington, D. C. 20506.

## START SCHOOL DESEGREGATION NOW

Right now is the time to get the information and start planning for next Fall's school integration. The time to end tokenism in Georgia schools is now. Our office has prepared a county by county report on integration and the time to apply for transfer. Write to us and we'll be glad to send one to you. We suggest that you visit your school superintendent and ask him a few questions:

(a) When is the period of transfer? (Some are indefinite and some are as early as February 1). (b) How do you get and return transfer blanks? (c) Will there be teacher integration next Fall?

If you are not satisfied with the answers call us, or call or write: Dr. David Seeley, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C. His telephone number is Wo.2-0756, area code 212.

While you are talking with the superintendent, ask him about the children who are now in school. How are they doing; are they participating fully in classroom and extra curriculum activities; in what ways can your local Chapter be of help? As you plan for the Fall, remember that there is safety in numbers, both for the children and for their parents.

## VINE CITY THANKS LAGRANGE CHAPTER

What a wonderful array of gifts for the Vine City Thrift Shop! Many people have purchased for a few cents, the needed clothing, toys or household items. Our warmest thanks to the LaGrange Chapter for responding so generously to the request. Thanks also to the many individuals who made useful contributions.

## WELCOME TO THE SOUTHWEST GEORGIA CHAPTER OF THE GEORGIA COUNCIL

Seventy-six persons were present at the Episcopal Church in Albany, Georgia for its first meeting on December 6. A second meeting was held December 29 in Tifton. The steering committee is composed of volunteers from 7 Southwest Georgia counties. Memebers from our 14 Chapters and members at large welcome you into the Council family!

## AMERICUS, AMERICUS

We grieve with our friends at Koinonia over recent news from Americus. Several members of Koinonia went to church in Americus to hear Mrs. Henry's father speak at a regional meeting. As the congregation sang Christmas hymns, the Negro in the group was ordered to leave the church. Neither Mrs. Henry nor her friends heard her father's sermon. The Koinonia 'cotton patch' version of Luke 13: 34,35 says:

"O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, you who crush the life out of your men of God, and ostracize those who try to show you a better way, many a time I've wanted to bring your citizens together as a hen gathers her biddies under her wings, and you would have none of it. All right, your city's future is left up to you. But I'll tell you this: you won't see me around again until you're crying out, 'Please, God, send us some spiritual leadership.'"

# A CHRISTMAS DREAM

This Christmas, I am dreaming
About a place I'll never forget -- AMERICUS.
I am dreaming that it is Christmas Sunday;
It is the most beautiful Sunday in all the South.
THE WHOLE TOWN IS GATHERED IN FRIENDSHIP BAPTIST CHURCH!

After the main part of the service is over,
Rev. Thomas leads us in singing,
"Amazing Grace, How Sweet It Sounds".
Because it is our movement church, and we are rejoiced,
Willie Mae leads us in "We Shall Overcome."
There is an electricfeeling of ecstatic joy in the air....

Old wealthy Charles Wheatly slowly rises,
"I've come here today, y'all, this Christmas, 1965,
'Cause I just can't go on living the way I have:
I've tried to rule little Americus,
From the mayor to the moonshine maker.
I want to confess that this summer past
I did way too much,
To keep the merchants from hiring y'all
And a Bi-racial Committee from forming at all!
All generations of Wheatlys tried to rule this town,
But justice has been coming, it's nearly '66.
And I've too few years left to hate!"

"Amen, yes brother", responds the congregation.

Before the surprised faces of the town,
Sheriff Fred Chappell rises to respond.
His huge form shakes, his face, as usual, is very red.
"I'll never beat another in yonder courthouse,
The drinking fountains will stay on, the door unlocked,
We'll all meet together in the old courthouse!
I was the one this summer who kept
The Negro women voters under arrest.
I was too damn proud to let white folks think
I'd be the first to give in to VOTING INTEGRATION!"

"Amen, yes brother."

Then, puffing, rises Police Chief Ross Chambliss.
"We on the police force just felt we HAD to win,
I confess we committed a terrible sin.
On August 28, when y'all were marching up Lee Street,
We broke into a rage and arrested y'all
For marching without a permit for parades and ordinances.
We knew, uh, you were on the sidewalk, not the street,
And the constitution supports your right to protest.
But the wicked thing called "hate" broke lose,
And we threw y'all in Lee County prisons."
Then others rise, like the manager of Kresses:

"I knew Gloria Wise was right when she said
'you'll lose all Negro business for not hiring'.
I know we cursed y'all when you picketted for the boycott,
But we were blind to the fact, I guess,
That you're OVER HALF OUR POPULATION!"

Suddenly, a tall blond youth breaks in,
"Let me speak for all us white folks,
I guess I'm the worst of all.
I know that hate killed my brother, Andy Whatley,
Possibly by the Negro youths last August.
It is the same growing hate
That made me try to kill John, the white civil rights worker.
Every night we'd come in my car and wait,
And then chase him and shoot at him on the winding roads.
This same hate made all of us beat and chase you in the last marc
So you'd never march again.
I'm still young, and I want to start a new LIFE.
I've expressed as much hate as I possibly can, and
I have nothing left but to love my black brother,
For we all are in poverty and without decent jobs."

Then Mayor Walker rises:
"I have some news to greet y'all,
For Warren Fortson and Lloyd Moll shall return!
We must prove to them that we can accept them
As the best and most honest folks in town,
And hope they can forgive us
For excluding them from the human race!
We need Fortson for our lawyer;
Dr. Moll can unite us all
To revive the now dormant anti-poverty council.
Most of all, we need the guidance of these humanitarians."

"Amen, yes brother", responds the congregation.

Minnie Jewel Wise rises, her dark eyes flashing,
"I trully believe now what I hear,
For you are not merely coming to us with promises,
But asking forgiveness for your sins.
I've done hard things:
I've survived the blows, frustrations, and humiliations.
With those that dare to attend white schools.
I speak now for my mother, worn out from scrubbing kitchens,
For teacher and Rev. Freeman, who did not, after all,
Get fired for standing up for his rights; For Rev. Campbell,
who led the past eventfull summer, For Sammy Mahone, of SNCC,
who said, "Never Turn Back", And never did.
If this love will trully exist, as you now say, Then let
Americus citizens ask forgiveness, If they EVER think ill of
one just 'cause he's black or white. Most of all we'll show
the world what TRUST AND LOVE CAN BRING."

In the congregation, there was a moment of grateful silence.
Then all stood to sing the glorious hymn,
"JOY TO THE WORLD, THE LORD HAS COME!"

February 1, 1966

Mr. Robert F. Smith
The Southern Courier
Frank Lew Building
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is a check for a subscription to the Courier. Please have it sent to me as follows:

J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

I hope that the matter of the contract with the Alabama Council is straightened out. Would you let me know?

Maybe I'll see you at the Alabama Council membership meeting on Saturday.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

February 7, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

RE: Alabama Council, Annual Meeting, February 4-5 1966

The annual meeting of the Alabama Council was held in Montgomery, February 4 and 5, in the Jefferson Davis Hotel. It was preceded by a conference for students. See attached program.

About 75 students participated in the Friday evening program. An estimated 200 people were present for the annual meeting. (160 luncheons were served, but some students and others ate elsewhere.)

Attached is a report on ACHR's membership funding campaign. Memberships received during the meeting brought the total for the 1966 membership year to 771 $14,603.14 in cash and pledges (exclusive of all grants) had been received by the end of the meeting. Note that the report shows approximately $6,500 cash already received.

All of the attached exhibits indicate to me that Bob Valder is doing an excellent administrative job. I thought he conducted himself well during the meeting, too.

By a telegram received Saturday morning, James Sessions declined to accept directorship of the Alabama Council.

Dr. C. G. Gomillion was elected president by acclamation.

Leaders of the East Alabama Council were especially concerned about developments in Tuskegee. It seems that there may be some division within that council chapter about whether or not the council should support the "Rd Hoc Committee," which is dominated by TIAL and SNCC. (During a workshop on voter education on Saturday morning three members of TIAL who were present heaped scorn on Dr. Gomillion, who was on the panel, designating the TCA as an organization of the "Negro bourgeois."

Lewis Black was introduced as Director of the Rural Advancement Project. He begun officially on February 4. (A satisfactory budget has been submitted, and I am ordering payment of the first quarter of the R.A.P. grant to Alabama.) Of continuing concern is the attitude of NSF, as represented by Jac Wasserman, toward their program and its director. Valder, Black, Wasserman, and I met briefly Saturday evening. Wasserman reiterated their "usual practice" of requiring weekly reports - a paragraph or two on each day's use - of "all our field men." Valder stood his ground, but finally agreed to a bi-weekly report "for the first couple of months." This disagreement was mildly upsetting to Black. I reassured him that he did <u>not</u> have to answer to NSF. (He indicated that he has little enough regard for NSF.)

February 14, 1966

Mrs. James Wood
4100 Ridgelawn Drive
Mobile, Alabama 36608

Dear Kathie:

Sorry we didn't get more of a chance to talk in Montgomery. The letter that you sent Paul about your plans for an active recruitment campaign in Mobile sounds great. I am now on the staff of AFSC as a field representative, in the school desegregation project. I will be working primarily in Alabama.

As the first step in our Alabama program we plan to hold a one day conference in Montgomery on March 12th to acquaint people with the new guidelines and talk about how you organize most effectively in a local community. A staff person would be available after this date to come to Mobile and hold a training session for your home visitors.

We would also like to invite anyone in the Mobile area who is interested in school desegregation to come to the Montgomery conference. Could you send me a list of names? We will be glad to send you copies of the phamplet. Let me know how many you want. We are now updating the kit we used last year and hope that it will be ready in the next few weeks.

If I could have the list of people you would like invited to the Montgomery conference this week it would be a help. We hope to get out our first mailing next week. This conference will be co-sponsored by SCLC, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and others.

Sincerely

Winifred Falls

4100 Ridgelawn Drive
Mobile, Alabama 36608
February 6, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

I feel quite guilty at not having written you sooner to thank you for coming down and making our membership dinner such a success. We would never have had such a crowd were it not for your having been there. We acquired 47 new members that night and 55 renewals, not to mention over $900 in pledges. (Larry Fetterman would like to borrow Powers for the United Jewish Appeal.)

We must start very soon recruiting applications for school transfer. About twenty adults have signed as willing to work on this, plus the students to do the preliminary leg work. We would like to give the home visitors some training before sending them out and we wondered if the SRC or the American Friends Service Committee was doing anything in this area. I saw Winifred Falls in Montgomery Saturday but did not really have a chance to speak to her about it. If we could have someone for a day, or even part of a day, it would be of great help.

We would also like many copies of A Message to Parents About Desegregation: enough for the students to leave a copy at each home showing any interest on their preliminary survey so that the parents (hopefully) will have read it before we make our initial home visit. Does the SRC distribute the folders, or should I write the American Friends Service Committee? We will be most grateful for any help or information you can give us.

I am sorry that what started out to be a thank-you note turned out to be a plea for still more help but now that you have gotten us all our fine new members we need you (i.e. the SRC) to help put them to work most effectively. (Just think how much you would have been spared had you never gotten involved with ABLE!)

Thank you for everything. I don't know what we would do without you and the SRC.

Sincerely,

Kathis ——— ?

Ala-General

March 4, 1966

In reply please refer to:
ALA-CAP-66-3184

Mrs. Nancy S. Spears
Director
Lee County Headstart - Follow-through
265 Cary Drive
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Mrs. Spears:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 18, 1966, concerning the application for a follow-through Head Start program in Lee County.

The information you supplied in the letter and the enclosed CAP Forms and attachments appears to be complete and in good order. Your application is in the final stages of review, and we expect to complete processing in the near future.

If the staff of this office can be of any further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely,

John Dean
Acting Regional Manager
Community Action Program

WSchucker:ble

cc: Mr. Robert Valder, Associate Director
Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Mr. Ralph Swafford

$250.00

Macon County Community Action Child Day Care Center

122 West Northside

Tuskegee, Alabama 36083

Emergency assistance to Poverty
Program project.

July 15, 66

J. Edwin Stanfield

SELF-DEVELOPMENT BOARD INC.

file Ark - Correspondence, General

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

8 August 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

The Executive Committee has decided to continue our present life and health insurance plans. Thank you very much for the information on the SRC group plan.

Sincerely,

Carole I. Taylor

Carole I. Taylor
Secretary

OFFICERS – FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN
REVEREND A. M. ROBERTS, JR., TREASURER • MRS. FRANK N. GORDON, SECRETARY
STAFF – NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

August 19, 1966

Mr. Roger L. Kelley
311 Brookwood Drive
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Mr. Kelley:

My wife and I very much enjoyed meeting you and attending the meeting on Tuesday evening.

I do not know how you figure the expenses, so let me say simply that I drove my car 289 miles roundtrip, that the motel single-person rate is $8.24, and that my breakfast was $1.00. Please make the check payable to Southern Regional Council.

I look forward to seeing you again from time.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

fito

RECEIVED

AUG 8 1966

August 8, 1966

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Director, Voter Education and Registration
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Mrs. Spears indicated your desire for a letter confirming our telephone conversation and hers later with you. Please consider this in fulfillment of same: We have announced in the local newspaper your coming address on "Social Justice 1966" (I think the title will leave you considerable leeway in most regards) at 7:30 p.m., Tuesday, August 16, in the Education Building of the First Presbyterian Church. Although you need not feel tied to any particular time limit, most of our talks have consisted of a 45-75 minute presentation followed by a 15-30 minute discussion period. Yours would be the last of a summer series sponsored jointly by the East Alabama Council on Human Relations and the American Ethical Union, the preceding lectures having dealt with a variety of themes relevant to social change (ethics and politics, issues in education, recent South African history and race relations, religious liberty). Your audience may run from thirty to sixty persons, mostly members of the East Alabama Council, and of course integrated. Racists have been known to attend our lectures, but unfortunately not frequently.

Your travel expenses, including meals and lodging, will be fully reimbursed upon submission of voucher. I regret that we cannot offer an honorarium, but our budget is extremely limited. I have made reservations for you at the University Motel. If you do not plan to stay overnight, please let me know so that I may cancel them. Also I hope that you can arrive in Auburn early enoughtto join members of the EACHR board in a dinner in your honor at 6:00 p.m. prior to the meeting. Again, please let us know if this is not feasible. (The dinner will also be at the University Motel and Restaurant in downtown Auburn, on College St. a half-block north of Magnolia St.)

Should you fly in and require transportation from Columbus, please advise.
With warm expectations next week,

Sincerely yours,

Roger L. Kelley

Roger L. Kelley
Ed. Chmn., EACHR
311 Brookwood Drive
Auburn, Ala. 36830
887-6897

PS thanks for the photo for publicity

ATL 39276

B'fast $2.00 (Valdez)

Motel $12.04

~~$7.88~~ Ang(e)

ATL 39565

39276

289

.08

2312

file

August 19, 1966

Mr. Jerry Roden
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Jerry:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $2,250.00, which is the quarterly payment on the Southern Regional Council's expanded-aid grant to the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Please sign the enclosed receipt copy of this letter and return it to me at your convenience.

Thanks to you and Bob for the good reports.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Enclosures

file

August 29, 1966

Mr. Jerry Roden
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Jerry:

Congratulations on another good newsletter.

In particular, the plan for organizing new chapters is encouraging. I am convinced that all it takes for an organization to grow is a little plan, a little system.

Sorry I missed seeing you when we were in Auburn. What's the big idea of paying attention to your family, taking a vacation, and all that sort of goof-off stuff?

Best wishes,

Ed Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/km

August 31, 1966

file

The Reverend William A. Yon
521 North 20th Street
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Mr. Yon:

Oron South tells me that you could come to Atlanta on the afternoon of September 6 for a conversation about the sort of communications conferences you and he have had in Alabama. I do hope that you can come.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Enclosure

LPA

MLM - file

September 12, 1966

PERSONAL

Mr. Jerry Roden, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Jerry:

Although I'll see you this weekend, let me go on record as being sorry, but sympathetic, about the news in your September 2 letter. It is annoying but, as far as I am concerned, not disconcerting. ACHR will still have the benefit of your advice and counsel, I gather, only at less cost and less length -- which of course is all to the good. (Joke.)

Two concerns: (1) I hope no one on the Board will feel that they got finessed. And (2) I hope nothing about this has changed your mind about coming on strong as Executive Director next June.

Tell Bob we'll be expecting him for the meeting on September 21 and 22. The interagency meeting is open but not vital to state council folks.

And I hope the American Psychological Association meeting was constructive.

All the best,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:mlm

Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

JERRY RODEN, JR., Executive Director

LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project BOB VALDER, Associate Director

PA
ES

September 2, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ed:

It occurs to me that I had better apprise you now of my exact situation rather than waiting until we get together at the seminar. The super-patriot inclinations of the wife of our graduate dean, which I mentioned at our last meeting in Atlanta, resulted in the Dean's finding it necessary to tell me his detailed interpretation of regulations governing recipients of NDEA fellowships during the time that they are receiving stipends. (He also exhibited a rather special interest in what I have been doing during the summer months when I haven't been receiving the stipend). He finally said that he was satisfied if I could satisfy the English Department Head that other interests would not prevent me from devoting the proper attention to my English studies during the next nine months, but before doing that he did rule specifically that part-time work with the Alabama Council does not qualify for the "related work" for which NDEA regulations permit pay during one-fourth of the final year on fellowship. This ruling applies only to the nine-months in school; I did not have to ask anyone about this summer. Then the Dean went further and said that any evidence of "excessive" volunteer work would also be construed as a failure to fulfill requirements placed on an NDEA fellow. The English Department Head proved less difficult to satisfy--he knows my academic work much more intimately than the Dean; and his wife doesn't have such strong super-patriotic inclinations as the Dean's.

I fear that the implications of all this are all too clear. I never had any intention of slighting my school work, but I will not be as free to devote spare-time openly to the Council as I thought. The matter of no pay for the work that I will do does not bother me, for I had not included any such anticipated income in my budget. But the fact that I must emphasize the tentativeness of my official commitment to the council irritates me and will hamper me during this period coming up. That fact means that on occasions such a Mrs. Tilly's program that Bob must act as the top staff person for the Alabama Council. It also means that after the next directors' meeting Bob will have to attend as director--I hope you all will consider him as such for the purpose of sharing expenses.

None of this means that I am going to take a powder, or that I am going to neglect keeping an eye on things. Nor does it mean that

Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

JERRY RODEN, JR., Executive Director

LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project BOB VALDER, Associate Director

I will not be actively engaged in planning and conducting State Board meetings and the annual meeting for Alabama. I maintained to Dean Parker that even a graduate student ought to be considered fulltime if he devotes ~~xxxxxx~~ six days a week to study and does whatever he wishes with the seventh. He didn't disagree. But I do have to stick rather strictly to that ratio, and it does seem wisest that I do my volunteer work as quietly as possible. Thank heavens, nine-months is not forever.

By the way, a memorandum from Paul's office about the interagency meeting preceding our directors' meeting suggests with a note of urgency that we have our organization represented. Bob and I had felt that with all the pressing problems here we could pass up the interagency bit if we made the other. Not so?

Sincerely,

Jerry

Jerry Roden, Jr.

P.S. Our local chapter chairman is absent for a week to attend the American Psychological Association annual meeting with her husband. Figured you might appreciate this good omen as much as I do, since we both hold this couple in high esteem.

September 14, 1966

Mr. Jerry Roden, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Jerry:

Will you bring to the meeting on Saturday about six copies each of the ACHR pledge cards, membership application cards, multiple-copy receipt forms I devised for keeping a record of pledge payments? I want to use these in preparing for drives in Louisiana and North Carolina.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield

JES:mlm

Ala. General

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

November 11, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

From : Lewis Black and Bob Valder

Subject: Summary report on and evaluation of the Voter Education Project's citizenship education grant to the Alabama Council on Human Relations for the 1966 Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) elections in Alabama.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Contrary to established procedure the state ASC committee decided to hold Alabama's elections in August instead of the usual time of November or December. We did not learn of this decision until mid-June, so by the time we got "organized" and received the VEP grant valuable time had been lost. Thus results from this effort should not necessarily be used to reach conclusions about future citizenship education programs of this nature because we were unable to do much pre-election education and because the program was of necessity organized on a "crash" basis.

The original date for mailing back the ASCS ballots was August 16. However, a federal district court ordered an extension of this deadline to September 15 with ballots to be counted by the county ASC committees on September 20. On the 20th, due to a failure to follow important regulations, the Macon County election was invalidated. The re-election was begun two weeks later and it was completed on October 28, 1966. So this project, which was to be completed by about September 20 lasted almost two months longer than anticipated.

GENERAL SUMMARY OF OVERALL OPERATIONS

We did not get started at the same time in each county we ended up working in, nor did we spend equal amounts of money and energy in each county. Our general approach was to put one person (the "county coordinator") from that particular county on subsistence of $15.00 a week and to also pay gas expenses for him and any volunteers he had working for him. The counties we worked in were Choctaw, Clarke, Dallas, Greene, Hale, Lowndes, Macon, Marengo, Monroe, Perry, Sumter and Wilcox. However, VEP funds were spent only in Dallas, Greene, Hale, Lowndes, Macon, Marengo, Perry, Sumter and Wilcox counties.

At first we had the full-time hel of Mr. Mike Kenney of the National Sharecroppers Fund and then Mr. Le Black became the overall "coordinator" of this effort working out of th SCLC's office in Selma and his office in Greensboro. We had full- e "coordinators" in only Greene, Lowndes, Macon and Wilcox counties n part-time coordinators in the other five counties.

In addition to working in these counties a number of "staff meeting" were held in Selma--the staff being the persons working in the counties. The two main purposes of these meetings were to determine how the program was going in each county and to offer suggestions and receive ideas from each person present. At the last meeting Mr. John Vance, Southeastern Area Director of ASCS from the Washington office, was present.

On September 20, the day ballots were counted, Mr. Black was in the Selma office to receive all complaints by telephone from the observers we had stationed in each of the 12 counties (for the first time the public was entitled to have one person sit at the desk where ballots were counted and actually watch each ballot--in the past the public was only allowed to be in the same room). If he thought it appropriate he would forward these complaints immediately by phone to Mr. Vance who was in the state ASC office in Montgomery on that day. Mr. Vance would then contact the appropriate county office. This system resulted in Macon County's election invalidation that day and also proved to be useful in other counties.

In every case the activities of the county coordinator included the following: (1) obtaining a list of all the eligible ASCS voters in that county; (2) obtaining a list of all candidates on each ASCS community ballot; (3) obtaining the boundaries of each of the ASCS communities in each county; (4) organizing community meetings in each ASCS community to (a) explain in detail the importance and power of the county ASC committee and (b) carefully explain the election process and how to properly mark and mail the ballots and (c) endorse a slate of five candidates from among those on the ballot and (d) urge each person at the meeting to contact all voters not present to insure that everyone voted for the same persons and filled out the certification properly; (5) spending many days going door-to-door to as many voters as time permitted to make sure they had voted (if they had not voted they would attempt to persuade the voter to fill out his ballot voting for the same five persons, sign the certification properly and then the worker would either take the completed ballot with him or else the worker would make sure the voter understood that he had to mail it) and (6) personally observing the counting process on the day votes were counted and to keep a record of any violations and of the election results.

In most of these counties the county coordinator was able to get the names of the voters' own choices on the ballot by petition, but lack of time and of community contacts prevented this in Macon County and in some of the ASCS communities in other counties. And in every county leaflets were distributed throughout the communities and announcements were made in the churches to explain what was going on, to call meetings and to inform people of who to vote for and how to sign the certification.

## STATISTICAL INFORMATION FOR EACH OF THE TWELVE COUNTIES*

| COUNTY | No. of eligible voters | No. of votes cast | No. of Negroes close to regular positions[1] | | Approx. % of Negro voters reached[2] | No. of Negroes winning positions 1965[3] | | No. of Negroes winning positions 1966[4] | | Number of ASCS Communities[5] | Number of Negroes on ballots | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CHOCTAW | 1,959 | 604 | 3(11) | 4(22) | 50 | 1 | (11) | 0(0) | 7(0) | 12 | 51 | 39 |
| CLARKE | 2,399 | 724 | 4(7) | 1(21) | 50 | 1 | (11) | 4(0) | 5(0) | 11 | 57 | 55 |
| DALLAS | 3,145 | 1,885 | 1(5) | 1(5) | 85 | 0 | (0) | 0(0) | 1(1) | 6 | 93 | 67 |
| GREENE | 1,777 | 1,016 | 1(12) | | 90+ | 0 | (1) | 1(1) | 1(1) | 8 | 163 | 89 |
| HALE | 2,193 | 1,003 | | | 40 | 0 | (0) | 0(0) | 0(0) | 5 | 56 | 35 |
| LOWNDES | 1,800 | 1,097 | 1(21) | 1(23) | 90+ | 3 | (8) | 3(3) | 4(4) | 6 | 159 | 55 |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible](2) | 1(22) | 75 | 0 | (10) | 3(1) | 4(2) | 5 | 35 | 40 |
| MARENGO | 3,029 | 1,490 | 1(6) | 2(23) | 50 | 0 | (16) | 0(0) | 16(2) | 10 | 63 | 68 |
| MONROE | 2,318 | 763 | 7(14) | 5(31) | 50 | 2 | (2) | 3(0) | 12(0) | 16 | 73 | 63 |
| PERRY | 2,003 | 1,134 | N. A. | | 60+ | 1 | (1) | 1(0) | 1(0) | 6 | 59 | 62 |
| SUMTER | 1,948 | 1,107 | | | 60 | 0 | (0) | 0(0) | 0(0) | 6 | 100 | 54 |
| WILCOX | 2,161 | 1,387 | 1(5) | 3(26) | 90+ | 3 | (9) | 7(6) | 7(5) | 7 | 60 | 65 |

* See Page 5 for footnotes.

1 The figures not in parenthesis indicate the number of alternates who came close to winning regular positions. The figures in parenthesis indicate how many additional votes the alternate who received the lowest number of votes needed to gain a regular committee position. In most cases where there is more than one alternate who came close to winning the other alternate(s) needed fewer votes than this to win regular positions.

2 These percentages are based in part on the number of votes Negro endorsees received plus a rough approximation based on attendance at meetings, interest and perhaps knowledge generated by word of mouth, notices distributed, knowledge of what kind of activities workers in the counties had going, etc.

3 The figure not in parenthesis indicates the number who won regular positions on community committees; the figure in parenthesis indicates the number who won alternate positions. For our purposes regular members are the important ones since they alone cast votes in the county convention.

4 The figures not in parenthesis represent persons winning regular and alternate positions respectively. The figures in parenthesis represent regular and alternate winners respectively who were placed on the ballotby petition, e.g., 4 (1) 10 (7) would mean there are four Negro regular members and one of them was placed on the ballot by petition and three were nominated to the ballot by the outgoing community committee and of the ten Negro alternates seven were placed on the ballot by petition and three by nomination. In Macon County one of the three winning regular positions and two of the four winning alternate positions were write-in candidates.

5 By taking the number of communities in a county and multiplying by three (the three regular members from each ASCS community go to the county convention to elect one ASC county committee member) one can determine how many more Negro regular community committee members would have been needed to have a majority of votes at the county convention and thus elect a Negro to the county ASC committee which is where the power is.

6 These figures are for 1965 and 1966 respectively. By dividing the number of candidates on the ballots by the number of communities one can obtain a relatively accurate picture of how many Negroes were on each community committee ballot. This illustrates one of our major problems--so many Negroes on the ballots that the Negro vote is easily split.

NOTE: There are no figures available giving the number of votes invalidated for lack of proper certification signature for either year. We believe most invalidated votes are Negro votes. If they are then the outcome in some elections would have almost certainly been different if all envelopes had been properly certified. We believe, however, that more envelopes were properly signed due to this project.

SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES

The chart below indicates the amount of money from the Voter Education Project grant spent in each county with an account of what it was spent for.

| COUNTY | SUBSISTENCE | GAS | SUPPLIES | TELEPHONE | SECRETARIAL | TOTAL BY COUNTY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dallas | | $ 3.55 | $ | | | $ 3.55 |
| Greene | $ 75.00 | 131.53 | $15.10 | | | 221.63 |
| Hale | | 13.50 | | | | 13.50 |
| Lowndes | 45.00 | 100.30 | | | | 145.30 |
| Macon* | 292.00 | 388.32 | 33.03 | | | 713.35 |
| Marengo | 15.00 | 6.97 | 6.67 | | | 28.64 |
| Perry | | 50.00 | 6.00 | $10.00 | | 66.00 |
| Sumter | 55.00 | 72.00 | | 10.00 | | 137.00 |
| Wilcox | 60.00 | 185.34 | 1.00 | 2.50 | | 248.84 |
| General Expenses | | | | 50.00 | $15.00 | 65.00 |
| TOTAL BY CATEGORY | $542.00 | $951.51 | $61.80 | $72.50 | $15.00 | $1,642.81** |

* Macon County's are much higher than elsewhere because we had three persons on subsistence and working full-time for an additional three weeks.

** A check for $7.19 (the unused portion of the grant) is enclosed.

## SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

In general everyone was very disappointed and somewhat surprised at the poor showing in this year's ASCS elections in Alabama, particularly in the Black Belt.

The results were somewhat better than last year and we had a late start and did not have adequate financial and human resources and the presence of civil rights organizations has diminished greatly in the past year. We also found that in general most eligible voters who were listed as such had very little knowledge of the importance of ASCS and of the election process. This was also true for the ASCS workers. By the time people began to understand it even a little the election was upon us and finished. Voters had almost no knowledge of how to use the election process to their own advantage, e.g., getting "good" candidates on the ballot by petition, publicly supporting those candidates only, supporting Negro candidates in all cases regardless of how "good" white candidates might be, etc. And everywhere we encountered resistance by many Negro voters to supporting an all-Negro slate.

ASCS regulations also helped contribute to the election results because as a result of these regulations there were many more than five Negroes on every ballot. In most cases there were five or less white persons on the ballot so an all-white vote for the white candidates and a Negro split added to the total votes received by white candidates and also subtracted from the total votes received by Negro candidates.

So in view of these facts perhaps we were expecting too much. But even the above facts do not in themselves explain why this effort had suchas surprisingly poor result. We were hoping to elect enough Negroes in at least some of the counties to have a majority in those county conventions. Obviously we did not come close to accomplishing this anywhere. Wilcox, which needed four more winners, was closest.

On the positive side however are these observations: (1) as a result of this effort many more persons are aware of the importance and understand the workings of ASCS, especially the election process and are hopefully looking forward to next year's elections; (2) many persons were trained this year in how to conduct a county-wide effort for next year; (3) gains, even if not nearly enough, were made in most of the counties; (4) a similar project next year, started weeks if not months before the election, with more money and more and better informed workers should have much better results. We think that the major benefit of this year's program, if indeed there were any major benefits, was that a few thousand persons were educated to the facts of ASCS. Perhaps a few comments about Macon County's elections will substantiate this last observation.

The fact that Macon County had, in effect, two elections this year illustrates what might happen there next year. We started working there after the deadline for placing persons on the ballot by petition had passed so we were "stuck with" those Negroes already on the ballot. In one community of the three we worked in a white candidate was endorsed during the first election, in another five Negroes were endorsed and in the third the people were so dissatisfied with the Negro candidates that they decided to write-in three Negroes and vote for two already nominated. Much work had already been done in the nature of calling community meetings to explain things and in using the month's extension from the federal court to canvass the county talking to and getting the completed ballots from persons who had not yet been contacted. In this extra month we had time to explain things to many persons.

Then on the day ballots were counted, September 20, our observers reported to Mr. Vance that the ASCS ballot boxes were neither sealed nor locked as required by ASCS regulations. So the election was invalidated. (It might be noted in passing that as a result of this the County Office Manager--a "bad" fellow--was suspended). However, they invalidated only that part of the election having to do with the improper handling of mailed ballots so we were not able to place other candidates on the ballots. So, perhaps unwisely, the communities (with our advice and consent) decided to try a write-in campaign, while endorsing those few "good" Negro candidates already on the ballot. Although the write-in effort, considered in its entirety, failed we believe that the results show that next year when we will be able to place the voters' own candidates on the ballot by petition we will win in each community.

All Negroes who won were those endorsed by the communities. In one community four out of the five winners were Negroes; the chairman of this committee is Negro (he received the most votes and was already on the ballot) and the other three who won were write-in candidates. In the second community one Negro won and only as a second alternate--he was already on the ballot. In the third community two Negroes already on the ballot came in third and fourth. Altogether we supported ten write-in candidates and only three of them won. But if only a few more voters (10 in one community and 15 in the other) had voted for the write-in candidates instead of for the candidates who did win all the write-in candidates would have won.

So perhaps this narration of what happened in Macon County, with the realization that a write-in is very difficult, plus the rest of this section of the report shows that this type of citizenship education effort can be very valuable but that for it to realize the objective hoped for a good deal of time is needed to educate people. And equally important is the fact that to have any impact on twelve or more counties much more money and many more people are needed.

And of course one can not discount the importance of the "Southern Way of Life" because of which some Negroes feel beholden (whether this is true in reality or not) to white persons and therefore refuse to vote for Negroes or at least for an all-Negro slate. And this problem is compounded by the fact that some Negroes who do not feel beholden have philosophic reasons for refusing to support an all-Negro slate of candidates.

Ala - General Correspondence

104 Cascade Avenue
Winston-Salem
North Carolina.

November 21, 1966.

Dr. H. W. Berry
Post Office Box 266
Normal, Alabama.

Dear Dr. Berry:

We regret that your nomination of students in Talladega, Tuscaloosa, and Huntsville, Alabama, has reached us so late. As of this time, we have a list of forty-five students selected from the hundreds nominated in September, October, and early November, with whom we have scheduled interviews. We selected them on the basis of their school records and their standing in achievement tests given by the school and given by us. It will be impossible for us to schedule any other interviews if we are to work within the time limitations imposed by prep school deadlines.

Next year, we expect to have another scholarship program, and we will leave a note in the files to notify you in late August or early September 1967.

Sincerely,

John Ehle
Consultant to the Stouffer Foundation.

JME:scg
cc: Mr. Edwin Stanfield - Southern Regional Council.

COPY

file Ala-Gen Corresp.

2/6/67
2200 E. Governors Dr.
Huntsville, Ala.

Dear Ed,

I am writing Ed Stanfield the minister and friend as I am bothered, bewildered, and mixed-up. I trust everybody some, many people a great deal, and try not to abdicate my judgment to anybody. You I trust & I feel you will be wise and discreet in whether or how you repeat any of what I am writing.

I have been very disturbed about my friend Jane Reed. I have had, and to a lesser extent still have, a deep emotional attachment there. Also I admire Jane. She's done a great deal and she's boosted and helped me plenty. I want to support her but am running into problems. She is hypercritical. I've been telling myself that she's usually right, that our society is usually too uncritical. On the other hand more and more I feel that she is sometimes destructive, that she is unduly inhibiting some people, that she fans the flames of hostility, & that she is cutting herself out of the leadership role and contribution her zeal deserves because people feel too threatened by what she might do to them or to somebody they might not want done in.

Then again I tell myself that I am just weak-kneed. Sometimes I'm too supportive of any and everybody on anything. Then maybe I'm jeolous of Jane and don't know it because I used to feel that I was backbone of the Huntsville Council. I resent her being involved up to the ears and not telling me all about everything. When she does tell me she tells me about villains and saints & I can't dig what the issues are all about. But I know how hard these things are too communicate, and with a job I just don't have time to be quite as deeply "in" as Jane does. When you came I deliberately withdrew from the Council. I did it because I respected your feeling that we should broaden the base. Frankly, I thought maybe you didn't appreciate me enough but I felt that we would get proper understanding of one another in the long run, and I'm willing to wait for long runs. Besides all that I was tired and needed a rest. I pitched in again because I saw with the church and with the Council that it wasn't easy to turn loose because its not easy to broaden the base when it comes to workers. Now I feel that I shall stay with things that concern me deeply but try to broaden the base and support and encourage others. For me it is hard to spend as much time cultivating the non-Unitarians because of lack of time and lack of common bond, but I shall try.

I am bothered that Jane has told several people that she runs the HRC Huntsville behind the scenes. Still, last year Don Ring wasn't really with it. It was a vicious circle of him being bypassed because he wasn't with it and him not being with it because he was bypassed. But that seems solved now with Joe Gannon, for whom I have great respect. I would have nominated Joe Wilson for Pres. since he was V.P. Jane cut him to ribbons with anybody with power to nominate. So maybe she was right though I wouldn't have done it. She would have let Joe Wilson & Don Ring disappear though and I'm trying to hang on to them. I think we need everybody.

I especially hate to loose any non-Unitarians. The point of this letter seems a bit hard to get to. Jane has been knocking Jerry Roden right along. I sensed that she was knocking the East Alabama group way back. Didn't know whether it was jeolousy, difference on issues, or all of that. I had thought Nat Welch was one of the good guys but she wasn't seeing it that way, & she was seeing more than I since I'm not on the board. I'm not on partly because I backed away sensing Jimerson didn't want me. Anyway, I feel that Jane may have intensified Valder's problem with Roden. Maybe she doesn't carry that much weight but she has carried an awful lot with me.

Now she is saying that Roden is getting out because he has to. She says, we have the board now. She means she thinks she has the board but actually she doesn't. But she can give them quite a line, one by one. Is it the right line?

I like both Bob Valder and Jerry Roden very much. I don't think Roden's had much time and has been distracted. I don't know whether its true that he may not carry his share of the load later. All I know about that is what Jane tells me.

I wanted to see Bob Valder step into the Director job. He has plenty to learn but seemed to me to be doing a good job and to be a good person. A person has to be pretty bad before I want to see him by-passed. I don't think Valder's bad at all. In Huntsville I thought the fact that he was Catholic was an advantage. The administrative hirarchy of Marshall Space Flight Center is Catholic. Talking to Marion Kent of Marshall once, we talked about Bob Valder and Marion Kent seemed to like him very much. People seemed to respect you very much and I never heard any criticism from people outside the Council of either you or Bob. It was all good.

My instinct has always been to support anybody on a job, but to oppose anybody on issues if thats the way I see it. Actually though it doesn't always work. I've found that you can't fight most people on too many issues without them eliminating you if you don't eliminate them. So I don't know. It seemed to settle down & I thought well its not too bad as long as Bob will stay on and find a good role for himself. After all Jerry will have a PHD and a southern accent. He's mighty good on a platform and in many ways.

Now I hear that Jerry's resigning. Not much have I heard about it. First I heard it was because of Auburn. After talking to Jerry it seems to be a problem of him not having the vote of confidence either from Valder or from many of us. If its that and he's a good man, I think he can eventually get the support he needs. Jane says Roden had to go, but she'll change her tune if he stays. Carolyn says both Valder and Roden are going. And I say, do we have to let this happen? Carolyn McCoy likes Roden and Valder and both of us are getting wary about Jane.

If politics make you ill they do me to. I wish I could see villains and saints but since I can't it makes me ill.

Why can't Roden and Valder have parallel jobs in the Alabama Council without one being over the other? It was a bad situation to have the full-time man the associate. Assuming Roden stays it will be a long time before there can be a good situation with Roden over Valder. The reverse might take even longer to work out. I've worked long enough to believe it takes time to work out job problems. Getting new men will probably take longer to work out right than working things out with these two.

Of course if both men really want to leave, or if one of them does, that's different. My intuition is that they're both good men & if I had any facts at all to back this up (I mean a few more than I have), I'd urge them both to stay.

Maybe the two men wouldn't even have to have the same ~~xxxxxx~~ headquarters. If that would be best it could work though. I'd like to see one in the Northern part of the state, one in the South, but with both ~~xxx~~ available sometimes all over. Roden could be director in charge of membership education, Valder could be director in charge of service projects, or something like that. Presumably both are tied to SRC anyway. Or Valder could be director of the Alabama Council, northern area and Roden could be director of the Council, southern area, and they could still cross lines on certain specialties.

Just between us the Atlanta staff has always seemed as ~~xx~~ big as NASA headquarters and I'm jeolous. Two area men in Alabama wouldn't be much relatively. Well, we have three don't we.

You're in position to have a better knowledge of the facts about the two men than I am. I'm inclined to like and want to keep them both. Much as I like her~~e~~ I don't trust Jane to call the tune. Perhaps she doesn't as much as she wants us to think, or as much as she thinks.

If you think both Roden and Valder should stay on in ~~xx~~ full time jobs with the Alabama Council then I think there is a good chance of your talking them into.that. I think the board will go along with any proposal you present. It seems to me that sticky problems could be avoided by setting up those three guys in parallel jobs reporting to somebody in Atlanta. I don't see one as director over the other in view of the past history of the situation. Someday when one of them leaves and a real apprentice is added then maybe a director.

I've seen the mammoth civil service juggle job structure. Can't we?

Jane has found dirt cheap office space in Huntsville that could work for the director of the northern area, or the director of service projects. Then the other director could move to Montgomery or farther south if there's a better spot. They could help the chapters more if they spread out.

Hastily,

Evelyn Falkowski

NASA would get more from me if I cared less about the HRC, so now to get back to Ceasar.

P.S. Jane has softened up toward Roden. She's always liked you. I'll bet you could talk both men into staying and the board into backing them. If thats the way you see it. Is it?

om of speech or of the press . . ." —1st Amendment, Bill of Rights, U. S. Constitution.

EE AMERICA

'GHAM INDEPEN

BIRMINGHAM'S NEXT DAILY PAPER INDEPENDENT.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA - FEBRUARY 1, FEBRUARY 8, 1967

# ORDERS SANCTION
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# Ala. Council On Human Relations Another Arm Of The "Radical Left"

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is probably the most important single left wing organization in this state. It is also one of the most carefully camoflaged and least understood (by the general public) organs of the left.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations receives its financial support and organizational directives from the Southern Regional Council on Human Relations in order to "encourage the development of action groups at state level: recruit and develop state leadership and seek to remold and articulate public opinion through the radio, press, speakers and publications..."

Records of the American Legion's Americanism Commission reveal that the past directors and presidents of the Southern Regional Council have held essentially the same offices in the Communist Southern Conference Educational Fund and/or the subversive Southern Conference on Human Welfare. (That is, they held the same offices in both organizations.)

All existing evidence indicates that the Southern Regional Council is controlled and directed by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an identified Communist front.

Dircetives laid down by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (with offices formerly located in New Orleans, now located in Louisville, Ky.) They are relayed through the Southern Regional Council to the Alabama Council on Human Relations where they are put into action by local members.

The Birmingham Chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations was organized by an assorted group of left wingers in 1956.

Meetings have been held in various places including the Chamber of Commerce Building, Miles College, the Negro Y.M.C.A; and more recentl the Center Street Congregatior al Church. (This same outf met last week at the white S Andrews Episcopal Church.)

The Dircetors of the Birm ingham Chapter of the ACH were listed in the Birmingha News, January 17, 1957. Th included Perry Daugherty, D Roger Hanson (a teacher at t University Medical Cente Robert Johnson, Dr. Beryl M Lasky, William Mitch (Mi has quite a long Commun front record. He is active the Jefferson County Mer Health Assn. and local la groups), Rev. J. L. Ware, F J. C. Wilson, Mrs. H. C. B ant, Peter Cowin, Juntine B ker, Dr. Fredrick Kraus (U tarian; teacher at the Univ sity Med. Center, and activ mental health) Mrs. James B tle, Arthur Shores and oth

On February 14, 1957, Alabama Council on Human

Continued on page 2

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## COMMUNISTS

Continued from page 1

mon man."

31. Belittle all forms of American culture and discourage the teaching of American history on the ground that it was only a minor part of the "big picture." Give more emphasis to Russian history since the Communists took over.

32. Support any socialist movement to give centralized control over any part of the culture -- education, social agencies, welfare programs, mental health clinics.

33. Eliminate all laws or procedures which interfere with the operation of the Communist apparatus.

34. Eliminate the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

35. Discredit and eventually dismantle the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

36. Infiltrate and gain control of more unions.

37. Infiltrate and gain control of big business.

38. Transfer some of the powers of arrest from the police to socail agencies. Treat all behavioral problems as psychiatric disorders which no one but psychiatrists can understand or treat.

39. Dominate the psychaitric profession and use mental health laws as a means of gaining coercive control over those who oppose Communistic goals.

40. Discredit the family as an institution. Encourage promiscuity and easy divorce.

41. Emphasize the need to raise children away from the negative influence of parents Attribute prejudices, mental blocks and retarding of children to supressive influence of parents.

42. Create the impression that violence and insurrection are legitimate aspects of the American tradition; that students and special-interest groups should rise up and use united force to solve economic, political and social problems.

43. Overthrow all colonial governments before native populations are ready for self-government.

44. Internationalize the Panama Canal.

45. Repeal the Connally reservation so the United States cannot prevent the World Court from seizing jurisdiction over nations and individuals alike.

***

How far along the road have the Communists traveled with their program? How much is our present policy contributing toward the fruition of these plans? Where is the malignancy erupting? What is The Truth About Selma? Who has motivated the Bedlam at Berkely?

## INTERVIEW

Continued from page 1

and docketed as the State of Alabama vs: George Azar, Criminal Case # 11585-N to be tried by Judge Johnson and prosecuted by Richmond Flowers.

Q. What happened to that case?

On August 2, 1964, US At-

## ALA. COUNCIL

Continued from page 1

lations elected C. G. Gomillion vice chairman. Gomillion has been associated with at least 14 Communist organizations and enterprises. He is also a "graduate" of the infamous Highlander Folk School.

Another interesting member of the Alabama Council on Human Relations in 1957 was Claude Williams, R.F.D Helena, Ala. (a white Baptist Minister).

Claude Williams, was featured in an article written by the expert on communism, Dr. J. B. Matthews, in the February, 1954 issue of American Mercury magazine. Dr. Matthews said that "Reverand Claude Williams was a member of the Communist party under the name 'John Galey."

Rev. Williams was director of the now defunct Peoples Institute of Applied Religion, an organization cited by the Attorney General as Subversive and Communist, and identified in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as one of the most vicious Communist groups in the United States. This organization was formerly located at 4105 1/2 3rd Avenue South, Birmingham, Alabama.

Williams' organization had as its objective the destruction of all legitimate religions. In a speech in New York on December 29, 1945 at the National Convention of the Institute, Rev. Williams said:

"Protestant church religion came into being to enhance the rise of capitalism. It proclaimed the divine right of property. It defied (sic) the kings of finance, the lords of commerce and the captains of industry. Today this church religion is directed by remote control from the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the offices of cartel imperialists. With these it has economic investments in the capitalist exploits of the whold world.

"The Peoples Institute of Applied Religion, therefore, goes beyond church religion of all kinds. It goes back to the class struggle basis of true religion. It defines, reclaims and acts upon the democratic dynamic of our Judaeo-Christian Heritage."

Rev. Williams was expelled from the Presbyterian church for heresy. According to a recent edition of The Worker, Rev. Williams was re-ordained as a minister in a Baptist church in Chicago. After the ceremony he returned to Helena.

Mrs. Clifford Durr (Virginia), of Montgomery was another of the founding members of the Alabama Council on Human Relations:

Virginia Durr's Communist front affiliations include: Southern Conference for Human Welfare, vice president; Southern Conference Educational Fund, member and vice chairman; National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, member of Committee; National Citizens Political Action Committee and others.

One of the goals of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is the smearing of local police forces. They spare no effort in the effort to ferrett our cases of "police brutality."

Members seek out persons in an effort to have them sign affidavits charging local police with acts of brutality.

Recently, members were given a number of these signed affidavits charging "police brutality.

## BAHAMAS

Continued from page 1

ingham headquarters. I have also requested definite and positive assurances that no civilian personnel will lose employment as a result of the inactivating order.

"I have always supported true economy and will continue to do so. But the inconsistency of these two actions makes me wonder whether the right hand of Mr. McNamara knows what his left hand is doing -- and whether, in fact, the Secretary of Defense is making any attempt to coordinate the two."

## GOP EYES

Continued from page 1

tional committeeman from Alabama, views the prospects with grave concern.

### A Groundswell

"There is a tremendous groundswell of support for Wallace's third party movement in Alabama," Chapman declared, and such a campaign would be extremely effective in the other Southern States simply because Wallace is conservative in most of his beliefs. I have warned the National Committee that he cannot be taken lightly."

The Alabama GOP committeeman added that Wallace would draw support from outside the South as well. "He is the outstanding personal campaigner I have seen since John Kennedy."

"I fear that Wallace will take more votes away from the Republicans than from the Democrats, because he'll get conservative votes that normally would go to the GOP," he said.

# Washington Report

BY JAMES B. UTT

On the first day of this session I introduced a Joint Resoution which would instruct the Federal Government to notify the United Nations that the United States will not honor U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia. The Resolution would also nullify Executive Order #11322 issued by the President on January 5, 1967, which orders observance of the sanctions.

Article I, Section 8, paragraph 3, of the United States Consitiution vests all authority over the regulation of trade solely in the Congress. The President's action in i this order, therefore, is u stitutional, since it was without specific Congres authority. If the Presi wants to authorize sanc he should first obtain th proval of the Congress.

The Constititional iss volved in this matter trans even the importance of th ter of Rhodesia. Congre too long has permitted i thority and prerogatives usurped by the Executiv Judicial Branches. If i mits this most recent i gression against its C tutional responsibilities, clearly be shirking its to the Nation.

The Executive Order based on the authority g the President under Sec of the United Nations P pation Act of 1945, which ed through the Congress bout thirty days, and I if the Members of th Congress knew the uni authority that Section 5 ed to the President. Section gives the Pre power, "notwithstandi provisions of any other to apply such sanctions U.N. Security Council m quest. This may invol prohibition of ecomonic tions between any foreign and persons under the diction of the United S and may include the proh of transportation and any of communication, inclu postal and telegraphic munciation, with any co Stiff penalties ($10,000 ten years in prison, or are provided for violation is a law which the Con should immediately repea mend to return these p to the Congress in acco with the Constitution.

The text of my Res follows:

Whereas the United N has acted illegally and i travention of Chapter 1 own Charter, which pr interference in the do affairs of sovereign n in ordering economic sa against Rhodesia;

Whereas the United is involved in a bloody terminable war in Viet N gainst an enemy that is supplied by Great Britain has refused our reques it cease doing busines the enemy that is killing ican boys every day;

Whereas the United has never sought eco sanctions from the Uni tions against its enemy Nam, and Rhodesia has r ed from engaging in tra Viet Nam;

Whereas the United trade with Rhodesia i best interests of this particularly in view of that such trade in the been two -to-one in o

Whereas the Rhodes laration, and deserves support of every Amer



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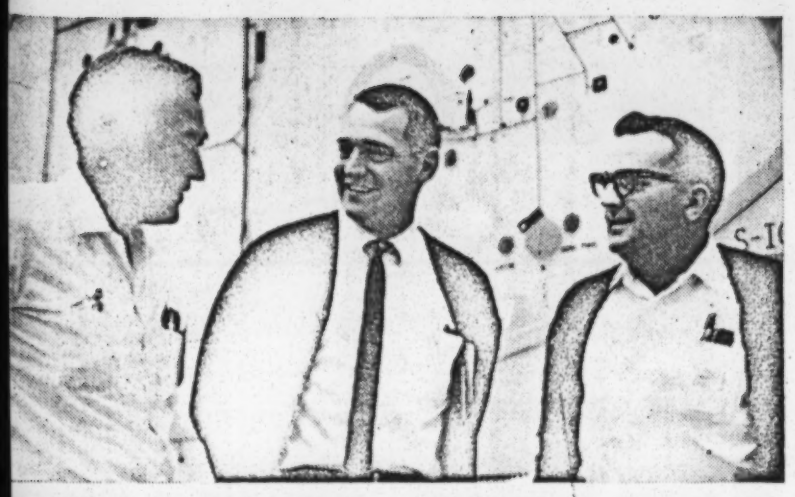

**TRONAUT AT MTF—Alabama Astronaut C. C. Williams, of bile (c) chats with Air Force quality assurance representatives rald Hunter (l) and Joe Morris at Marshall's Mississippi Test cility. Williams spent a day at MTF recently talking with engi- rs and technicians who have the responsibility of ground testing Saturn V flight hardware on which he may someday ride. The Force is performing quality assurance functions at MTF under cial arrangements with NASA. Williams visited the S-II Test trol Center and the S-II, A-2 test stand while at MTF.**

## SA To Buy 14 ta Top Stages

ontract for 14 upper stages e Delta launch vehicle will gotiated by NASA with the as Aircraft Co., Santa Moni- lif.

14 improved upper stages e modified to be mated with Thor first stages which plans to use in the Delta uration in 1968.

re have been 40 successful flights, which have launched unications, weather and sci- Earth satellites and Pio- eep space probes.

k on the estimated $15 mil- ontract will be performed Douglas Missile and Space s Division, Santa Monica,

## lund Is Named eyor Manager

ard Haglund has been manager of the Surveyor Office at the California In- of Technology's Jet Propul- aboratory.

und, formerly deputy pro- anager and spacecraft sys- anager for Surveyor, suc- Robert J. Parks.

s is returning to his for- mer position as assistant laboratory director for Lunar and Planetary Projects.

## New Employees

The Personnel Office has announced that 28 new employees were hired as of December 27. They are: Jamie D. Petty, Glenda Neal, Michael A. Spier, Doris J. Polk and Judith C. Hodges of Huntsville; Kenneth G. Weaver of Wedowee; William B. Waits of Oxford; James W. Alexander of Boaz; Austin C. Kellett, Jr. and Jerry Moncus of Gadsden; Thomas P. Webb, Wheeler Moore, Jr., Bradford C. Brightman and John B. Wall of Auburn; James W. Murrah of Scottsboro; Dennis Carlton Buckett of Montgomery; James Thomas Williams of Decatur; Michael L. Culver of Alabaster, Ala.;

Ronald D. Hitt of The Plains, Va.; Keith Alan Shivelly of Pinellas Park and Brent L. Harmon of Clearwater, Fla.; Joseph Frederick McGhee of Atlanta, Adlophus Bunkley of Warner Robins, William H. Hale, Jr. of Fort Valley and Mercedes J. Neves of Macon, Ga.; Dave Norman Rietveld of De Ruyter, N. Y.; James M. Koeleman, Jr. of Shreveport, La.; and Lucille H. Walker of Santa Monica, Calif.


The Marshall Star is published every Wednesday by the Public Affairs ce at the George C. Marshall Space Flight Center, National Aeronautics and e Administration.

Contributions should be submitted not later than Friday noon to the MSFC ic Affairs Office (PA), Bldg. 4200, ext. 876-1959 and include originator's , connection with the Center and telephone number.

The Marshall Star does not publish commercial advertising.

Bart J. Slattery, Chief of Public Affairs

Joe Jones, Chief of News Branch

Curtis Hunt, Editor


# Professional Help Wanted; Only Women Need Apply

**BS reqd; GS-5 & 7; expr desrble; apply in writing to Personnel Office, MSFC.**

This employment notice has never been published, but it does illustrate the need for professional women to fill permanent part-time positions at the Marshall Center for which skilled workers are scarce.

The Huntsville area is thought to have many women skilled in the fields of engineering, the sciences and management who are not now in the labor market because they are housewives and mothers.

Many of them might welcome an opportunity to update their skills and put their training and education to work again part-time, without giving up their household and parental responsibilities.

The women would be assigned as assistants to full-time professional Marshall employees where they would receive both formal and on-the-job training to update their skills.

Training would update skills as quickly as possible and acquaint the trainees with rapid changes in the sciences and technologies.

Advantages for the women would be opportunities to: improve their knowledge in the disciplines in which they were trained (or be trained in a related field); combine a part-time career with their jobs as homemakers; earn money while training and working; gain career status in the Civil Service; and have all employee benefits, as well as the opportunity for participation in professional and scientific organizations and societies.

Requirements include a bachelor's degree, U. S. citizenship, a satisfactory pre-employment security investigation and a satisfactory pre-employment physical examination.

Applicants with proof of exceptional qualifications and executive potential in administrative fields could be considered by a special staffing committee reviewing qualifications for jobs in critical fields.

Advantages to the Marshall Center would include the tapping of a potential source of much-needed manpower and adding prospects to a reservoir of executives.

Women interested in this program are invited to request counseling from an MSFC recruiting officer or personnel management specialist before submitting application forms (Standard Form 57). They may telephone the MSFC staffing office at 877-2726 for an appointment.

## SCORE

(Continued From Page 1)

time and studying the spacecraft and its heatshield. A July 5 flight demonstrated by real-time video transmission from the S-IVB liquid hydrogen tank that the cryogenic propellant could be settled to the bottom of the tank as predicted while in orbit.

The third flight, another test of the spacecraft and heatshield, occurred on August 25.

**Project Gemini flights came to a close in 1966 as Gemini 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 added 691 total man hours in flight to the 1302 hours already accumulated in previous Gemini and Mercury missions.**

Getting off to a rather slow start with Gemini 8 and 9 difficulties, later flights picked up the pace and proved and perfected the rendezvous and docking techniques needed for the Apollo lunar mission.

Gemini 12, manned by James Lovell and Edwin Aldrin, set a record for "space walking" as Aldrin spent five hours and 37 minutes in extravehicular activities.

Getting to the moon was accomplished by Surveyor I. Launched May 30 aboard an Atlas-Centaur, the Surveyor landed and photographed the lunar terrain, transmitting the images back for study.

Following on the heels of Surveyor I, Lunar Orbiter I (launched August 10) took photographs of potential lunar landing sites. Lunar Orbiter II lifted off three months later and provided additional photographs for study.

**These are the highlights of more than 30 NASA launches during 1966 that included Explorer aeronomy studies, Nimbus weather observatory flights, Pioneer solar studies, ESSA weather satellites and Biosatellite I studies of living organisms in space.**

## MARS Basketball Standings Dec. 15

| Team | W | L | Avg. Off. | Avg. Def. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Scramblers | 5 | 1 | 63.2* | 45.8 |
| Comp Lab | 4 | 1 | 46.6 | 46.2 |
| Quantum Jumpers | 5 | 2 | 55.4 | 46.9 |
| Quality Controllers | 4 | 2 | 48.2 | 42.0* |
| Aero-Jets | 3 | 3 | 52.7 | 57.2 |
| Fireballers | 3 | 3 | 52.3 | 50.3 |
| Navigators | 1 | 4 | 37.0 | 47.6 |
| Purchasing | 1 | 5 | 46.7 | 56.5 |
| FMO | 0 | 5 | 35.2 | 52.4 |

*Leads League

**INDIVIDUAL SCORING LEADERS**

| Name | Team | G | TP | APG |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Donald, | Fireballers | 6 | 142 | 23.7 |
| G. Arnett, | Quantum Jumpers | 6 | 110 | 18.3 |
| Horst, | Aero-Jets | 4 | 72 | 18.0 |
| Hill, | Aero-Jets | 6 | 100 | 16.7 |
| Compton, | Quality Controllers | 6 | 86 | 14.3 |
| Beranek, | Scramblers | 5 | 71 | 14.2 |
| Everitt, | Scramblers | 6 | 83 | 13.8 |
| Morris, | Quality Controllers | 5 | 64 | 12.8 |
| Cason, | Purchasing | 6 | 68 | 11.3 |
| Newton, | FMO | 3 | 34 | 11.3 |
| Junkin, | Comp Lab | 5 | 55 | 11.0 |
| Williams (B. J.) | Purchasing | 6 | 64 | 10.7 |
| D. Arnett, | Scramblers | 6 | 63 | 10.5 |
| Erwin, | Scramblers | 5 | 52 | 10.4 |
| Settle, | Comp Lab | 5 | 52 | 10.4 |



* When in doubt, decide in favor of the government used to be the line.

maybe V or R would like to work in a museum?

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Ala-Local Councils

**FOR YOUR INFORMATION**

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

April 25, 1967

MEMORANDUM

To : Local Presidents

From : Bob Valder

Subject: More Program Information

We are sending under seperate cover more information which you may find helpful for local chapter programs.

First is a minimum wage campaign kit, which some of you have heard about by now. It is an excellent and extremely handy guide for how to conduct a minimum wage enforcement program. Briefly here is what it is. The kit includes detailed information about the new minimum wage law--what it covers and what pay persons covered should be receiving. It tells how you can go about finding out if persons in your area are receiving the pay that they are supposed to be receiving. It tells what to do when you find persons who are not receiving the minimum wage. And it explains things like how workers can receive retroactive payments if they were covered and didn't get what they should have. The best thing about it is that it is quite easy to understand and that it gives such good ideas about how to do it.

If you are interested in getting a committee going on this and think you would like some "expert" assistance, just let me know. It would not be very difficult for you to get such assistance. We would also be interested in hearing about any such project you undertake.

Second, we are sending a booklet entitled Know Your Rights. It is quite good in explaining to persons what rights they have in encounters with the police and what rights policemen have.

We are also sending a welfare questionnaire which has been used by the Georgia Council on Human Relations in a successful welfare project that they have undertaken. I'm not sure what use you might want to put this questionnaire to, but I think the questions themselves might suggest some ideas.

And we are sending a Handbook for Local Councils on Human Relations. This handbook is from the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. It explores the role(s) of Human Relations Councils and has a good bit of information about programs local chapters can undertake.

We would be interested in your reactions to and plans for this material.

Under Seperate Cover

May 12, 1967

Mr. William H. Harrison
General Delivery
Yantley, Alabama

Dear Mr. Harrison:

I have just received your resume. Thank you very much for fowarding ing it to me.

I am expecting a couple more applicants. When they are received, I will be in touch with you to set up an interview.

Sincerely,

Bob Valder
Director

BV:mee

cc: Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield

file
Ala general Corr.

Nov. 6, 1967
2200 E. Governors Dr.
Huntsville, Alabama

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is a check for a supply of pamphlets on the minimum wage law — to be distributed to low income people in the County. Address them to one of our VISTA workers:

Mr. Joe Murphy
Community Action Committee
501 Winston St.
Huntsville, Alabama

Your article in New South a couple of months ago was excellent. I passed it along. My mother is most impressed by your family.

I very much hope to be working for John Heneghan in a month or two. Though the new Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Regional Office is in Birmingham, Heneghan said I could work mostly out of Huntsville as the Region consists of Alabama and Tennessee. I will do investigative work on complaints, and may get into conciliation work someday. I am extremely pleased at the prospect of getting into a job so close to my most serious concerns.

Heneghan's deputy, Charles Wilson, is also a very fine guy and will probably attend our Council meeting Thursday night. Joe Gannon is doing a very good job as president/HRC I'm glad Jane is now Director of the Day Care ~~Prxg~~ Programs for CAC, as you may know.

Yours, truly,
Evelyn Falkowski
Evelyn Falkowski

WR. 11-8-67

$10.00 check
11-7-67
Rathy

Dear Ed: A copy for your information and/or entertainment. The outcome either way at this moment seems immaterial to me. Far with this I have done what I had to do to maintain my own integrity -- just as what I ~~had to do~~ did when I probably could have had the job without serious contest was also what I had to do. In the present sweep of crisis, the personal note may mean little, but just want you to know, however incomprehensible you may find me, the at I am a nut with consistent admiration for such as you -- both when ~~we agree~~ ~~and disagree~~ we agree and disagree.

Jerry

file

APPLICATION

TO: Mr. Joseph Gannon, President, and Members of the Executive Committee,
The Alabama Council on Human Relations

FROM: Jerry Roden, Jr.

A deep concern about the plight of the Alabama Council--because of Bob Valder's resignation and because of the Council's precarious financial condition reflected in recent monthly financial statements--has resulted in the past few weeks in my deliberating upon the matter of applying for the position of executive director of the Alabama Council. Yesterday, I made the decision to become an applicant and upon communicating this decision to others learned that two of the principal reasons for my deliberation in the first place had been removed during my deliberating process by (a) the application of Father Bryce Joyce for the position and (b) by the Fields Foundation grant.

However, after further consideration, I have decided for the following reasons not to alter my original decision to become an applicant:

1. The best interests of the Council suggest the desirability of making a choice among the widest possible range of applicants. Frankly, I think not only that the Council deserves the opportunity of making a choice but also that it needs the <u>responsibility</u> of making a <u>real</u> choice.

2. Three facts lead me to the conclusion that my <u>becoming an applicant</u> might result in the necessity of making a real choice:

   (a) Even though I am an ardent admirer of Father Bryce and share his most fundamental convictions, my basic approach to human relations varies markedly from his approach as I understand it.

   (b) Although I know nothing of the third applicant except that he is a young man, I find that one fact enough to suggest that my application offers a real alternative to his--even in the unlikely event of our sharing both the same fundamental convictions and the same basic approaches to human relations problems.

   (c) I possess some qualifications for the job not possessed by either of the other candidates. (Since these qualifications result from the accident of birthplace and the consequent locale in which I have gained my forty-five years of experience in living, I can speak frankly about them without concern about a proper modesty. Perhaps, I should point out explicitly my awareness that accident of birthplace and related factors provide the other candidates with qualifications which I do not possess. Thus I am inviting a study and a choice on the basis of qualifications as they apply to deciding upon future Council emphasis, but not on the basis of merits as an individual--I am unalterably opposed to attempting to assess individual worth in any ultimate sense, and if I were not, I should certainly be loath to invite being placed on such a balance opposite Bryce Joyce.)

Those, my fellow Council members, are, in summary, my reasons for applying. Both major points require some elaboration which follows in order and which in turn is followed by a biographical resumé so detailed that I don't really expect anybody to read it. (But it's nearly all there in outline, just in case.)

The easiest way to elaborate on the first point is to offer a definition of the role of the executive director as I see it, because defining the role of the executive director involves, explicitly and implicitly, examining the role that the Alabama Council may, can, or should play in our society. The primary responsibility of the Executive Director, as I see it, is that of building bridges of communication:

   (a) of building bridges between the sometimes disparate elements of our individual chapters to the end that each chapter becomes a live and functioning organism in its own community. (Any chapter that does not have a real action program adapted to the particular needs of deprived people of that community is critically ill and desperately in need of special

medical attention. The first obligation of the executive director is to exert himself as a healing physician--not a surgeon--in such cases.)

(b) of building a network of bridges from chapter to chapter throughout this state to the end that we have a live and functioning state organization of volunteer laborers in the vineyard. (Since our chapters are widely scattered, this responsibility of the executive director involves the obligation of direct on-the-scene leadership in the establishment of new chapters to serve as pillars for that network of bridges throughout the state.)

(c) of building bridges from the Alabama Council to other organizations and agencies that can contribute to building a better society for our deprived citizens--for the deprived primarily, but not for them only, because until every man in Alabama is free from intimidation, want, and injustice, no man in Alabama is free to be a whole man. (Some excellent bridges to some organizations and agencies--civil rights groups, self-help groups, and certain federal agencies--already exist. The executive director not only needs to be certain that these are well maintained but also should move immediately to begin construction of bridges across the bogs between us and established state-wide church and civic organizations. And he should further begin attempting to build some bridges across the trackless wastes between the Alabama Council and state and local governmental agencies as well as those backwards federal agencies that belong to the United States Department of Agriculture brood. This latter task will, the director must recognize, require the employment of some heavy bulldozing equipment, and the director's responsibility is to direct the Council in the selection of exactly the right size of bulldozer for each task: If the equipment is too light, it will accomplish nothing against the monumental obstacles. If it is too heavy, it may sink of its own weight in patches of quicksand.)

The second major task of the executive director is to support other members of the state staff in their endeavors in special areas. The most important support that he can give them is that which would result from his having done such a good job of his primary responsibility that the chapters and large donors in Alabama would provide the funds necessary for financing the basic program of the Council--thus permitting the diversion of all grants to the support of such excellent programs as those now in existence in the Black Belt area and to the establishment of equally desirable self-help projects in the cities of Alabama as well as other rural areas. The executive director can and should further assist staff members working on special projects by taking upon himself the specific responsibility of building bridges between such projects and state and local governments not only to secure the support of those governments when possible but also to prevent Alabama politicians from applying pressure in Washington to cut off federal funds from these vital projects.

Enough said in elaboration on point one (page 1, if you are lost). Now to point two--the matter of my application's establishing the need to make a real choice. Building those bridges spoken of above requires not only a strong desire to build such bridges but also the ability to do so. Unfortunately, the ability to build some of them depends not simply on a man's God-given and self-developed talents but also upon certain attributes and skills resulting from the accident of birthplace and of place of continued residence. A fellow working in our cause has a definite advantage in building bridges between the minority and majority groups:

(a) If he has a Southern accent so that he catches off guard when he walks in both moderate white natives susceptible to liberal persuasion and the indigenous white reactionary opposition.

(b) If he has an intimate knowledge--born of life-long experience--of the mode of thinking of fellow Alabamians, both Negro and white.

(c) If he has a thorough knowledge of the state from having traveled from one end of it to the other over many years and also has a broad range of personal acquaintances in every county of the state.

That I have all three of these qualifications the attached biographical resumé will, I trust, adequately indicate.

# BIOGRAPHICAL RESUMÉ

Jerry Roden, Jr.

Born: March 13, 1923, at Pisgah, Alabama, to a family that traces its residence in this state back to the time when there was no State of Alabama.

Education: High School: diploma from Pisgah High School. College: (1) undergraduate study at Duquesne University (Pittsburgh, Pa.) and Auburn University (Auburn, Ala.) with a B.S. (1946) in Agricultural Education from Auburn. (2) Further study: (a) special student in Journalism at Auburn University (1947). (b) special student work in English language and literature at Auburn University (1955). (c) regular graduate study in English from 1956 through 1967 (much of it part time, of course) at Auburn University. Holds an M.A. in English awarded in 1962 and has completed course work and foreign language requirements for Ph.D. in English (dissertation research underway).

College Grades: (1) overall average for all regular and special studies prior to graduate work 2.5 on a scale of 3.0. (2) Graduate study--3.0 on a 3.0 scale.

Work Experience:

1. Journalism--(a) Assistant to the editor, Auburn University Experiment Station Department of Publications, 1947.
   (b) Associate editor and publisher, The Cleburne News, Heflin, Ala., 1948.
   (c) Advertising and circulation manager, The Lee County Bulletin, Auburn, Alabama, 1948-1951.
   (d) editor, The Sand Mountain Reporter, Albertville, Alabama, 1956.
   (e) editor, The Auburn Alumnews, Auburn, Alabama, 1957-65.
   (f) special assignments for Associated Press and United Press from time to time over a period of years.
   (g) assistant editor, The Auburn Professor, 1968.

2. Teaching-- (a) High School English, mathematics, and bookkeeping, Pisgah High School, 1954-55.
   (b) College English composition, journalism, and English literature, Auburn University, 1955-57, 1964-65, 1967 to present.
   (c) Special--volunteer teacher in Auburn Adult Education 1964-present time.

3. Other--(a) South Alabama Representative for the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, 1951-1954 (This position involved directing the patient-care, fund-raising, and public relations activities of thirty-three volunteer county chapters, working as liaison representative between the Polio Center at Tuskegee Institute and the Foundation's representatives in twelve other southern states, and developing new chapters in several counties in Northwest Georgia--a special assignment.)

   (b) University relations and fund raising, 1957-1965--During the eight years that I edited The Auburn Alumnews I also served on special assignments in university relations and development, including development of legislative programs for seven years, alumni fund-raising throughout the eight years, and heading the University Relations Self-Study in 1963.

   (c) Farming and sawmilling--from the time I was thirteen until I entered college my father placed upon me the chief responsibility of directing the day-by-day operation of our 120-acre farm, and at odd times he used me as a utility man at his sawmill (his principal business). I also worked part-time with my father for one year as director of farm operations on 300 acres and as bookkeeper for his sawmill operations during the time when I was teaching in high school.

Organizational Affiliations: (1) Alabama Council on Human Relations (1960-1968). (2) National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; (3) American Civil Liberties Union; (4) American Association of University Professors; (5) Veterans of Foreign Wars (deputy volunteer services representative to the VA Hospital in Tuskegee and co-chairman of the VFW Alabama Hospital Committee); (6) Auburn Unitarian Fellowship; (7) Alpha Zeta (honorary and service), Gamma Sigma Delta (Ag honorary), Phi Kappa Phi (general academic honorary), Omicron Delta Kappa (academic and leadership honorary), and Alpha Phi Omega (college service fraternity based on the principles of the Boy Scouts of America).

~~Placement~~
Ala General

# R E S U M E

PERSONAL: William Henry Harrison
General Delivery
Yantley, Alabama

SOCIAL SECURITY NO.
422-42-0426

DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH: October 13, 1933-Yantley, Choctaw County, Ala.

EDUCATION: Attented Elementary and Junior High School-Maple Spring, Yantley, Alabama
High School-Choctaw County Training School-Lisman, Alabama
College-Alabama State College-B.S.Degree 1955
Further Study- Alabama A&M College, Normal, Alabama
(21) Semester Hours

EXPERIENCE: Social Studies Instructor-Thirteen (13) Years

POSITIONS HELD: Member of the Citizenship Commission, Alabama State Teachers Association
Member of the Board of Directors, Southwest Alabama Farmers Co-op Association
Superintendent of Pleasant Hill Baptist Church Sunday School, Yantley, Alabama
President,Choctaw County Civic League
Chairman, Social Studies Department , Choctaw County Training School
Democratic Committeeman (Choctaw County)
Member of Bi-racial Committee, Choctaw County (General Hospital)

STATEMENTS: Very active in church, school and community activities.

REFERENCES:
1

1. Mr. Lewis Black
   Alabama Council of Human Relations
   Greensboro, Alabama

2. Mr. A. S. Butler
   President of Alabama State Teachers Association
   Lisman, Alabama

3. Rev, T. Y. Rodgers
   Pastor, First African Street Baptist Church
   Tuscaloosa, Alabama

4. Mr. Hosea Williams
   Southern Christian Leadership Conference
   Atlanta, Georgia

Ala- GENERAL

For Your Information

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

MEMORANDUM

To : Local Chapter Presidents

From : Bob Valder

Subject: 1967 Membership and Financial Campaign;
Nominations Committee Report

Just a gentle reminder. You will recall that at the "Training Session " for the 1967 Membership and Financial Drive each local campaign chairman was asked to send us a very brief report of the status of their campaign as of December 31, 1966. This decision was reached because we thought it would be helpful for the state office to put this information in a report to be sent to each chapter so everyone would know how everyone else is doing. All we want from you are two things--the amount of money pledged and the amount of money received up to December 31, 1966 (all you have to do is fill in the form below and return it in the enclosed, stamped, self-addressed envelope).

Also, we have not heard from all of the persons on the nominations committee--they were asked to let us know by mid-December whether or not those persons nominated from their area to the State Board of Directors have been so notified and what their decision was. If we don't hear from those chapters about this by the end of next week then we will assume that everyone has agreed to serve--this is kind of important, because a nominations committee report will appear in this month's Bulletin so everyone coming to the annual meeting will know in advance who is up for what--and we wouldn't like to put someone's name in who hasn't been so notified or who hasn't consented. So if someone from your area hasn't consented, please let us know that and also who his replacement is (unless, of course, you've already done so).

I realize that in some cases these two items should more properly be referred to someone in your chapter rather than the president (finance chairman or nominations committee members), but I'm lazy. And besides, I think it's nice for presidents to know what's going on too.

---

*Please detach, fill out, and send back*

Total amount pledged by December 31, 1966----------$_____

Total amount received by December 31, 1966----------$_____

Grand Total achieved by December 31, 1966 (sum of above two)-----$_____

~~Ed Lewis~~ file

JOB DESCRIPTION

"RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT DIRECTOR"
of
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

Purpose. The goals of the Rural Advancement Project are as follows:

(1) To stimulate the development of local rural leadership and community organization.

(2) To document the needs of local areas and to present findings and recommendations to appropriate federal, state, and local administrative agencies.

(3) To bring information about available federal and state programs to those who are eligible but have thus far not benefitted, and to assist them in obtaining the benefits to which they are entitled.

(4) To combat discriminatory practices in the administration of government programs designed to assist low--income farm and other rural people.

Structure and duration. The Rural Advancement Project is a joint effort of the Southern Regional Council, the Alabama Council on Human Relations, and The National Sharecroppers Fund. It is funded by charitable foundations through the Southern Regional Council. S.R.C. will also provide research and publication facilities. The Project Director will be on the staff of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, under the direction of A.C.H.R.'s Executive Director and Board. The National Sharecroppers Fund will provide training, technical advice and assistance, and programing aid. The R.A.P. is of three year's duration, subject to an annual review on the part of the funding agencies.

Qualifications. The position of Rural Advancement Project Director requires a college degree or its equivalent; this need not be in a particular field, such as agriculture or social science. Maturity, both mental and chronological, is important. Good health is required. There must be a willingness and normal freedom to travel, i.e. some time away from family will be required. Experience in organizational work would be valuable, as would experience and/or demonstrable facility in administration. Candidates will need a general knowledge of Alabama, including its recent history and social problems, and some knowledge of federal agencies and programs.

Duties. As noted above, the Project Director will be under the general supervision of the Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. However the situation makes close supervision or a detailed job analysis both difficult and undesirable; in choosing the man for the job care will be taken to determine that close supervision will not be necessary. The Project Director will have unusual creative freedom -- and candidates must evidence concomitant imagination, resourcefulness, initiative, and energy-level. The terms of the funding grant require an annual review and evaluation. Candidates should understand that these evaluations will have to be made on the basis of general effectiveness in attaining the broad goals of the program.

Location. Location of the Project Director is not specified, but it is anticipated that his office would be in central or south Alabama.

Compensation. Starting salary is $6,600 per year. Fringe benefits include any necessary moving expense and accidental death and hospitalization policies. Travel expenses will be paid on the basis of actual costs, with auto mileage at 9¢ per mile. Operating expenses, including part-time secretarial help, telephone, office rent, and supplies and equipment will be provided.

Ed Stanfield ACHR

DA - want this page? many

~~REQUEST FOR A FINANCIAL~~ GRANT

The officers and staff of the Alabama Council on Human Relations believe that the organization has entered a new and challenging phase in its life.

Last year's civil rights legislation and the many new federal programs to provide educational and economic opportunity have given us a number of new tools with which to work, and new responsibilities to assume.

Despite Alabama's recent troubles, and in part because of them, there are new opportunities and possibilities in the state. Officials and businessmen who once were antagonistic or indifferent to the Council's concerns have recently contributed, and begun to work quietly with the Council.

Concrete evidence of this new departure and of the Council membership's determination and ability to meet the challenge before them can be seen in the attached report on our membership and funding drive, which was held in January. Since that report was issued (March 9), additional members have been enrolled, so that we now have well over 800 members. This compares with a total of 339 dues-paid members in the preceding membership year.

With the increased support from various ~~businessmen in the state,~~ sources the Alabama Council on Human Relations has raised more than $16,000 in cash and pledges from inside the state of Alabama. This is triple the amount raised in the previous year, and we feel that it is significant of change & opportunity.

However, we think that this is about the maximum we can hope to attain in Alabama for this year. We do not have enough income from other sources to meet our budget of $24,500. Moreover, we feel strongly that we need to do some conciliatory work in the Black Belt section, as well as establish new local councils and otherwise expand our program to take advantage of the fresh desire for leadership from many community leaders. ~~For this expanded program, our present budget is not adequate. We need additional office~~

*Additional income



$4000-5000

~~A grant of Four thousand dollar~~s would be of tremendous help to us. It would give us the stability of ~~knowing that~~ having funds ~~xxx~~e on hand to ~~xxxxxx~~ meet our minimum operating budget and allow us to concentrate on program during the summer.

~~xx~~ The officers and staff of the Alabama Council earnestly request your consideration of this need for ~~xx~~ support of our general program.

space, equipment, and personnel. We need at least one additional field worker and resources to support him. We need additional travel money and postage.

Eight thousand dollars ($8,000) could make the difference, during the next twelve months, between a minimal and inadequate operation and a truly effective one with resultant encouragement of our entire membership. The officers and staff of the Alabama Council earnestly request your consideration of this need for additional support of our general program, and hereby request a grant of $8,000 for this purpose.

Four thousand dollars will not achieve all this. It will, however, assure ~~[illegible]~~ our present operation and give us the stability of having funds to meet our minimum operating budget. From this base we can seek ways to

REQUEST FOR A GRANT TO EMPLOY AND ELEANOR ROOSEVELT INTERN

As the attached analysis of our membership and funding drive indicates, the Alabama Council on Human Relations has made a determined effort to secure from its members and friends in Alabama a basic operating budget. We have already enrolled well over 800 members this year. We have received cash and pledges exceeding $16,000 from within the state. This is more than three times as much money as we were able to raise in Alabama last year. The enrollment compares with a total paid membership of 339 last year.

We are pleased with the results of this effort. With the help which the Southern Regional Council, our parent-organization, is able to give us we have almost enough -- not quite -- to meet our minimum budget. It is probable that we could finish the year without further assistance. That in itself is something new for us. We feel that it shows that we have an able and determined membership and the confidence of many friends in Alabama.

However, recent developments have made it clear that our planned budget (which was higher than any previous one) is not really adequate to the opportunity now before us. The voter-registration demonstrations in the Black Belt have of course produced a great need for efforts at reconciliation. They have also had the effect of increasing the number of requests and opportunities for guidance in cities not yet experiencing demonstrations.

Our greatest single need is for additional personnel. We have applied for and expect to obtain, provided we can find the necessary funds, an Eleanor Roosevelt Intergroup Relations Intern. This would give us, starting in late summer, an additional staff person for one year. It is our hope that the arrangement will lead into full time employment of an associate. We think

that our recent record in localssupport and certain indications of rapid change in the offing for Alabama give us a reasonable hope that we shall be able, a year from now, to pay for additional staff person.

In order to pay our portion of the salary of an Eleanor Roosevelt Intern and provide some travel money, secretarial help and equipment for him, we need a minimum of $4,000.00. We request a grant in that amount and will deeply appreciate your consideration of it.

"ALABAMA COUNCIL"

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

~~EL~~ hold ES

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

**MEMORANDUM**

To : Members of the Executive Committee

From : Ed Stanfield

Subject: Called Meeting of the Executive Committee

As most of you know, the committee decided after interviewing the candidates present at our December 3rd meeting to continue our search for potential executive director to nominate to the Board. At the request of President Welch, the committee asked me to arrange interviews and call the next meeting.

*Accordingly, I am calling a meeting of the Executive Committee for Thursday, January 13, 1966, at 10:00 a.m., at the Bankhead Hotel in Birmingham. Please let me know at once, on the enclosed postal card, whether or not you will be able to attend.* I know that a weekday is not best, but the candidate we want to interview could not attend on Saturday, the 8th--and I cannot attend on Saturday, the 15th. Thus we have set it up for the 13th, but if it is impossible for most of the committee to attend at that time, we shall have to change it.

The candidate we will interview at that time is Rev. James Sessions. I will send you further information later. All I know at present is that he is 30 years old, a Methodist minister, and presently is Chaplain of Drew University (employed by the University) in Madison, New Jersey. He is a native of Texas. He was a Danforth Fellow at Brown University, where he interned as Methodist Minister to Students. He is not married. He has shown considerable interest in human relations, including a membership in the Madison Human Relations Council and memberships in C.O.R.E. and N.A.A.C.P. I have talked to one of his references and find that he has demonstrated talent in administration and fund raising and that he seems to be unusually mature.

Although he will not be present for the interview, we shall also want to consider Mr. Albert Heffner, whom some of the committee have met. See the enclosed data sheet.

From what I have been able to learn, either of these candidates would be a good choice. I am hopeful, therefore, that we can reach a decision on a recommendation to make to the Board at the February 4th meeting.

There will be a few routine matters, such as our fourth quarter report, to attend to.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

CONFIDENTIAL

from Ed Stanfield

INFORMATION ON ALBERT WILLIAM HEFFNER, JR., a candidate for the position of Executive Director, Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Biographical Information

Mr. Heffner is 43 years old. He was born in Greenwood, Mississippi. He is a veteran of the U. S. Coast Guard (1943-1946). He attended Tulane University and the University of Mississippi, where he apparently worked on a M.A. degree but did not submit a thesis. He majored in psychology, in which he has 24 semester hours' credit.

He was Assistant Sales Manager for Hood Lumber Company, Jackson, 1948-1950; Owner-partner of the A&B Tire Company of Greenville, 1950-1953; Plant and Sales Manager, King Lumber Company, Forest, Mississippi, 1953-1954; Group Representative for Blue Cross-Blue Shield, McComb, Mississippi, 1954-1962; and Special Agent for Lincoln National Life Insurance Company in McComb, 1962-1964. He sold over $2 million worth of insurance in 1963.

He left the last-mentioned position and the city of McComb because of harrassment following upon attempts to play a conciliatory role in McComb's racial difficulties. He subsequently worked for six months for the Community Relations Service as a "conciliation specialist." With Hodding Carter he has written a book, So the Heffner's Left McComb, recently published.

Additional Information

Mr. Heffner is married and has two daughters. The older daughter (who was Miss Mississippi one year) is now married; the younger daughter is in school (Sarah Lawrence). Mrs. Heffner worked during the Spring and Summer of 1965 in the office of the O.E.O. General Counsel; her job was checking for non-discrimination compliance in Southern Head Start projects. She apparently shares very fully Mr. Heffner's commitment to human rights and concern for human relations in the South.

When the question of salary was raised, Mr. Heffner said that they were aware that--should he accept the position--it would be necessary for Mrs. Heffner to work in order for them to maintain their daughter in college. He indicated that a salary of about $9,400 would be minimum. (Present salary of Executive Director is $9,200.)

Stanfield's Subjective Impressions

I traveled with Heffner during his two-day visit to the state. He spoke to the Tuscaloosa Council. We then went to Tuskegee for a brief interview with Dr. Gomillion, and to Auburn where he met Mr. Jerry Roden and Mrs. Nancy Spears, who are respectively past-president and president of the East Alabama chapter.

The following impressions are purely personal and may well differ from those of others who met Heffner. I have organized them under "pros" and "cons"--with reference to his being employed.

Pros

1. His age, together with his extroversion, should help him in establishing contact with white community leaders. He is as aggressive and dynamic as one would expect a good insurance salesman to be. He remarked to me that one of the first things he would want to do, after getting acquainted with local councils, would be to "get a list of every banker in the state and start with this as a prospect to 'sell' human relations . . . they are very much concerned about the economic implications of this thing."

2. His business experience should serve him well in matters of administration. Also, he should be adept at fund-raising.

3. The fact that his children are grown should make it easier for him to travel for extended periods of time.

4. He has valuable experience from his work with the Community Relations Service. For instance, he commented on the importance, in human relations work, of avoiding complete identification with either civil rights workers or the white establishment.

5. He felt--and I agree--that because of his history he would have no trouble at all relating to civil rights leaders and workers.

6. He evidently has access to such journalists as Drew Pearson, Evans and Novak, and others; and he apparently knows how to get information into the press when he wants to. This could be useful to the work of the Council.

7. He is a good public speaker.

8. He is available at once.

Cons

1. Mr. Heffner himself raised the possibility that his recent publicity and his being a "controversial" personality might hinder the work of the Council in some way. He said something like: "Probably within a week or ten days after I arrive one of the state papers would realize who I am and they would have a considerable file on me. Would this close too many doors automatically? Or give the Council an image it doesn't want?" (I answered that the committee would simply have to consider what kind of image in whose eyes would best serve our purposes.) This problem might be offset, in time, by (1) above.

2. Mr. Heffner's personality is imposing. He tends to dominate a conversation. Attention in a group tends to gravitate to him. This may not be a disadvantage and the tendency might not continue after people get accustomed to a "celebrity." But there is a question in my mind whether a conciliator or interlocutor should be "in the foreground," so to speak.

3. I sensed something of the recent convert's impatience with the dullness, rationalizing, hedging, and temporizing of white southerners. Again, this could be considered advantageous. Heffner said something like, "There has been enough patience, and time is running out." But if his impatience manifests itself as a compulsion to "get people told," that could be self-defeating. (I am not sure that he would have this compulsion; he told two

or three times about one incident in which he did so, and he seemed to enjoy telling it; but he acknowledged that "we never should have had that meeting under the circumstances.")

In Conclusion

I think that Heffner would be a good choice as Executive Director. I am not yet convinced that he is the best man available.

Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

JERRY RODEN, JR., Executive Director

LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project BOB VALDER, Associate Director

LPA
MLMc-file

Dear Ed:

Just a note to say that I found the meeting both enjoyable and productive. As usual, you are doing a great job, accomplishing more perhaps than you realize. I feel free to pass the compliment because I know that you won't consider it worth a tinker's dam until results come in from the field. But those, I am convinced, will come in time. If you think of it and wish to, please express the Alabama Council's appreciation to Saul Anthony, Emory Via, Al Ulmer, Vernon Jordan, Moreland Smith, Joleen Boone, Mrs. Silly and Miss Louise — (is that the first name of the paperback book and major citing directory young lady who sat so patiently with us?) for their participation in the program.

Sincerely,

Jerry

Ala - M + F

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT - January, 1966
Fiscal year begins on February 1.*

RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Memberships and Contributions | $2,689.14 | $21,987.81 |
| S. R. C. Grants | 1,375.00 | 6,000.00 |
| Foundation Grants | | 6,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | 950.00 | 7,777.50 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $5,014.14 | $41.765.31 |

EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Account | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Salary | $9,200.00 | $ | $ 7,967.27 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,600.00 | 261.68 | 3,061.11 |
| Payroll Taxes (1) | 600.00 | 308.36 | 2,718.94 |
| Travel Expenses | 2,400.00 | 351.36 | 3,778.20 |
| Rent | 1,500.00 | 150.00 | 1,395.22 |
| Office Supplies and Equipment | 1,800.00 | 65.71 | 2,115.54 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 159.91 | 1,437.61 |
| Postage | 720.00 | 180.00 | 1,145.00 |
| Janitorial Service | 180.00 | 20.00 | 200.00 |
| Printing | 500.00 | | 1,316.17 |
| Literature | 300.00 | | 205.44 |
| Essay | 500.00 | | |
| Intern Associate Salary | 1,000.00 | 530.82 | 2,590.80 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 242.50 | 2,170.08 |
| Total | $24,500.00 | $2,270.34 | $30,101.38 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Volunteer Subsistence | | 200.00 |
| Transfer to ANB | | 2,000.00 |
| Transfer to Savings | | 2,000.00 |
| Annual Meeting | | 884.02 |
| Refunds to Local Chapters | | 779.75 |
| Student Conference | | 228.95 |
| Southern Courier - ACHR Interns (2) | 5,000.00 | 5,000.00 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $7,270.34 | $41,194.10 |

(1) Budgeted amount to cover employers' share of FICA taxes only. Note that bulk of expenditures is withheld from salaries.

(2) This amount represents a foundation grant received solely for the purpose of contracting "ACHR Interns" on the staff of The Southern Courier.

* This report is for the period from February 1, 1965 to January 31, 1966.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT - January, 1967
Fiscal year begins on February 1.*

RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Memberships and Contributions | $1,695.00 | $13,665.35 |
| S. R. C. Grant | 3,825.00 | 9,325.00 |
| S. R. C. Expanded Grant | | 9,000.00 |
| Foundation Grants | | 12,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | 100.00 | 1,634.89 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $5,620.00 | $45,625.24 |

EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Director's Salary | $8,600.00 | | $ 1,854.12 |
| Associate Director's Salary | 7,500.00 | $ 530.18 | 6,389.72 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,900.00 | 258.94 | 3,571.87 |
| Fringe Benefits (1) | 1,800.00 | 73.46 | 1,198.49 |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 | 239.45 | 3,434.83 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 | 135.00 | 1,912.50 |
| Office Supplies and Equipment | 2,000.00 | 96.56 | 1,673.22 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 258.56 | 1,668.53 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | | 712.20 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 | | 100.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 | 47.83 | 500.73 |
| Literature | 300.00 | .75 | 98.75 |
| Accounting | 200.00 | | 45.00 |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 | | 50.00 |
| Student Wrok | 760.00 | | 193.65 |
| Subsistance and Allowance | 300.00 | | |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 | | 1,000.54 |
| Board of Directors | 500.00 | | 832.62 |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 | | 813.25 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 164.35 | 1,517.55 |
| Total | $36,000.00 | $1,805.08 | $27,567.57 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Educational Conference, Inc. | | $10,000.00 |
| Employees' Taxes Withheld (2) | 212.05 | 2,237.31 |
| National Sharecroppers Fund | | 913.07 |
| Rural Advancement Project (3) | | 1,181.37 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $2,017.13 | $41,899.32 |

(1) This amount includes FICA, insurance polices and moving expenses.

(2) This amount represents the employees' taxes withheld from salaries.

(3) This amount is RAP's October expenditures which were paid by ACHR.

* This report is for the period from February 1, 1966 to January 31, 1967

Als - Finance ~~R Howard - file~~

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS **FOR YOUR INFORMATION**
FINANCIAL REPORT -- January, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Memberships and Contributions | $2,689.14 | $21,987.81 |
| S. R. C. Grants | | 6,000.00 |
| Foundation Grants | | 6,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | 2,325.00 | 7,777.50 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $5,014.14 | $41,765.31 |

## DISBURSEMENTS

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Account | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Salary | $9,200.00 | $ | $ 7,967.27 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,600.00 | 261.68 | 3,061.11 |
| Payroll Taxes (1) | 600.00 | 308.36 | 2,718.94 |
| Travel Expenses | 2,400.00 | 351.36 | 3,778.20 |
| Rent | 1,500.00 | 150.00 | 1,395.22 |
| Office Supplies & Equip. | 1,800.00 | 65.71 | 2,115.54 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 159.91 | 1,437.61 |
| Postage | 720.00 | 180.00 | 1,145.00 |
| Janitorial Service | 180.00 | 20.00 | 200.00 |
| Printing | 500.00 | | 1,316.17 |
| Literature | 300.00 | | 205.44 |
| Essay | 500.00 | | |
| Intern Associate Salary | 1,000.00 | 530.82 | 2,590.80 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 242.50 | 2,170.08 |
| | $24,500.00 | $2,270.34 | $30,101.38 |

Non-budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Volunteer Subsistence | | 200.00 |
| Transfer to ANB | | 2,000.00 |
| Transfer to Savings | | 2,000.00 |
| Annual Meeting | | 884.02 |
| Refunds to Locals | | 779.75 |
| Student Conference | | 228.95 |
| Southern Courier - ACHR Interns(2) | 5,000.00 | 5,000.00 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $7,270.34 | $41,194.10 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand, January 1, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | $ 5,567.77 |
| Receipts during January | 5,014.14 |
| Total | $10,581.91 |
| Expenditures during January (1st, Huntsville) | 7,016.25 |
| Balance in 1st, Huntsville, January 31, 1966 | $ 3,565.66 |
| | |
| Balance on hand, January 1, 1966 (ANB, Birmingham) | $ 433.05 |
| Expenditures during January | 254.09 |
| Balance on hand, ANB, Birmingham, January 31, 1966 | $ 178.96 |
| | |
| Balance on hand, January 31, 1966, 1st, Huntsville | $ 3,565.66 |
| Balance on hand, January 31, 1966, ANB, Birmingham | 178.96 |
| Balance in Savings | 1,000.00 |
| TOTAL BALANCE End of Fiscal Year | $ 4,744.62 |

(1) Budgeted amount to cover employers' share of FICA taxes only. Note that bulk of expenditures is withheld from salaries.

(2) This amount represents a foundation grant received solely for the purpose of contracting "ACHR Interns" on the staff of The Southern Courier.

1966 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

| Local Council | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 12 | 14 | 26 |
| East Alabama | 69 | 85 | 154 |
| Huntsville | 15 | 9 | 24 |
| Mobile | 6 | 25 | 31 |
| Montgomery | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Muscle Shoals | 26 | 7 | 33 |
| Talladega | 40 | 3 | 43 |
| Tuscaloosa | 15 | 8 | 23 |
| Out of State | 12 | 14 | 26 |
| At Large | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Enterprise | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 198 | 170 | 368 |

Ala - FINANCE file

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

REPORT OF MEMBERSHIP-FUNDING CAMPAIGN

February 3, 1966

| Chapters | Contributions Received | Contributions Pledged | Memberships Received | Membership Pledged | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Birmingham | $ 126.00 | $ 362.00 | $ 217.00 | $ 5.00 | $ 710.00 |
| East Alabama | 701.00 | 627.00 | 885.00 | 149.00 | 2362.00 |
| Huntsville | 216.00 | 1046.00 | 114.00 | 3.00 | 1379.00 |
| Mobile | 178.00 | 734.00 | 313.00 | 140.00 | 1365.00 |
| Montgomery | 398.00 | 130.00 | 96.00 | ---- | 624.00 |
| Muscle Shoals | 248.50 | 728.00 | 153.50 | 8.00 | 1138.00 |
| Talladega District | 113.00 | 180.00 | 220.00 | 10.00 | 523.00 |
| Tuscaloosa | 474.00 | 340.00 | 178.00 | 255.00 | 1247.00 |
| Special Gifts | 1726.14 | 2550.00 | 98.00 | ---- | 4374.14 |
| At Large | ---- | ---- | 20.00 | ---- | 20.00 |
| | $4180.14 | $6697.00 | $2294.00 | $570.00 | 13741.14 |

GOAL: $28,000 TOTAL TO DATE: $13,741.14

MEMBERSHIP TOTALS -- FEBRUARY 3, 1966

| | To date | Campaign goal |
|---|---|---|
| Birmingham | 55 | 200 |
| East Alabama | 234 | 400 |
| Huntsville | 28 | 100 |
| Mobile | 102 | 150 |
| Montgomery | 17 | 75 |
| Muscle Shoals | 40 | 100 |
| Talladega District | 50 | 50 |
| Tuscaloosa | 103 | 150 |
| Special Gifts | 22 | --- |
| At Large | 5 | --- |
| TOTAL | 656 | 1,225 or more! |

Ala-Finance

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
FINANCIAL REPORT - February, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | $3,000.00 | $3,000.00 |
| TOTAL | $3,000.00 | $3,000.00 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Director's Salary | $ 6,600.00 | $488.32 | $488.32 |
| Insurance | 300.00 | | |
| State Council Overhead | 800.00 | | |
| Travel | 1,500.00 | 151.47 | 151.47 |
| Telephone | 480.00 | | |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 500.00 | 222.80 | 222.80 |
| Rent (including utilities) | 480.00 | 55.00 | 55.00 |
| Printing | 100.00 | | |
| Postage | 200.00 | | |
| Secretarial Service (Part-time) | 550.00 | 34.62 | 34.62 |
| Payroll Taxes | 200.00 | | |
| Miscellaneous | 290.00 | | |
| TOTAL | $12,000.00 | $952.21 | $952.21 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand, February 9, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | $3,000.00 |
| Expenditures during February | 952.21 |
| Balance on hand, February 28, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | $2,047.79 |
| TOTAL BALANCE | $2,047.79 |

Ala - Finance CPA

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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT -- February, 1966

RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Memberships and Contributions | $ 5,344.20 | $ 5,344.20 |
| S.R.C. Grants | | 1,375.00 |
| Foundation Grants | 11,000.00(1) | 11,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | 532.45 | 532.45 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | 16,876.65 | $18,251.65 |

EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Account | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive's Salary | $ 8,600.00 | $ | $ |
| Associate's Salary | 7,500.00 | 530.82 | 530.82 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,900.00 | 257.92 | 257.92 |
| Fringe Benefits (2) | 1,500.00 | | |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 | 149.46 | 149.46 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 | 150.00 | 150.00 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 2,000.00 | 52.19 | 52.19 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 120.49 | 120.49 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | 50.00 | 50.00 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 | 20.00 | 20.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 | 100.86 | 100.86 |
| Literature | 300.00 | | |
| Accounting | 200.00 | | |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 | | |
| Student Work | 760.00 | 142.20 | 142.20 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 | | |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 | 806.79 (3) | |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 | | |
| Board of Directors (4) | 500.00 | 160.75 | 160.75 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 84.75 | 84.75 |
| | $36,800.00 | $2,626.23 | $2,626.23 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | |
|---|---|
| National Sharecroppers Fund Alabama Conference | $ 740.63 |

Last Fiscal Year's Expenditures Paid in February:

| | |
|---|---|
| Local Council Refunds | 174.50 (5) |
| Accounting Services | 135.00 (6) |
| Payroll Taxes | 176.36 (7) |
| Travel | 19.37 (8) |
| Miscellaneous | 61.31 (9) |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $3,933.40 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand, February 1, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | $ 3,565.66 |
| Receipts during February | 16,876.65 |
| Total | $20,442.31 |
| Expenditures during February (1st, Huntsville) | 3,914.03 |
| Balance in 1st, Huntsville, February 28, 1966 | $16,528.28 |
| | |
| Balance on hand, February 1, 1966 (ANB, Birmingham) | $ 178.56 |
| Expenditures during February | 19.37 |
| Balance on hand, ANB, Birmingham, February 28, 1966 | $ 159.19 |
| | |
| Balance on hand, February 28, 1966, 1st, Huntsville | $16,528.28 |
| Balance on hand, February 28, 1966, ANB, Birmingham | 159.19 |
| Balance in Savings (including interest) | 1,046.80 |
| TOTAL BALANCE | $17,734.27 |

(1) This amount represents $10,000 grant for "ACHR Interns" on the staff of The Southern Courier; and $1,000 from two foundations for paying expenses of the National Sharecropper Fund Alabama Statewide Conference, held in Montgomery, Alabama, January 21 and 22, 1966.

(2) This amount includes FICA, insurance policies and moving expenses.

(3) $487 of this amount was collected during the sale of luncheon tickets.

(4) This amount includes meeting and travel expenses for Board and Executive Committee.

(5) Refunds to local councils for the third and fourth quarters of last year.

(6) Preparation of fourth quarter tax return and annual audit report.

(7) Bulk of this amount was withheld from employees salaries.

(8) Travel expense of Lewis Black, Executive Committee meeting in January.

(9) Meeting of the Executive Committee in January.

## 1966 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

| Local Councils | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 45 | 26 | 71 |
| East Alabama | 90 | 154 | 244 |
| Huntsville | 25 | 24 | 49 |
| Mobile | 73 | 31 | 104 |
| Montgomery | 34 | 3 | 37 |
| Muscle Shoals | 27 | 33 | 60 |
| Talladega | 24 | 43 | 67 |
| Tuscaloosa | 55 | 23 | 78 |
| Out of State | 21 | 26 | 47 |
| At Large | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| TOTALS | 398 | 368 | 766 |

Financial

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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT -- March, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Memberships and Contributions | $1,289.50 | $ 6,633.70 |
| S.R.C. Grant | | 1,375.00 |
| S.R.C. Expanded Grant | 2,250.00 | 2,250.00 |
| Foundation Grants | | 11,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | 122.40 | 654.85 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $3,661.90 | $21,913.55 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Account | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive's Salary | $ 8,600.00 | $ | $ |
| Associate's Salary | 7,500.00 | 530.82 | 1,061.64 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,900.00 | 259.80 | 517.72 |
| Fringe Benefits (1) | 1,500.00 | 41.44 | 41.44 |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 | 335.30 | 484.76 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 | 150.00 | 300.00 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 2,000.00 | 554.91 | 607.10 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 108.90 | 229.39 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | 100.00 | 150.00 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 | 20.00 | 40.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 | | 100.86 |
| Literature | 300.00 | 9.00 | 9.00 |
| Accounting | 200.00 | | |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 | | |
| Student Work | 760.00 | 51.45 | 193.65 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 | | |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 | 50.00 | 856.79(2) |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 | 136.00 | 136.00 |
| Board of Directors | 500.00 | 26.12 | 186.87 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 106.36 | 191.11 |
| Total | $36,800.00 | $2,480.10 | $ 5,106.33 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | |
|---|---|
| National Sharecroppers Fund Alabama Conference | 166.94 |
| Payroll Taxes (3) | 142.44 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $2,789.48 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand, March 1, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | $16,528.28 |
| Receipts during March deposited | 1,411.90 |
| Total | $17,940.18 |
| Expenditures for March | 2,789.48 |
| Transfer to Savings from Checking | 5,000.00 |
| Balance on Hand, March 31, 1966 | $10,150.70 |

RECAPITULATION (Continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance in Savings, March 1, 1966 | $1,046.80 |
| Additions during March | 7,250.00 |
| Balance on hand, March 31, 1966 | $8,296 80 |
| | |
| Balance on hand, 1st Huntsville, March 31, 1966 | $10,150.70 |
| Balance in ANB, Birmingham, March 31, 1966 | 159.19 |
| Balance in Savings, Birmingham, March 31, 1966 | 8,296.80 |
| TOTAL BALANCE | $18,606.69 |

(1) This amount includes FICA, insurance policies and moving expenses.

(2) Of this amount, $487 was collected during the sale of luncheon tickets.

(3) This amount represents the employees" taxes withheld from salaries.

## 1966 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

| Local Councils | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 9 | 71 | 80 |
| East Alabama | 26 | 244 | 270 |
| Huntsville | 11 | 49 | 60 |
| Mobile | 25 | 104 | 129 |
| Montgomery | 1 | 37 | 38 |
| Muscle Shoals | 12 | 60 | 72 |
| Talladega District | 2 | 67 | 69 |
| Tuscaloosa | 20 | 78 | 98 |
| Out of State | 5 | 47 | 52 |
| At Large | 3 | 9 | 12 |
| TOTALS | 114 | 766 | 880 |

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
FINANCIAL REPORT - March, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | | $3,000.00 |
| TOTAL | | $3,000.00 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Director's Salary | $ 6,600.00 | $ 488.32 | $ 976.64 |
| Insurance | 300.00 | | |
| State Council Overhead | 800.00 | | |
| Travel | 1,500.00 | 197.14 | 348.61 |
| Telephone | 480.00 | 46.99 | 46.99 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 500.00 | 149.24 | 372.04 |
| Rent (including utilities) | 480.00 | 40.00 | 95.00 |
| Printing | 100.00 | 27.56 | 27.56 |
| Postage | 200.00 | 15.00 | 15.00 |
| Secretarial Service (Part-time) | 550.00 | 47.90 | 82.52 |
| Payroll Taxes | 200.00 | | |
| Miscellaneous | 290.00 | | |
| TOTAL | $12,000.00 | $1,012.15 | $1,964.36 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Balance on hand, March 1, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | | $2,047.79 |
| Expenditures during March | | 1,012.15 |
| Balance on hand, March 31, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | | $1,035.64 |
| | TOTAL BALANCE | $1.035.64 |

**FOR YOUR INFORMATION**

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finance

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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

April 6, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : Local Chapter Presidents and Financial Chairmen

From : Bob Valder

Subject: 1966 Membership and Financial Drive

At an Executive Committee meeting last Saturday in Birmingham, President Gomillion asked that I send you the enclosed information.

We are sending you a list giving the name of each person from your area who has contributed or pledged $24 or more during the 1966 Membership and Financial Drive. The purpose of sending this information is to: (a) help you determine who, from last year's contributors, has not contributed or pledged this year so that you might contact them if you have not already done so, and (b) suggest that you replace those contributors from last year who do not plan to contribute this year. You already have a list of all of your chapter's members and contributors from the past year.

We also thought it might be helpful for each chapter to have an idea of what other chapters have done thus far in terms of number of contributors with a distribution by the amount of the contribution. That information is contained in the chart attached.

*And last, but far from least, the Executive Committee suggests that each chapter's membership quota be reached by June 1, 1966. That gives you a little less than two months.*

DISTRIBUTION OF 1966 MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS
BY CHAPTERS

| Amounts | B'HAM | EAST ALA. | H'VILLE | MOBILE | MONTGY. | MUSCLE SHOALS | TALL. | TUSC. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| $24 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 18 | 6 | 12 | | 2 |
| $25 | | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | | 1 | 2 |
| $30 | | 1 | | | | | | |
| $36 | 3 | 4 | 8 | 3 | | 1 | | |
| $40 | | 1 | | | | | | |
| $48 | | | | | 1 | | | |
| $50 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| $60 | 3 | 7 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 11 | 1 | 2 |
| $75 | | | 2 | | 1 | | | |
| $100 | 1 | 1 | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| $120 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 2 | | 2 | | |
| $180 | | | | | | | 1 | |
| $250 | | 1 | | | | | | |
| $300 | | | | | 1 | | | |
| $500 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| $600 | | | 1 | | | | | |

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Ala — Finance

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT -- April, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Memberships and Contributions | $1,152.75 | $ 7,786.45 |
| S.R.C. Grant | 1,375.00 | 2,750.00 |
| S.R.C. Expanded Grant | | 2,250.00 |
| Foundation Grants | | 11,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | 737.65 | 1,392.50 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $3,265.40 | $25,178.95 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Account | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Director's Salary | $ 8,600.00 | $ | $ |
| Associate Director's Salary | 7,500.00 | 530.82 | 1,592.46 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,900.00 | 497.97 (1) | 1,015.69 |
| Fringe Benefits (2) | 1,500.00 | 39.56 | 81.00 |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 | 150.00 | 634.76 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 | 150.00 | 450.00 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 2,000.00 | 119.16 | 726.26 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 64.31 | 293.70 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | | 150.00 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 | 20.00 | 60.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 | | 100.86 |
| Literature | 300.00 | 7.50 | 16.50 |
| Accounting | 200.00 | | |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 | | |
| Student Work | 760.00 | | 193.65 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 | | |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 | | 856.79 (3) |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 | 426.50 | 562.50 |
| Board of Directors | 500.00 | 31.68 | 218.55 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 212.15 | 403.26 |
| Total | $36,000.00 | $2,249.65 | $7,355.98 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Educational Conference, Inc. | 5,000.00 | |
| Employees' Taxes Withheld (4) | 171.94 | 314.38 |
| National Sharecroppers Fund | | 907.57 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $7,421.59 | $8,577.93 |

(1) This amount includes retroactive salary raise.

(2) This amount includes FICA, insurance policies and moving expenses.

(3) Of this amount, $487 was collected during the sale of luncheon tickets at the Annual Meeting.

(4) This amount represents the employees' taxes withheld from salaries.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT - April, 1966 (Continued)

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand, April 1, 1966 (1st Huntsville) | $10,150.70 |
| Receipts during April | 3,265.40 |
| Total | $13,416.10 |
| Expenditures during April | -7,367.09 |
| Transfer to ANB (Checking) | -2,000.00 |
| Balance on hand, April 30, 1966 (1st Huntsville) | $ 4,049.01 |
| | |
| Balance in ANB, April 1, 1966 | $ 159.59 |
| Less Service Charge | -.65 |
| Total Balance, April 1, 1966 | $ 158.94 |
| Deposit made during April | 2,000.00 |
| Expenditures during April | -54.50 |
| Balance on hand, April 30, 1966 | $ 2,104.44 |
| | |
| Balance in Savings | $ 8,296.80 |
| Balance in First National, Huntsville | 4,049.01 |
| Balance in ANB, Birmingham | 2,104.44 |
| TOTAL BALANCE | $14,450.25 |

## 1966 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

| Local Councils | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 15 | 80 | 95 |
| East Alabama | 38 | 270 | 308 |
| Huntsville | 9 | 60 | 69 |
| Mobile | 9 | 129 | 138 |
| Montgomery | 7 | 38 | 45 |
| Muscle Shoals | 7 | 72 | 79 |
| Talladega District | 2 | 69 | 71 |
| Tuscaloosa | 9 | 98 | 107 |
| Out of State | 2 | 52 | 54 |
| At Large | 2 | 12 | 14 |
| TOTALS | 100 | 880 | 980 |

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
FINANCIAL REPORT - April, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | | $3,000.00 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | | $3,000.00 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Director's Salary | $ 6,600.00 | $482.32 | $1,458.96 |
| Insurance | 300.00 | | |
| State Council Overhead | 800.00 | | |
| Travel | 1,500.00 | 86.47 | 435.08 |
| Telephone | 480.00 | | 46.99 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 500.00 | | 372.04 |
| Rent (including utilities) | 480.00 | 40.75 | 135.75 |
| Printing | 100.00 | | 27.56 |
| Postage | 200.00 | | 15.00 |
| Secretarial Service (Part-time) | 550.00 | 47.90 | 130.42 |
| Payroll Taxes (Employer's) | 200.00 | 45.88 | 45.88 |
| Miscellaneous | 290.00 | | |
| Total | $12,000.00 | $703.32 | $2,667.68 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Employees' Taxes Withheld: | | |
| Federal | 131.57 | 131.57 |
| State | 4.76 | 4.76 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $839.65 | $2,804.01 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand, April 1, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | $1,035.64 |
| Expenditures during April | 839.65 |
| Balance on hand, April 30, 1966 (1st Huntsville) | $ 195.99 |

TOTAL BALANCE $ 195.99

Ala- Financial

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

May 20, 1966

REPORT
of the
1966 Membership and Financial Campaign

| CHAPTERS | FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN | | | MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Pledged & Rec'd | Total 1966 Goal | Per Cent of Goal Pledged & Rec'd | Total Pledged & Rec'd | Total 1966 Quota | Per Cent of Quota Pledged & Rec'd |
| Greater Birmingham | $ 860.00 | $ 2,800 | 31% | 101 | 200 | 51% |
| East Alabama | 3,200.50 | 4,600 | 70% | 355 | 400 | 89% |
| Huntsville | 1,499.00 | 1,600 | 94% | 78 | 100 | 78% |
| Mobile | 1,780.50 | 2,600 | 68% | 157 | 150 | 105% |
| Montgomery | 618.00 | 1,300 | 62% | 46 | 75 | 61% |
| Muscle Shoals | 1,663.00 | 1,900 | 88% | 85 | 100 | 85% |
| Talladega District | 591.00 | 700 | 84% | 72 | 50 | 144% |
| Tuscaloosa | 1,397.00 | 2,100 | 67% | 129 | 150 | 86% |
| Special Gifts* | 4,688.14 | 10,000 | 47% | 54* | | |
| At Large | 74.00 | | | 16 | | |
| TOTALS | $16,371.14 | $28,000 | 58% | 1,093 | 1,250** | 87% |

*The "Special Gifts" column under the MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN section refers to all "out of state" memberships paid or pledged.

**Includes 25 for Enterprise.

NOTE: The actual paid membership as of May 20, 1966 is 1,014.

Ala- FINANCE

# ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
## FINANCIAL REPORT -- May, 1966

### RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Memberships and Contributions | $ 694.00 | $ 8,480.45 |
| S.R.C. Grant | | 2,750.00 |
| S.R.C. Expanded Grant | | 2,250.00 |
| Foundation Grants | | 11,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | | 1,392.50 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $ 694.00 | $25,872.95 |

### EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Account | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Director's Salary | $ 8,600.00 | $ | $ |
| Associate Director's Salary | 7,500.00 | 531.42 | 2,123.88 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,900.00 | 315.38 | 1,331.07 |
| Fringe Benefits (1) | 1,500.00 | 84.50 | 166.40 |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 | 101.25 | 736.01 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 | 150.00 | 600.00 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 2,000.00 | 131.26 | 857.52 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 83.83 | 377.53 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | | 150.00 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 | 20.00 | 80.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 | 27.56 | 128.42 |
| Literature | 300.00 | 13.00 | 29.50 |
| Accounting | 200.00 | 35.00 | 35.00 |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 | 25.00 | 25.00 |
| Student Work | 760.00 | | 193.65 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 | | |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 | | 856.79 |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 | | 562.50 |
| Board of Directors | 500.00 | 59.49 | 278.04 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 87.55 | 490.81 |
| Total | $36,000.00 | $1,666.14 | $9,022.12 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Educational Conference, Inc. | | 5,000.00 |
| Employees' Taxes Withheld (2) | 362.50 | 676.88 |
| National Sharecroppers Fund | | 907.57 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $2,028.64 | $15,606.57 |

(1) This amount includes FICA, insurance policies and moving expenses.

(2) This amount represents the employees' taxes withheld from salaries.

### RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand, May 1, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | $4,049.01 |
| Receipts during May | 694.00 |
| Total | $4,743.01 |
| Expenditures during May | -2,003.64 |
| Balance on hand, May 31, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | $2,739.37 |
| Balance on hand, May 1, 1966 (ANB, Birmingham) | $2,104.44 |
| Expenditures during May | -25.00 |
| Balance on hand, May 31, 1966 (ANB, Birmingham) | $2,079.44 |
| Balance in Savings | $8,296.80 |
| Balance in First National, Huntsville | 2,739.37 |
| Balance in ANB, Birmingham | 2,079.44 |
| TOTAL BALANCE | $13,115.61 |

## 1966 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

| Local Councils | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 16 | 95 | 111 |
| East Alabama | 17 | 308 | 325 |
| Huntsville | 11 | 69 | 80 |
| Mobile | 6 | 138 | 144 |
| Montgomery | 1 | 45 | 46 |
| Muscle Shoals | 4 | 79 | 83 |
| Talladega District | 0 | 71 | 71 |
| Tuscaloosa | 6 | 107 | 113 |
| Out of State | 0 | 54 | 54 |
| At Large | 1 | 14 | 15 |
| TOTAL | 62 | 980 | 1,042 |

Ala - FINANCE

# ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
## RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
## FINANCIAL REPORT - May, 1966

### RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | $3,000.00 | $6,000.00 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $3,000.00 | $6,000.00 |

### EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Director's Salary | $ 6,600.00 | $489.12 | $1,948.08 |
| Insurance | 300.00 | | |
| State Council Overhead | 800.00 | | |
| Travel | 1,500.00 | 85.81 | 520.89 |
| Telephone | 480.00 | | 46.99 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 500.00 | | 372.04 |
| Rent (including utilities) | 480.00 | 40.79 | 176.54 |
| Printing | 100.00 | | 27.56 |
| Postage | 200.00 | | 15.00 |
| Secretarial Service (Part-time) | 550.00 | 47.90 | 178.32 |
| Payroll Taxes (Employer's) | 200.00 | | 45.88 |
| Miscellaneous | 290.00 | 10.00 | 10.00 |
| Total | $12,000.00 | $673.62 | $3,341.30 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

Employees' Taxes Withheld:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Federal | | 131.57 |
| State | | 4.76 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $673.62 | $3,477.63 |

### RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand, May 1, 1966 (1st Huntsville) | $ 195.99 |
| Receipts during May | 3,000.00 |
| Expenditures during May | -673.62 |
| Balance on hand, May 31, 1966 (1st Huntsville) | $2,522.37 |

TOTAL BALANCE $2,522.37

Ala - FINANCE

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
FINANCIAL REPORT - May, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | $3,000.00 | $6,000.00 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $3,000.00 | $6,000.00 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Director's Salary | $ 6,600.00 | $489.12 | $1,948.08 |
| Insurance | 300.00 | | |
| State Council Overhead | 800.00 | | |
| Travel | 1,500.00 | 85.81 | 520.89 |
| Telephone | 480.00 | | 46.99 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 500.00 | | 372.04 |
| Rent (including utilities) | 480.00 | 40.79 | 176.54 |
| Printing | 100.00 | | 27.56 |
| Postage | 200.00 | | 15.00 |
| Secretarial Service (Part-time) | 550.00 | 47.90 | 178.32 |
| Payroll Taxes (Employer's) | 200.00 | | 45.88 |
| Miscellaneous | 290.00 | 10.00 | 10.00 |
| Total | $12,000.00 | $673.62 | $3,341.30 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

Employees' Taxes Withheld:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Federal | | 131.57 |
| State | | 4.76 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $673.62 | $3,477.63 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand, May 1, 1966 (1st Huntsville) | $ 195.99 |
| Receipts during May | 3,000.00 |
| Expenditures during May | -673.62 |
| Balance on hand, May 31, 1966 (1st Huntsville) | $2,522.37 |

TOTAL BALANCE $2,522.37

Ala- FINANCE

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT -- June, 1966

RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Memberships and Contributions | $ 608.50 | $ 9,088.95 |
| S. R. C. Grant | | 2,750.00 |
| S. R. C. Expanded Grant | 2,250.00 | 4.500.00 |
| Foundation Grants | | 11,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | | 1,392.50 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $2,858.50 | $28,731.45 |

EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Director's Salary | $ 8,600.00 | $ 309.02 | $ 309.02 |
| Associate Director's Salary | 7,500.00 | 493.03 | $ 2,616.91 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,900.00 | 315.38 | 1,646.45 |
| Fringe Benefits (1) | 1,500.00 | 66.24 | 232.64 |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 | 308.01 | 1,044.02 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 | 150.00 | 750.00 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 2,000.00 | 101.36 | 958.88 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 81.63 | 459.16 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | 80.00 | 230.00 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 | 20.00 | 100.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 | | 128.42 |
| Literature | 300.00 | 57.50 | 87.00 |
| Accounting | 200.00 | | 35.00 |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 | | 25.00 |
| Student Work | 760.00 | | 193.65 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 | | |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 | | 856.79 |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 | | 562.50 |
| Board of Directors | 500.00 | 81.67 | 359.71 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 170.40 | 661.21 |
| Total | $36,000.00 | $2,234.24 | $11,256.36 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Educational Conference, Inc. | | 5,000.00 |
| Employees' Taxes Withheld (2) | | 676.88 |
| National Sharecroppers Fund | 5.50 | 913.07 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $2,239.14 | $17,846.31 |

(1) This amount includes FICA, insurance policies and moving expenses.

(2) This amount represents the employees' taxes withheld from salaries.

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand, June 1, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | $ 2,739.37 |
| Receipts during June | 2,858.50 |
| Total | $ 5,597.87 |
| Expenditures during June | -2,239.74 |
| Balance on hand, June 30, 1966, (1st, Huntsville) | $ 3,358.13 |
| | |
| Balance in Savings | $ 8,296.80 |
| Balance in ANB (Birmingham) | 2,079.44 |
| Balance in First National (Huntsville) | 3,358.13 |
| TOTAL BALANCE (June 30, 1966) | $13,734.37 |

## 1966 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

| Local Councils | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 12 | 111 | 123 |
| East Alabama | 5 | 325 | 330 |
| Huntsville | 8 | 80 | 88 |
| Mobile | 5 | 144 | 149 |
| Montgomery | 1 | 46 | 47 |
| Muscle Shoals | 0 | 83 | 83 |
| Talladega District | 0 | 71 | 71 |
| Tuscaloosa | 4 | 113 | 117 |
| Out of State | 1 | 54 | 55 |
| At Large | 2 | 15 | 17 |
| TOTAL | 37 | 1,042 | 1,079 |

Ala - FINANCE

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
FINANCIAL REPORT - June, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | | $6,000.00 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | | $6,000.00 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Director's Salary | $6,600.00 | $489.12 | $2,437.20 |
| Insurance | 300.00 | | |
| State Council Overhead | 800.00 | | |
| Travel | 1,500.00 | 462.21 | 983.10 |
| Telephone | 480.00 | 181.12 | 228.11 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 500.00 | 34.00 | 406.04 |
| Rent (including utilities) | 480.00 | 49.19 | 225.73 |
| Printing | 100.00 | | 27.56 |
| Postage | 200.00 | | 15.00 |
| Secretarial Service (Part-time) | 550.00 | 47.90 | 226.22 |
| Payroll Taxes (Employer's) | 200.00 | | 45.88 |
| Miscellaneous | 290.00 | | 10.00 |
| Total | $ 12,000.00 | $1,263.54 | $4,604.84 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

Employees' Taxes Withheld:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Federal | | 131.57 |
| State | | 4.76 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $1,263.54 | $4,741.17 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand, June 1, 1966(1st Huntsville) | $2,522.37 |
| Expenditures during June | -1,263.54 |
| Balance on hand, June 30, 1966(1st Huntsville) | 1,258.83 |
| TOTAL BALANCE | $1,258.83 |

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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
QUARTERLY REPORT
April, May, and June, 1966

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL

Total membership on June 30, 1966, was 1,079; our membership at the same time last year was 954. Right now, in other words, we are 125 members ahead of last year. We need not only to maintain but also to increase that margin during the remainder of the year. A glance at the accompanying financial report will remind us of how much our present economic health depends upon assistance from the Southern Regional Council. Continuation of that support until we are able to stand on our own feet will rest principally upon indications of solid growth. SRC and the foundations help those who demonstrate the ability to help themselves.

The ACHR Executive Committee met in Birmingham on April 2 and May 26. At the first meeting, the Committee adopted a resolution commending The Southern Courier and recommending that Council members seriously consider subscribing and contributing to this excellent newspaper. At its second meeting, the Committee recommended that the Council employ Jerry Roden, Jr. as Executive Director, retain the services of Bob Valder as Associate Director, and move the state offices from Huntsville to Auburn.

The ACHR Board of Directors, meeting in Birmingham on June 10, adopted the Executive Committee's recommendation on the employment of executive and associate directors and the moving of the state offices. The Board also voted to: (1) schedule a Board seminar for late September in Birmingham to define clearly the goals of the Alabama Council and to chart its course for the future; (2) to hold the annual meeting on February 3-4, at the Stafford Hotel in Tuscaloosa; and (3) to invite two nationally known speakers for the annual meeting--one for the Friday night session, and another for the luncheon on Saturday.

A number of Alabama Council members were among the record crowd of some 1,300 people turning out for a U. S. Commission on Civil Rights meeting on the 1966 school desegregation guidelines, at the Dinkler Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham on June 11. Following that meeting, the American Friends Service Committee, the Alabama Council, the Alabama State Conference of Branches of the NAACP, SCLC, SNCC, and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund sponsored a session of community leaders on school desegregation. A highlight of this meeting was a series of addresses by Negro students who attended last year formerly all-white schools. The consensus of these students was that they find their new academic programs difficult but challenging.

THE LOCAL COUNCILS

Birmingham. The Magic City chapter continues to push for the hiring of Negro policemen in Birmingham. The Birmingham Chapter also continues its investigation of the ratio of voting machines per polling place and its efforts to involve the U. S. Department of Justice in the McGowan case (Emory Warren McGowan, a 23-year-old white man, shot five Negro marchers protesting alleged unfair hiring practices at Liberty Super Market in Birmingham on February 21. The Jefferson County Grand Jury failed to indict McGowan, and so far the Justice Department has not entered the case). Like other Council chapters, Birmingham is working to encourage a speed-up of school desegregation. The chapter reports good results from efforts in Fairfield and Bessemer, and will concentrate on Birmingham itself for the remainder of the summer.

LOCAL COUNCILS (Continued)

Huntsville. The June meeting was family picnic time for the Huntsville Council. The May meeting program was a panel discussion of "Special Problems in Implementing the Poverty Program in Huntsville." In April, the Huntsville Chapter presented a symposium on school desegregation. Council members in the Rocket City continue to work on school desegregation, voter registration, housing, and fair employment practices. Contacts resulting from school desegregation efforts in rural Madison County have lead to proposals for expansion of the chapter into a Huntsville Area or Madison County Council in order to include new friends in all Council activities.

Mobile. June 18 was family picnic time for the Mobile Council. At the May meeting, Mobilians used a buzz session to determine the answer to: "Where do we go from here?" The April meeting, second in a series on local government, featured Mr. E. C. Doody, administrative assistant to the Mobile Board of County Commissioners. Like several other chapters, Mobile is concentrating on school desegregation this summer.

Muscle Shoals. At its June meeting, the Muscle Shoals Chapter heard a report from Mr. Phil Draper of the American Friends Service Committee on his recent work with the NAACP and discussed the 1966 school desegregation guidelines. Present at the meeting was Mr. Allen Thornton, Lauderdale County Superintendent of Education, whose program under the Civil Rights Act has won national recognition. Program for Muscle Shoals' May meeting consisted of reports on the Tuskegee Institute and Talladega College Civil Rights Conference, a review of Stanley Rosenbaum's "Inter-racial and International Communication," and commentaries on the May 3 Democratic Primary.

Tuscaloosa. The Council's Tuscaloosa chapter is making a concentrated effort to secure the establishment of an official Tuscaloosa Community Relations Board composed of twelve Negro and twelve white representatives. The Council chapter has presented to the Tuscaloosa City Commission a proposed ordinance for establishing such a board along with an equitable plan for selecting members to it.

Talladega. Talladega Chapter held its spring meeting in Gadsden on May 14. Featured speaker for the occasion was the Rev. Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Montgomery. Our Capitol City chapter has filed no official reports this quarter, but we hear by the grapevine that a new slate of officers has taken the reins and that the whole chapter is planning to step-up activities.

East Alabama. Its May meeting constituted a new milestone for the East Alabama Chapter: it met for the first time in a public building--the auditorium of Drake High School in Auburn; and it had the largest turnout on record--more than 200 people. The subject was school desegregation, and present were city and county superintendents and some school board members. Summer is the season of greatest activity for East Alabama, which now has underway programs involving some 2,500 men, women, and children in Head Start, Head Start Follow-Through, tutorial, integrated play-school, and adult education program. In addition, this chapter continues to work on voter registration and voter education and the development of economic opportunities.

## THE STAFF

### Executive Director

The Executive Director, after his appointment on June 10, spent his first weeks on the job arranging for the move from Huntsville to Auburn, interviewing prospects and hiring a new secretary, getting acquainted with state office procedures, reviewing the current programs in East Alabama, and making a tour of the West Alabama Black Belt area with the Rural Advancement Project Director, Lewis Black.

### Associate Director

In the first part of this quarter, the Associate Director concentrated upon school desegregation efforts, particularly with the Birmingham, East Alabama, and Huntsville chapters. The past month has been spent arranging for the move to Auburn. The Associate Director has also been working with the RAP Director on the leadership training proposal to OEO.

Trips include two to Decatur to speak to the Decatur Improvement Association, a few to Birmingham for ACHR meetings and other meetings, one through the Black Belt checking on possible voting irregularities in the May 3 Primary, two to Washington, D. C., for a NAIRO Intern meeting and the White House Conference, one to Atlanta for a Southern Regional Council meeting and a National Sharecroppers Fund meeting, and one to Tuskegee to attend a student conference.

### Rural Advancement Project Director

The RAP Director has concentrated upon establishing and working with already established credit unions in the Black Belt. Applications for credit union charters have been made in Wilcox and Sumter Counties; a charter has been approved for Marengo County; attempts to organize a credit union are being made in Greene and Monroe Counties. Efforts have been started to begin a farm cooperative and some market development efforts have been made for a co-op in Greensboro.

The RAP Director also helped write proposals for five counties for funds from the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project. Two were funded. He was also active in voter registration activities, liaison with the Justice Department and political education programs.

The Director has been instrumental in writing and helping to get funded a $79,000 surplus food commodities program for Hale and Perry Counties. The program will probably be funded shortly.

Another program which the Director has been working with is a proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity for a leadership training program, which will be funded through Miles College.

Trips of the RAP Director include many through the Black Belt, a number to Birmingham for ACHR meetings and meetings at Miles College, two to Atlanta for SRC and NSF meetings, a few to Montgomery on OEO business, one to Jackson, Mississippi, for a meeting on co-operatives and one to Washington, D. C. to attend the White House Conference.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT -- June, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Memberships and Contributions | $ 608.50 | $ 9,088.95 |
| S. R. C. Grant | | 2,750.00 |
| S. R. C. Expanded Grant | 2,250.00 | 4.500.00 |
| Foundation Grants | | 11,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | | 1,392.50 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $2,858.50 | $28,731.45 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Director's Salary | $ 8,600.00 | $ 309.02 | $ 309.02 |
| Associate Director's Salary | 7,500.00 | 493.03 | $ 2,616.91 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,900.00 | 315.38 | 1,646.45 |
| Fringe Benefits (1) | 1,500.00 | 66.24 | 232.64 |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 | 308.01 | 1,044.02 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 | 150.00 | 750.00 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 2,000.00 | 101.36 | 958.88 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 81.63 | 459.16 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | 80.00 | 230.00 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 | 20.00 | 100.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 | | 128.42 |
| Literature | 300.00 | 57.50 | 87.00 |
| Accounting | 200.00 | | 35.00 |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 | | 25.00 |
| Student Work | 760.00 | | 193.65 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 | | |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 | | 856.79 |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 | | 562.50 |
| Board of Directors | 500.00 | 81.67 | 359.71 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 170.40 | 661.21 |
| Total | $36,000.00 | $2,234.24 | $11,256.36 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Educational Conference, Inc. | | 5,000.00 |
| Employees' Taxes Withheld (2) | | 676.88 |
| National Sharecroppers Fund | 5.50 | 913.07 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $2,239.14 | $17,846.31 |

(1) This amount includes FICA, insurance policies and moving expenses.

(2) This amount represents the employees' taxes withheld from salaries.

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand, June 1, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | $ 2,739.37 |
| Receipts during June | 2,858.50 |
| Total | $ 5,597.87 |
| Expenditures during June | -2,239.74 |
| Balance on hand, June 30, 1966, (1st, Huntsville) | $ 3,358.13 |
| | |
| Balance in Savings | $ 8,296.80 |
| Balance in ANB (Birmingham) | 2,079.44 |
| Balance in First National (Huntsville) | 3,358.13 |
| TOTAL BALANCE (June 30, 1966) | $13,734.37 |

## 1966 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

| Local Councils | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 12 | 111 | 123 |
| East Alabama | 5 | 325 | 330 |
| Huntsville | 8 | 80 | 88 |
| Mobile | 5 | 144 | 149 |
| Montgomery | 1 | 46 | 47 |
| Muscle Shoals | 0 | 83 | 83 |
| Talladega District | 0 | 71 | 71 |
| Tuscaloosa | 4 | 113 | 117 |
| Out of State | 1 | 54 | 55 |
| At Large | 2 | 15 | 17 |
| TOTAL | 37 | 1,042 | 1,079 |

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
FINANCIAL REPORT - June, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | | $6,000.00 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | | $6,000.00 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Director's Salary | $6,600.00 | $489.12 | $2,437.20 |
| Insurance | 300.00 | | |
| State Council Overhead | 800.00 | | |
| Travel | 1,500.00 | 462.21 | 983.10 |
| Telephone | 480.00 | 181.12 | 228.11 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 500.00 | 34.00 | 406.04 |
| Rent (including utilities) | 480.00 | 49.19 | 225.73 |
| Printing | 100.00 | | 27.56 |
| Postage | 200.00 | | 15.00 |
| Secretarial Service (Part-time) | 550.00 | 47.90 | 226.22 |
| Payroll Taxes (Employer's) | 200.00 | | 45.88 |
| Miscellaneous | 290.00 | | 10.00 |
| Total | $ 12,000.00 | $1,263.54 | $4,604.84 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

Employees' Taxes Withheld:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Federal | | 131.57 |
| State | | 4.76 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $1,263.54 | $4,741.17 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand, June 1, 1966(1st Huntsville) | $2,522.37 |
| Expenditures during June | -1,263.54 |
| Balance on hand, June 30, 1966(1st Huntsville) | 1,258.83 |
| TOTAL BALANCE | $1,258.83 |

Ala-FINANCE

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT -- July, 1966

RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Memberships and Contributions | $ 544.40 | $ 9,633.35 |
| S. R. C. Grant | 1,375.00 | 4,125.00 |
| S. R. C. Expanded Grant | | 4,500.00 |
| Foundation Grants | | 11,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | 81.40 | 1,473.90 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $2,000.80 | $30,732.25 |

EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Director's Salary | $ 8,600.00 | $ 618.04 | $ 927.06 |
| Associate Director's Salary | 7,500.00 | 492.73 | 3,109.64 |
| Secretary Salary | 3,900.00 | 397.85 | 2,044.30 |
| Fringe Benefits (1) | 1,800.00 | 505.75 | 738.39 |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 | 770.89 | 1,814.91 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 | 285.00 | 1,035.00 |
| Office Supplies and Equipment | 2,000.00 | 32.35 | 991.23 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 136.52 | 595.68 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | 100.00 | 330.00 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 | | 100.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 | 177.60 | 306.02 |
| Literature | 300.00 | | 87.00 |
| Accounting | 200.00 | 10.00 | 45.00 |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 | | 25.00 |
| Student Work | 760.00 | | 193.65 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 | | |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 | 143.75 | 1,000.54 |
| Board of Directors | 500.00 | 15.35 | 375.06 |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 | 140.25 | 702.75 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 531.50 | 1,192.71 |
| Total | $36,000.00 | $4,357.58 | $15,613.94 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Educational Conference, Inc. | 5,000.00 | 10,000.00 |
| Employees' Taxes Withheld (2) | 539.00 | 1,215.88 |
| National Sharecroppers Fund | | 913.07 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $9,896.58 | $27,742.89 |

(1) This amount includes FICA, insurance polices and moving expenses.

(2) This amount represents the employees' taxes withheld from salaries.

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance in Savings, July 1, 1966 | $8,296.80 |
| Interest Earned | 117.61 |
| Total | $8,414.41 |
| Transferred from saving to checking | -5,000.00 |
| Balance on hand July 31, 1966 | $3,414.41 |
| | |
| Balance on hand, July 1, 1966 (American National Bank) | $2,079.44 |
| Receipts During July | 5,141.12 |
| Total | $7,220.56 |
| Expenditures during July | -6,782.57 |
| Balance on hand, July 31, 1966 (American National Bank) | $ 437.99 |
| | |
| Balance on hand, July 1, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | $3,358.13 |
| Receipts during July | 356.18 |
| Total | $3,714.31 |
| Expenditures during July | -1,833.00 |
| Balance on hand, July 31, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | $1,881.31 |
| | |
| Balance on hand, July 18, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $1,375.00 |
| Receipts during July | 128.50 |
| Total | $1,503.50 |
| Expenditures during July | -1,281.41 |
| Balance on hand, July 31, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $ 222.09 |
| | |
| Balance in Savings | $3,414.41 |
| Balance in ANB (Birmingham) | 437.99 |
| Balance in First National (Huntsville) | 1,881.31 |
| Balance in ANB (Auburn) | 222.09 |
| TOTAL BALANCE (July 31, 1966) | $5,955.80 |

## 1966 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

| Local Councils | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 2 | 123 | 125 |
| East Alabama | 2 | 330 | 332 |
| Huntsville | 2 | 88 | 90 |
| Mobile | 1 | 149 | 150 |
| Montgomery | 5 | 47 | 52 |
| Muscles Shoals | 5 | 83 | 88 |
| Talladega District | 0 | 71 | 71 |
| Tuscaloosa | 7 | 117 | 124 |
| Out of State | 0 | 55 | 55 |
| At Large | 0 | 17 | 17 |
| TOTAL | 24 | 1,080 | 1,104 |

Ala - Grants

August 5, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Valder:

The Voter Education Project has carefully considered the request of the Rural Advancement Project of Alabama Council on Human Relations to conduct a citizenship education program relative to the 1966 Alabama Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections for the period of August 6, to September 6, 1966. We are pleased to inform you that we have approved your program in the amount of $1,650.00 for a one month program.

The amount granted is to cover the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| Subsistance | |
| (10) People @ $15. per week | $600.00 |
| Secretary @ $25. per week | 100.00 |
| Transportation | 750.00 |
| Office Supplies | 125.00 |
| Telephone | 125.00 |
| | $1,650.00 |

Our check in the amount of $1,650.00 is enclosed. Please sign and return the enclosed receipt carbon immediately.

These funds may not be used to support partisan politics in any manner whatsoever, nor to influence legislation of any kind, nor in behalf of or against any political candidate. You should urge and welcome non-partisan support of your voter registration activities.

Our Research Director, Mr. Marvin Wall, will write you regarding further special reporting requirements.

If you have any questions, please let us hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

VEJ/pf
Enclosure

cc: Mr. Lewis Black
Mr. Edwin Stanfield

---

Check in the amount of $1,650.00 received from VEP on this _____day of _____, 1966

Signed:_____
(Mrs.) Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations

ALA - FINANCE

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT - August, 1966

RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Memberships and Contributions | $ 577.00 | $10,210.35 |
| S. R. C. Grant | | 4,125.00 |
| S. R. C. Expanded Grant | 2,250.00 | 6,750.00 |
| Foundation Grants | 1,000.00 | 12,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | | 1,473.90 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $3,827.00 | $34,559.25 |

EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Director's Salary | $8,600.00 | $ 618.04 | $ 1,545.10 |
| Associate Director's Salary | 7,500.00 | 626.62 | 3,736.26 |
| Secretary Salary | 3,900.00 | 240.16 | 2,284.46 |
| Fringe Benefits (1) | 1,800.00 | 106.98 | 845.37 |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 | 429.85 | 2,244.76 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 | 135.00 | 1,170.00 |
| Office Supplies and Equipment | 2,000.00 | 125.83 | 1,117.06 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 192.42 | 788.10 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | 119.95 | 449.95 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 | | 100.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 | 14.00 | 320.02 |
| Literature | 300.00 | 5.00 | 92.00 |
| Accounting | 200.00 | | 45.00 |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 | | 25.00 |
| Student Work | 760.00 | | 193.65 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 | | |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 | | 1,000.54 |
| Board of Directors | 500.00 | | 375.06 |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 | | 702.75 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 39.15 | 1,231.86 |
| Total | $36,000.00 | $2,653.00 | $18,266.94 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Educational Conference, Inc. | | 10,000.00 |
| Employees' Taxes Withheld (2) | 86.08 | 1,301.96 |
| National Sharecroppers Fund | | 913.07 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $2,739.08 | $30,481.97 |

(1) This amount includes FICA, insurance polices and moving expenses.

(2) This amount represents the employees' taxes withheld from salaries.

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand August 1, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $ 222.09 |
| Receipts During August | 3,827.00 |
| Transferred from (1st, Huntsville) | 2,025.91 |
| Total | $6,075.00 |
| Expenditures during August | -2,739.08 |
| Balance on hand August 31, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $3,335.92 |
| | |
| Balance on hand August 1, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | $2,025.91 |
| Transferred to (Auburn National Bank) | -2,025.91 |
| Balance on hand August 31, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | $0,000.00 |
| | |
| Balance in Savings | $3,414.41 |
| Balance in ANB (Birmingham) | 437.99 |
| Balance in ANB (Auburn) | 3,335.92 |
| TOTAL BALANCE (August 31, 1966) | $7,188.32 |

## 1966 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLEMENT

| Local Councils | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 0 | 125 | 125 |
| East Alabama | 5 | 332 | 337 |
| Huntsville | 0 | 90 | 90 |
| Mobile | 0 | 150 | 150 |
| Montgomery | 0 | 52 | 52 |
| Muscles Shoals | 0 | 88 | 88 |
| Talladega District | 0 | 71 | 71 |
| Tuscaloosa | 0 | 124 | 124 |
| Out of State | 1 | 55 | 56 |
| At Large | 0 | 17 | 17 |
| TOTAL | 6 | ~~1,086~~ 1,104 | 1,110 |

ALA - FINANCE

# ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
## RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
## FINANCIAL REPORT - August, 1966

### RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | | $9,000.00 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | | $9,000.00 |

### EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Director's Salary | $6,000.00 | $489.12 | $3,415.44 |
| Insurance | 300.00 | 33.12 | 99.36 |
| State Council Overhead | 800.00 | | |
| Travel | 1,500.00 | 221.80 | 1,419.75 |
| Telephone | 480.00 | 137.00 | 456.51 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 500.00 | | 749.20 |
| Rent (including utilities) | 480.00 | 55.50 | 361.98 |
| Printing | 100.00 | | 27.56 |
| Postage | 200.00 | | 15.00 |
| Secretarial Service (Part-time) | 550.00 | 47.90 | 322.02 |
| Payroll Taxes (Employer's) | 200.00 | | 45.88 |
| Miscellaneous | 290.00 | 7.48 | 27.48 |
| Total | $12,000.00 | $991.92 | $6,940.18 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

Employees' Taxes Withheld:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Federal | | 391.77 |
| State | | 11.90 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $991.92 | $7,343.85 |

### RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand August 1, 1966 (1st Huntsville) | $ 559.64 |
| Expenditures during August | |
| Balance on hand August 31, 1966 (1st Huntsville) | 559.64 |
| Balance on hand August 1, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $2,088.43 |
| Expenditures During August | - 991.92 |
| Balance on hand August 31, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $1,096.51 |
| TOTAL BALANCE | $1,656.15 |

Ala - F+M

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT - August, 1966

RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Memberships and Contributions | $ 577.00 | $10,210.35 |
| S. R. C. Grant | | 4,125.00 |
| S. R. C. Expanded Grant | 2,250.00 | 6,750.00 |
| Foundation Grants | 1,000.00 | 12,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | | 1,473.90 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $3,827.00 | $34,559.25 |

EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Director's Salary | $8,600.00 | $ 618.04 | $ 1,545.10 |
| Associate Director's Salary | 7,500.00 | 626.62 | 3,736.26 |
| Secretary Salary | 3,900.00 | 240.16 | 2,284.46 |
| Fringe Benefits (1) | 1,800.00 | 106.98 | 845.37 |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 | 429.85 | 2,244.76 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 | 135.00 | 1,170.00 |
| Office Supplies and Equipment | 2,000.00 | 125.83 | 1,117.06 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 192.42 | 788.10 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | 119.95 | 449.95 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 | | 100.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 | 14.00 | 320.02 |
| Literature | 300.00 | 5.00 | 92.00 |
| Accounting | 200.00 | | 45.00 |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 | | 25.00 |
| Student Work | 760.00 | | 193.65 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 | | |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 | | 1,000.54 |
| Board of Directors | 500.00 | | 375.06 |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 | | 702.75 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 39.15 | 1,231.86 |
| Total | $36,000.00 | $2,653.00 | $18,266.94 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Educational Conference, Inc. | | 10,000.00 |
| Employees' Taxes Withheld (2) | 86.08 | 1,301.96 |
| National Sharecroppers Fund | | 913.07 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $2,739.08 | $30,481.97 |

(1) This amount includes FICA, insurance polices and moving expenses.

(2) This amount represents the employees' taxes withheld from salaries.

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand August 1, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $ 222.09 |
| Receipts During August | 3,827.00 |
| Transferred from (1st, Huntsville) | 2,025.91 |
| Total | $6,075.00 |
| Expenditures during August | -2,739.08 |
| Balance on hand August 31, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $3,335.92 |
| | |
| Balance on hand August 1, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | $2,025.91 |
| Transferred to (Auburn National Bank) | -2,025.91 |
| Balance on hand August 31, 1966 (1st, Huntsville) | $0,000.00 |
| | |
| Balance in Savings | $3,414.41 |
| Balance in ANB (Birmingham) | 437.99 |
| Balance in ANB (Auburn) | 3,335.92 |
| TOTAL BALANCE (August 31, 1966) | $7,188.32 |

## 1966 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLEMENT

| Local Councils | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 0 | 125 | 125 |
| East Alabama | 5 | 332 | 337 |
| Huntsville | 0 | 90 | 90 |
| Mobile | 0 | 150 | 150 |
| Montgomery | 0 | 52 | 52 |
| Muscles Shoals | 0 | 88 | 88 |
| Talladega District | 0 | 71 | 71 |
| Tuscaloosa | 0 | 124 | 124 |
| Out of State | 1 | 55 | 56 |
| At Large | 0 | 17 | 17 |
| TOTAL | 6 | 1,086 | 1,110 |

Ala - F+M

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
FINANCIAL REPORT - August, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | | $9,000.00 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | | $9,000.00 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Director's Salary | $6,000.00 | $489.12 | $3,415.44 |
| Insurance | 300.00 | 33.12 | 99.36 |
| State Council Overhead | 800.00 | | |
| Travel | 1,500.00 | 221.80 | 1,419.75 |
| Telephone | 480.00 | 137.00 | 456.51 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 500.00 | | 749.20 |
| Rent (including utilities) | 480.00 | 55.50 | 361.98 |
| Printing | 100.00 | | 27.56 |
| Postage | 200.00 | | 15.00 |
| Secretarial Service (Part-time) | 550.00 | 47.90 | 322.02 |
| Payroll Taxes (Employer's) | 200.00 | | 45.88 |
| Miscellaneous | 290.00 | 7.48 | 27.48 |
| Total | $12,000.00 | $991.92 | $6,940.18 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

Employees' Taxes Withheld:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Federal | | 391.77 |
| State | | 11.90 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $991.92 | $7,343.85 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand August 1, 1966 (1st Huntsville) | $ 559.64 |
| Expenditures during August | |
| Balance on hand August 31, 1966 (1st Huntsville) | 559.64 |
| Balance on hand August 1, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $2,088.43 |
| Expenditures During August | - 991.92 |
| Balance on hand August 31, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $1,096.51 |
| TOTAL BALANCE | $1,656.15 |

Ala - F+M

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
FINANCIAL REPORT - September, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | | $9,000.00 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | | $9,000.00 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Director's Salary | $6,600.00 | $515.24 | $3,930.68 |
| Insurance | 300.00 | 33.12 | 132.48 |
| State Council Overhead | 800.00 | | |
| Travel | 1,500.00 | 177.00 | 1,596.75 |
| Telephone | 480.00 | | 456.51 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 500.00 | 733.05 | 1,482.25 |
| Rent (including utilities) | 480.00 | 48.17 | 410.15 |
| Printing | 100.00 | | 27.56 |
| Postage | 200.00 | | 15.00 |
| Secretarial Service (part-time) | 550.00 | 52.69 | 374.71 |
| Payroll Taxes (Employer's) | 200.00 | | 45.88 |
| Miscellaneous | 290.00 | | 27.48 |
| Total | $12,000.00 | $1,559.27 | $8,499.45 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Employees' Taxes Withheld: | | |
| Federal | | 391.77 |
| State | | 11.90 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $1,559.27 | $8,903.12 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand September 1, 1966 (1st Huntsville) | $559.64 |
| Service Charge | - 6.63 |
| Total | 553.01 |
| Transferred to (Auburn National Bank) | -553.01 |
| Balance on hand September 30, 1966 (1st Huntsville) | $000.00 |
| Balance on hand September 1, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $1,096.51 |
| Transferred from (1st Huntsville) | 553.01 |
| Total | 1,649.52 |
| Expenditures During September | -1,559.27 |
| Balance on hand September 30, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $ 90.25 |
| TOTAL BALANCE | $ 90.25 |

Ala - R+M.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT - September, 1966

RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Memberships and Contributions | $ 514.50 | $10,724.85 |
| S. R. C. Grant | | 4,125.00 |
| S. R. C. Expanded Grant | | 6,750.00 |
| Foundation Grants | | 12,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | 3.80 | 1,477.70 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $ 518.30 | $35,077.55 |

EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Director's Salary | $8,600.00 | $ 309.02 | $ 1,854.12 |
| Associate Director's Salary | 7,500.00 | 530.82 | 4,267.08 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,900.00 | 249.85 | 2,534.31 |
| Fringe Benefits (1) | 1,800.00 | 33.12 | 878.49 |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 | 238.89 | 2,483.65 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 | 270.00 | 1,440.00 |
| Office Supplies and Equipment | 2,000.00 | 109.49 | 1,226.55 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 219.41 | 1,007.51 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | | 449.95 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 | | 100.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 | | 320.02 |
| Literature | 300.00 | | 92.00 |
| Accounting | 200.00 | | 45.00 |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 | 25.00 | 50.00 |
| Student Work | 760.00 | | 193.65 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 | | |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 | | 1,000.54 |
| Board of Directors | 500.00 | 269.65 | 644.71 |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 | | 702.75 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 2.00 | 1,233.86 |
| Total | $36,000.00 | $2,257.25 | $20,254.19 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Educational Conference, Inc. | | 10,000.00 |
| Employees' Taxes Withheld (2) | | 1,301.96 |
| National Sharecroppers Fund | | 913.07 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $2,257.25 | $32,739.22 |

(1) This amount includes FICA, insurance polices and moving expenses.

(2) This amount represents the employees' taxes withheld from salaries.

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand September 1, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $3,335.92 |
| Receipts during September | 518.30 |
| Total | 3,854.22 |
| Expenditures during September | -2,257.25 |
| Balance on hand September 30, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $1,596.97 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance in Savings | $3,414.41 |
| Balance in ANB (Birmingham) | 437.99 |
| Balance in ANB (Auburn) | 1,596.97 |
| TOTAL BALANCE September 30, 1966 | $5,449.37 |

## 1966 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLEMENT

| Local Councils | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 0 | 125 | 125 |
| East Alabama | 15 | 337 | 352 |
| Huntsville | 0 | 90 | 90 |
| Mobile | 0 | 150 | 150 |
| Montgomery | 0 | 52 | 52 |
| Muscles Shoals | 1 | 88 | 89 |
| Talladega District | 0 | 71 | 71 |
| Tuscaloosa | 2 | 124 | 126 |
| Out of State | 0 | 56 | 56 |
| At Large | 0 | 17 | 17 |
| TOTAL | 18 | 1,110 | 1,128 |

Ala - F. + M.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

October 6, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : Ed Stanfield

From : Bob Valder

Subject: Comparative membership and income statistice
1965 and 1966

October 1, 1964 to September 30, 1965

MEMBERSHIP

| Local Council | |
|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 152 |
| East Alabama | 353 |
| Huntsville | 46 |
| Mobile | 99 |
| Montgomery | 61 |
| Muscle Shoals | 91 |
| Talladega District | 34 |
| Tuscaloosa | 124 |
| Out of State | 52 |
| At Large | 10 |
| Total | 14 |
| | 1,036 |

INCOME FROM VARIOUS SOURCES

| | |
|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | 4,500.00 |
| Memberships, Contributions, Misc. * | 18,343.10 |
| Fox Foundation | 1,000.00 |
| Total | 23,843.10 |

* It would be difficult, but not impossible to break this figure down more specifically. Most of this is membership and contributions.

October 1, 1965 to September 30, 1966

## MEMBERSHIP

| Local Council | |
|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 129 |
| East Alabama | 350 |
| Huntsville | 90 |
| Mobile | 150 |
| Montgomery | 54 |
| Muscle Shoals | 89 |
| Talladega District | 71 |
| Tuscaloosa | 126 |
| Out of State | 56 |
| At Large | 17 |
| Total | 1,132 |

## INCOME FROM VARIOUS SOURCES

| | |
|---|---|
| Memberships and Contributions | 10,724.85 |
| SRC Grant-in-aid | 4,125.00 |
| SRC Expanded-grant-in-aid | 6,750.00 |
| Fox Foundation | 1,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | 1,477.70 |
| Total | 24,077.55 |

10,726
1,478
12,203

Ala – FINANCE + MEMBERSHIP

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT - October, 1966

RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Memberships and Contributions | $ 285.00 | $11,009.85 |
| S. R. C. Grant | 1,375.00 | 5,500.00 |
| S. R. C. Expanded Grant | | 6,750.00 |
| Foundation Grants | | 12,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | | 1,477.70 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $1,660.00 | $36,737.55 |

EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Director's Salary | $8,600.00 | | $ 1,854.12 |
| Associate Director's Salary | 7,500.00 | $ 530.82 | 4,797.90 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,900.00 | 259.54 | 2,793.85 |
| Fringe Benefits (1) | 1,800.00 | 141.80 | 1,020.29 |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 | 255.91 | 2,739.56 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 | | 1,440.00 |
| Office Supplies and Equipment | 2,000.00 | 223.98 | 1,450.53 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 172.82 | 1,180.33 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | 130.00 | 579.95 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 | | 100.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 | | 320.02 |
| Literature | 300.00 | | 92.00 |
| Accounting | 200.00 | | 45.00 |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 | | 50.00 |
| Student Work | 760.00 | | 193.65 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 | | |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 | | 1,000.54 |
| Board of Directors | 500.00 | 21.68 | 666.39 |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 | 23.75 | 726.50 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | | 1,233.86 |
| Total | $36,000.00 | $1,760.30 | $22,284.49 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Educational Conference, Inc. | | 10,000.00 |
| Employees' Taxes Withheld (2) | 603.00 | 1,904.96 |
| National Sharecroppers Fund | | 913.07 |
| Rural Advancement Project (3) | 1,181.37 | 1,181.37 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $3,544.67 | $36,283.89 |

(1) This amount includes FICA, insurance polices and moving expenses.

(2) This amount represents the employees' taxes withheld from salaries.

(3) This amount is RAP's October expenditures which was paid by ACHR's account.

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand October 1, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $1,596.97 |
| Receipts during October | 1,660.00 |
| Total | $3,256.97 |
| | |
| Expenditures during October (RAP) | $1,181.37 |
| Expenditures during October (ACHR) | 2,363.30 |
| Total expenditures during October | $3,544.67 |
| | |
| Balance on hand October (Auburn National Bank) | $3,256.97 |
| Total expenditures during October (RAP and ACHR) | -3,544.67 |
| Excess of expenditures over balance on hand ANB (Auburn) | $- 287.70 |
| | |
| Balance on hand October 1, 1966 ANB (Birmingham) | $ 437.99 |
| Service Charge | -.79 |
| Balance on hand October 31, 1966 ANB (Birmingham) | $ 437.20 |
| | |
| Balance in Savings | $3,414.41 |
| Balance in ANB (Birmingham) | 437.20 |
| Balance in ANB (Auburn) | -287.70 |
| TOTAL BALANCE October 31, 1966 | $3,563.91 |

## *1967 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

| Local Councils | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| East Alabama | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Huntsville | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Mobile | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Montgomery | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Muscles Shoals | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Talladega Distirct | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tuscaloosa | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Out of State | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| At Large | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 12 | 0 | 12 |

*NOTE: ACHR's membership year runs from October 1 to September 30, thus we started from zero on October 1,1966 for 1967 membership enrollment.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT - October, 1966

RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Memberships and Contributions | $ 285.00 | $11,009.85 |
| S. R. C. Grant | 1,375.00 | 5,500.00 |
| S. R. C. Expanded Grant | | 6,750.00 |
| Foundation Grants | | 12,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | | 1,477.70 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $1,660.00 | $36,737.55 |

EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Director's Salary | $8,600.00 | | $ 1,854.12 |
| Associate Director's Salary | 7,500.00 | $ 530.82 | 4,797.90 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,900.00 | 259.54 | 2,793.85 |
| Fringe Benefits (1) | 1,800.00 | 141.80 | 1,020.29 |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 | 255.91 | 2,739.56 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 | | 1,440.00 |
| Office Supplies and Equipment | 2,000.00 | 223.98 | 1,450.53 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 172.82 | 1,180.33 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | 130.00 | 579.95 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 | | 100.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 | | 320.02 |
| Literature | 300.00 | | 92.00 |
| Accounting | 200.00 | | 45.00 |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 | | 50.00 |
| Student Work | 760.00 | | 193.65 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 | | |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 | | 1,000.54 |
| Board of Directors | 500.00 | 21.68 | 666.39 |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 | 23.75 | 726.50 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | | 1,233.86 |
| Total | $36,000.00 | $1,760.30 | $22,284.49 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Educational Conference, Inc. | | 10,000.00 |
| Employees' Taxes Withheld (2) | 603.00 | 1,904.96 |
| National Sharecroppers Fund | | 913.07 |
| Rural Advancement Project (3) | 1,181.37 | 1,181.37 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $3,544.67 | $36,283.89 |

(1) This amount includes FICA, insurance polices and moving expenses.

(2) This amount represents the employees' taxes withheld from salaries.

(3) This amount is RAP's October expenditures which was paid by ACHR's account.

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand October 1, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $1,596.97 |
| Receipts during October | 1,660.00 |
| Total | $3,256.97 |
| | |
| Expenditures during October (RAP) | $1,181.37 |
| Expenditures during October (ACHR) | 2,363.30 |
| Total expenditures during October | $3,544.67 |
| | |
| Balance on hand October (Auburn National Bank) | $3,256.97 |
| Total expenditures during October (RAP and ACHR) | -3,544.67 |
| Excess of expenditures over balance on hand ANB (Auburn) | $- 287.70 |
| | |
| Balance on hand October 1, 1966 ANB (Birmingham) | $ 437.99 |
| Service Charge | -.79 |
| Balance on hand October 31, 1966 ANB (Birmingham) | $ 437.20 |
| | |
| Balance in Savings | $3,414.41 |
| Balance in ANB (Birmingham) | 437.20 |
| Balance in ANB (Auburn) | -287.70 |
| TOTAL BALANCE October 31, 1966 | $3,563.91 |

## *1967 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

| Local Councils | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| East Alabama | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Huntsville | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Mobile | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Montgomery | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Muscles Shoals | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Talladega Distirct | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tuscaloosa | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Out of State | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| At Large | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 12 | 0 | 12 |

*NOTE: ACHR's membership year runs from October 1 to September 30, thus we started from zero on October 1,1966 for 1967 membership enrollment.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
FINANCIAL REPORT - October, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to DAte |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | | $9,000.00 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | | $9.000.00 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Director's Salary | $6,600.00 | $541.36 | $4,472.04 |
| Insurance | 300.00 | 33.12 | 165.60 |
| State Council Overhead | 800.00 | | |
| Travel | 1,500.00 | 151.17 | 1,747.92 |
| Telephone | 480.00 | 78.35 | 534.86 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 500.00 | | 1,482.25 |
| Rent (including utilities) | 480.00 | 46.32 | 456.47 |
| Printing | 100.00 | | 27.56 |
| Postage | 200.00 | | 15.00 |
| Secretarial Service (part-time) | 550.00 | 57.48 | 432.19 |
| Payroll Taxes (Employer's) | 200.00 | 77.21 | 123.09 |
| Miscellaneous | 290.00 | | 27.48 |
| Total | $12,000.00 | $985.01 | $9,484.46 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

Employees' Taxes Withheld:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Federal | 188.71 | 580.48 |
| State | 7.65 | 19.55 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | *$1,181.37 | $10,084.49 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand October 1, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $90.25 |
| Balance on hand October 31, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $90.25 |

*NOTE: Due to insufficient funds in October, all October's expenditures were paid by ACHR. We have now received additional funds from the Southern Regional Council, and this amount ($181.37) will be paid to ACHR this month.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
FINANCIAL REPORT - October, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to DAte |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | | $9,000.00 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | | $9.000.00 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Director's Salary | $6,600.00 | $541.36 | $4,472.04 |
| Insurance | 300.00 | 33.12 | 165.60 |
| State Council Overhead | 800.00 | | |
| Travel | 1,500.00 | 151.17 | 1,747.92 |
| Telephone | 480.00 | 78.35 | 534.86 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 500.00 | | 1,482.25 |
| Rent (including utilities) | 480.00 | 46.32 | 456.47 |
| Printing | 100.00 | | 27.56 |
| Postage | 200.00 | | 15.00 |
| Secretarial Service (part-time) | 550.00 | 57.48 | 432.19 |
| Payroll Taxes (Employer's) | 200.00 | 77.21 | 123.09 |
| Miscellaneous | 290.00 | | 27.48 |
| Total | $12,000.00 | $985.01 | $9,484.46 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

Employees' Taxes Withheld:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Federal | 188.71 | 580.48 |
| State | 7.65 | 19.55 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | *$1,181.37 | $10,084.49 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand October 1, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $90.25 |
| Balance on hand October 31, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $90.25 |

*NOTE: Due to insufficient funds in October, all October's expenditures were paid by ACHR. We have now received additional funds from the Southern Regional Council, and this amount ($181.37) will be paid to ACHR this month.

Ala - M+F

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT - November, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Membership and Contributions | $ 319.50 | $11,329.35 |
| S. R. C. Grant | | 5,500.00 |
| S. R. C. Expanded Grant | 2,250.00 | 9,000.00 |
| Foundation Grants | | 12,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | 7.19 | 1,484.89 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $2,576.69 | $39,314.24 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Director's Salary | $8,600.00 | | $ 1,854.12 |
| Associate Director's Salary | 7,500.00 | $ 530.82 | 5,328.72 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,900.00 | 259.54 | 3,053.39 |
| Fringe Benefits (1) | 1,800.00 | 71.62 | 1,091.91 |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 | 111.97 | 2,851.53 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 | 202.50 | 1,642.50 |
| Office Supplies and Equipment | 2,000.00 | 63.84 | 1,514.37 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | | 1,180.33 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | | 579.95 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 | | 100.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 | 20.00 | 340.02 |
| Literature | 300.00 | 4.00 | 96.00 |
| Accounting | 200.00 | | 45.00 |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 | | 50.00 |
| Student Work | 760.00 | | 193.65 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 | | |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 | | 1,000.54 |
| Board of Directors | 500.00 | | 666.39 |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 | | 726.50 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 36.34 | 1,270.20 |
| Total | $36,000.00 | $1,300.63 | $23,585.12 |

Non-Budgeted Expendiutres:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Educational Conference, Inc. | | 10,000.00 |
| Employees' Taxes Withheld (2) | 120.30 | 2,025.26 |
| National Sharecroppers Fund | | 913.07 |
| Rural Advancement Project (3) | | 1,181.37 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $1,420.93 | $37,704.82 |

(1) This amount includes FICA, insurance polices and moving expenses.

(2) This amount represents the employees' taxes withheld from salaries.

(3) This amount is RAP's October expenditures which was paid by ACHR's account.

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand November 1, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $- 277.68 |
| Receipts during November | 2,576.69 |
| Transferred from savings to checking | 2,000.00 |
| Total | $4,299.01 |
| Expenditures during November | -1,420.93 |
| Balance on hand November 30, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $2,878.08 |
| | |
| Balance on hand in savings November 1, 1966 | $3,414.41 |
| Transferred from savings to checking | -2,000.00 |
| Balance in Savings, November 30, 1966 | $1,414.41 |
| | |
| Balance in Savings | $1,414.41 |
| Balance in ANB (Birmingham) | 437.20 |
| Balance in ANB (Auburn) | 2,878.08 |
| TOTAL BALANCE November 30, 1966 | $4,729.69 |

## 1967 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

| Local Councils | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 0 | 5 | 5 |
| East Alabama | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Huntsville | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Mobile | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Montgomery | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Muscles Shoals | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Talladega District | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tuscaloosa | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Out of State | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| At Large | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 8 | 12 | 20 |

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
FINANCIAL REPORT - November, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | $3,000.00 | $12,000.00 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $3,000.00 | $12,000.00 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Director's Salary | $6,600.00 | $541.36 | $ 5,013.40 |
| Insurance | 300.00 | 33.12 | 198.72 |
| State Council Overhead | 800.00 | | |
| Travel | 1,500.00 | 49.17 | 1,797.09 |
| Telephone | 480.00 | | 534.86 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 500.00 | | 1,482.25 |
| Rent (including utilities) | 480.00 | 40.75 | 497.22 |
| Printing | 100.00 | | 27.56 |
| Postage | 200.00 | | 15.00 |
| Secretarial Service (Part-time) | 550.00 | 57.48 | 489.67 |
| Payroll Taxes (Employer's) | 200.00 | | 123.09 |
| Miscellaneous | 290.00 | | 27.48 |
| Total | $12,000.00 | $721.88 | $10,206.34 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

Employees' Taxes Withheld:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Federal | | 580.48 |
| State | | 19.55 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $721.88 | $10,806.37 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand November 1, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $ 90.25 |
| Receipts during November | 3,000.00 |
| Total | $3,090.25 |
| Expenditures during November | - 721.88 |
| Balance on hand November 30, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $2,368.37 |

NOTE: The ($1,181.37) reported last month as owed by RAP to ACHR will not be reimbursed to ACHR immediately as then stated. Instead it will be gradually reimbursed beginning in February of 1967.

Ala- M&F

For Your Information

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

December 30, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : Local Chapter Presidents

From : Bob Valder

Subject: Local Chapter Refunds

The enclosed check is your refund for the quarter ending December 31, 1966. As you know, the State Board of Directors changed the rebate. And now local chapters will receive 10% of all monies collected by them.

The thing to keep in mind is that local chapters will receive back 10% of everything paid, but not everything pledged.

LPA
CL - file

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT - December, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Membership and Contributions | $641.00 | $11,970.35 |
| S. R. C. Grant | | 5,500.00 |
| S. R. C. Expanded Grant | | 9,000.00 |
| Foundation Grants | | 12,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | 50.00 | 1,534.89 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $691.00 | $40,005.24 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Director's Salary | $8,600.00 | | $ 1,854.12 |
| Associate Director's Salary | 7,500.00 | $ 530.82 | 5,859.54 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,900.00 | 259.54 | 3,312.93 |
| Fringe Benefits (1) | 1,800.00 | 33.12 | 1,125.03 |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 | 343.85 | 3,195.38 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 | 135.00 | 1,777.50 |
| Office Supplies and Equipment | 2,000.00 | 62.29 | 1,576.66 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 229.64 | 1,409.97 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | 132.25 | 712.20 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 | | 100.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 | 112.88 | 452.90 |
| Literature | 300.00 | 2.00 | 98.00 |
| Accounting | 200.00 | | 45.00 |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 | | 50.00 |
| Student Work | 760.00 | | 193.65 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 | | |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 | | 1,000.54 |
| Board of Directors | 500.00 | 166.23 | 832.62 |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 | 86.75 | 813.25 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 83.00 | 1,353.20 |
| Total | $36,000.00 | $2,177.37 | $25,762.49 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Educational Conference, Inc. | | $10,000.00 |
| Employees' Taxes Withheld (2) | | 2,025.26 |
| National Sharecroppers Fund | | 913.07 |
| Rural Advancement Project (3) | | 1,181.37 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $2,177.37 | $39,882.19 |

(1) This amount includes FICA, insurance polices and moving expenses.

(2) This amount represents the employees' taxes withheld from salaries.

(3) This amount is RAP's October expenditures which were paid by ACHR's account.

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand December 1, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $2,878.08 |
| Receipts during December | 691.00 |
| Total | 3,569.08 |
| Expenditures during December | -2,177.37 |
| Balance on hand December 31, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $1,391.71 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance in Savings | $1,414.41 |
| Balance in ANB (Birmingham) | 437.20 |
| Balance in ANB (Auburn) | 1,391.71 |
| TOTAL BALANCE December 31, 1966 | $3,243.32 |

## 1967 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

| Local Councils | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| East Alabama | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Huntsville | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Mobile | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Montgomery | 0 | 5 | 5 |
| Muscle Shoals | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Talladega District | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tuscaloosa | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Out of State | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| At Large | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| TOTAL | 15 | 20 | 35 |

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
FINANCIAL REPORT - December, 1966

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | | $12,000.00 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | | $12,000.00 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Director's Salary | $6,600.00 | $ 541.36 | $5,554.76 |
| Insurance | 300.00 | 33.12 | 231.84 |
| State Council Overhead | 800.00 | | |
| Travel | 1,500.00 | 210.88 | 2,007.97 |
| Telephone | 480.00 | 140.10 | 674.96 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 500.00 | 47.79 | 1,530.04 |
| Rent (including utilities) | 480.00 | 44.87 | 542.09 |
| Printing | 100.00 | 2.25 | 29.81 |
| Postage | 200.00 | | 15.00 |
| Secretarial Service (Part-time) | 550.00 | 57.48 | 547.15 |
| Payroll Taxes (Employer's) | 200.00 | | 123.09 |
| Miscellaneous | 290.00 | | 27.48 |
| Total | $12,000.00 | $1,077.85 | $11,284.19 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

Employees' Taxes Withheld:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Federal | | 580.48 |
| State | | 19.55 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $1,077.85 | $11,884.22 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand December 1, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $2,368.37 |
| Expenditures during December | -1,077.85 |
| Balance on hand December 31, 1966 (Auburn National Bank) | $1,290.52 |

Ala - Finance ~~RH - file~~

1966
PROPOSED BUDGET
(Ala. Council)

| | |
|---|---|
| Executive Salary | $8,600.00 |
| Associate Salary | 7,500.00 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,900.00 |
| Fringe Benefits[1] | 1,500.00 |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 |
| Office Supplies, Equip. | 2,000.00 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 |
| Literature | 300.00 |
| Accounting | 200.00 |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 |
| Student Work | 760.00 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 |
| Board of Directors[2] | 500.00 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 |
| TOTAL | $36,800.00 |

[1] Includes FICA, insurance policies and moving expenses.
[2] Includes meeting and travel expenses for Board and executive committee

Budgets

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1966 BUDGET FOR RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT

| | |
|---|---|
| Director"s Salary | $6,600.00 |
| Insurance | 300.00 |
| State Council Overhead | 800.00 |
| Travel | 1,500.00 |
| Telephone | 480.00 |
| Office Supplies, Equip. | 500.00 |
| Rent | 480.00 |
| Printing | 100.00 |
| Postage | 200.00 |
| Secretarial (part time) | 550.00 |
| Payroll Taxes | 200.00 |
| Miscellaneous | 290.00 |
| Total | $12,000.00 |

Budget

1966
PROPOSED BUDGET

| | |
|---|---|
| Executive Salary | $8,600.00 |
| Associate Salary | 7,500.00 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,900.00 |
| Fringe Benefits[1] | 1,500.00 |
| Staff Travel | 3,500.00 |
| Rent | 1,800.00 |
| Office Supplies, Equip. | 2,000.00 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 |
| Janitorial Service | 240.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 |
| Literature | 300.00 |
| Accounting | 200.00 |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 |
| Student Work | 760.00 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 |
| Refunds to Locals | 500.00 |
| Board of Directors[2] | 500.00 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 |
| TOTAL | $36,800.00 |

[1] Includes FICA, insurance policies and moving expenses.
[2] Includes meeting and travel expenses for Board and executive committee

B[redacted] $2,000 ~~$1,300~~ 17,700 $ 800
E. Ala. 4,800 ~~$900~~ 400 2,000
H'ville 1,800 ~~700~~ 600
Mobile 2,700 ~~500~~ ~~350~~ 25-0 800
Mgomery 1,300 300
M'shoals 2,000 600
Talladega 700 300
Tuscaloosa 2,300 700
17,600 100
17,000 ~~3300~~
~~$16,400~~

# 1966 FINANCIAL-MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN RESULTS

| | FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN | | | MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Pledged & Rec'd | Total 1966 Goal | Per Cent of Goal Pledged & Rec'd | Total Pledged & Rec'd | Total 1966 Quota | Per Cent of Quota Pledged & Rec'd |
| GREATER BIRMINGHAM | $ 952.00 | $ 2,800 | 34% | 125 | 200 | 63% |
| EAST ALABAMA | 3,254.00 | 4,600 | 71% | 352 | 400 | 88% |
| HUNTSVILLE | 1,573.00 | 1,600 | 98% | 90 | 100 | 90% |
| MOBILE | 1,793.50 | 2,600 | 69% | 150 | 150 | 100% |
| MONTGOMERY | 821.00 | 1,300 | 63% | 52 | 75 | 69% |
| MUSCLE SHOALS | 1,717.50 | 1,900 | 90% | 89 | 100 | 89% |
| TALLADEGA DISTRICT | 591.00 | 700 | 84% | 71 | 50 | 144% |
| TUSCALOOSA | 1,445.00 | 2,100 | 69% | 126 | 150 | 84% |
| SPECIAL GIFTS | 4,758.14 | 10,000 | 48% | 56 | | |
| AT LARGE | 88.50 | | | 17 | | |
| TOTALS | $16,993.64 | $28,000 | 61% | 1,128 | 1,250* | 90% |

*Includes 25 for Enterprise

$12,000.00 21600

Spec. gifts
At Large

| | Members | | Financial |
|---|---|---|---|
| Birmingham | 200 | ~~800~~ | 2,100 |
| East Alabama | 500 | ~~2,000~~ | 4,800 |
| Huntsville | 150 | ~~600~~ | 1,800 |
| Mobile | 200 | ~~800~~ | 2,700 |
| Montgomery | 75 | ~~300~~ | 1,300 |
| Muscle Shoals | 125 | ~~500~~ | 2,000 |
| Talladega | 75 | ~~300~~ | 700 |
| Tuscaloosa | 175 | ~~700~~ | 2,300 |
| Special Gifts | | | 7,000 |
| At Large | 25 | ~~100~~ | 100 |
| Out of State | 75 | ~~300~~ | 300 |
| | 1600 | | $25,000 |

Birmingham: Eileen Walber, Kelhser,

E. Ala. Henry Jones, Mr + Mrs V.A.
Edwards, Gomillion, Roden, Valder

Huntsville: Don Rung, Falkowski,
Joe Wilson

Mobile - Woods

Mgomery -

M. Shoals - Watkins, DeBoer,
Brice

Tuscaloosa - Ross Bonner,
Betty Kirshner

Talladega -

PLAN AND SCHEDULE FOR THE 1967 MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

STEP ONE

TO BE TAKEN BY THE PRESIDENT (JOINTLY WITH MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCE CHAIRMEN IF YOU HAVE THEM)-- TO BE COMPLETED WITHIN ONE WEEK BEFORE DATE OF THE MEETING IN STEP TWO BELOW.

Appoint a campaign committee and designate a chairman if you have not yet. The committee might include all of the Board.

STEP TWO

TO BE TAKEN BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND THE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE -- TO BE COMPLETED BY FRIDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1966.

Part 1 -- Explain in detail the general idea of this plan and emphasize the importance to the state and local council of a successful campaign.

Part 2 -- Choose a date sometime between January 3 and January 27 for your 1967 "Challenge Meeting." The best time for it is a weekday night. Start the preparation for it which would include naming a "Challenge Meeting Chairman." The Challenge Meeting should take the place of your regular meeting in January. It is highly desirable that the Challenge Meeting be a dinner meeting -- perhaps a covered dish dinner. Chapters which had the covered-dish dinner last year found it valuable in itself. The best, and easiest, way to insure having a succesful campaign is to go all-out in publicizing and getting people to the Challenge Meeting. This saves you the effort of going to see them.

Emphasize

Part 3 -- Go over the list given to you on November 19 in Birmingham on 3x5 cards and then do three things -- very important things!! (1) Think of new membership prospects and add them to the list on your own 3x5 cards; (2) find as many people as you can who heretofore have only paid a membership fee, but who could be asked to contribute-- perhaps becoming a "ten-percenter" or "five-percenter " as outlined below. This is very imprtant. Each year we lose some members and some contributors. New ones have to be found--even if we only needed to maintain our present levels of strength and effectiveness and (3) decide how much each person on all the 3x5 cards should be asked to give and so note that on the tab of the pledge card -- then give these pledge cards to the visitors discussed in Part 5 of this step at the training session following your challenge meeting.

Next, select your advance gifts donors. This is of the utmost importance. You cannot expect to succeed if you do not find these donors to "set the level of giving." If you do, you will be able to announce at the Challenge Meeting that you already have pledged 50% of your goal! Find:

At least one person, but hopefully two persons, who can be asked to give 10 per cent of your donations quota.

At least six persons (if you had two ten-percenters) or eight persons (if you had only one ten-percenter) who can each be asked to give 5 per cent of your donations quota.

Your committee may very well know members who should be asked to give more if their donation, in the light of their ability to give, is to be a worthy expression of their concern for better human relations in Alabama. And your committee may very well know more than the number of persons suggested above who should be ten-percenters or five-percenters. You should never "under ask" of course! Moreover, every member that you know to be capable of giving as much as 5% of your quota should be asked to do so. We are only saying that you ought to raise 50% of your quota in the first eight or ten gifts. You may very well be able to beat that!

Part 4 -- Members of the campaign committee should be assigned to call personally on each of these individuals before the date of the Challenge Meeting. Before calling on anyone else, one should make his own commitment. During these calls, the campaign committee member should review the program of ACHR in 1966, both state and local, and tell what is forthcoming in 1967. Use the fact sheets given to you. He should tell briefly that we are in the midst of our annual membership-funding drive and give the date, place and time of the Challenge Meeting. Then he may say something like this: "If these goals are to be reached, if the Council is to increase in size and effectiveness, and if we are to secure still more special projects, such as the Rural Advancement Project, we must have continued strong support from members and Alabama residents. In order to set the level of giving--to put the "challenge" in our "Challenge Meeting"--we need a few substantial pledges before that meeting. We need you to help set this adequate level by being one of those giving $_____ in 1967. That would be $_____per month, or $_____ per quarter, if you prefer." (Then you should pipe down. It's his move).

Part 5 -- At this same meeting, after you have selected and assigned to the Campaign Committee members the advance gifts prospects, go over the list to select a number of notably good, reliable members of the chapter to help with the general solicitation visits after the Challenge Meeting. Everyone on the list who does not renew his membership and/or make an over-and-above pledge at the Challenge Meeting is to receive a personal visit. You should have at least one visitor or husband-wife team for every 10 persons on your list of prospects. (After subtracting those who join and/or pledge at the Challenge Meeting, each caller may have only 5 or 6 visits to make.) Each prospect must be assigned to one of the persons chosen for solicitations at the training session following the Challenge Meeting. The campaign committee should not necessarily plan to do this calling, even if it should be feasible. Let more people participate. The more participation the better.

Part 6 -- Stress the use of the pledge card wherever possible. It helps more to pay $2 per month or $6 per quarter than to pay a $5.00 or $8.00 membership fee. We want all the members we can enlist! But a membership fee scarcely covers the cost of serving the member with newsletters and notices. We need contributions from as many as possible. This is very important. We know that many persons who are only members can well afford and will be happy to be contributors if only they are asked.

Part 7 -- Select two of your ablest members to speak at the Challenge Meeting on the subjects "ACHR 1966--A Great Council Year," and "ACHR 1967--Why It Needs Planned Giving." The second should plan to ask those present to fill out the pledge-card forms. Bob Valder will be available to speak before these members, if desired, but one of your local members should actually issue the "challenge."

A few suggestions about how a Challenge Meeting can be most successful (we tried this in one chapter last January and it really worked!!)-- (1) have a well-planned covered dish dinner; (2) work hard at getting a big crowd there; (3) do not pass out anything at the door except the "fact sheets"; (4) only after your second talk -- "ACHR 1967-Why It Needs Planned Giving"-- should any cards be passed out; (5) before they are passed out the second speaker should explain that when he finishes, pledge cards will be passed out (have a few persons ready to help expedite this), he should not even mention memberships at any time -- just contributions (if someone asks about memberships -- which is unlikely -- he can explain that then), he should explain that the pledge cards are to be filled out then and there and that they will be picked up in about five minutes and then pick them up in a few minutes. He should explain that they can pledge the full amount of the contribution or pledge part and pay part (those that pledge should indicate what amount they want their payments in and at what intervals they wish to be billed); (6) have someone ready to quickly add up and announce the total amount pledged and payed at the meeting. IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT YOUR SECOND SPEAKER BE COMEONE WHO CAN "TELL IT LIKE IT IS" AND WHO ENJOYS AND IS GOOD AT THIS KIND OF THING.

AGAIN IT MUST BE EMPHASIZED THAT THIS STEP, IN ALL ITS PARTS, IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE. THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR PLANNING YOUR ADVANCE GIFTS SOLICITATIONS. THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR A PERSONAL VISIT TO EACH PROSPECT FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF TALKING A ABOUT ACHR AND ASKING HIM TO GIVE OR JOIN. THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR DESIGNATING A PARTICULAR AMOUNT THAT EACH VISITOR IS TO SUGGEST TO THE PROSPECT. AND THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO SUBSTITUTE FOR A WELL-PLANNED CHALLENGE MEETING.

STEP THREE

TO BE TAKEN BY THE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE -- TO BE COMPLETED BY SATURDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1966.

Make the calls for the advance gifts pledges. A good time to do this would be during the week following Christmas. Be sure to

report the results of your advance gifts effort to the state office by December 31. We want to put out a special memorandum reporting the progress of the campaign, and the other chapters will need your encouragement. This is also important for a second reason -- these larger donors may wish to make an extra donation during 1966 for income tax purposes; so it is important that these solicitations be made before the year ends.

Also, you should have asked and secured a commitment from your local Challenge Meeting speakers by this date. And all of your follow-up visitors should have been recruited and asked (1) to attend the Challenge Meeting and (2) to remain for 45 minutes after that meeting to receive instructions. (This is an important bit which many chapters omitted last year. A little training will help a lot.)

STEP FOUR

THE CHALLENGE MEETING FOR ALL MEMBERS AND PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS -- TO BE HELD NO LATER THAN FRIDAY, JANUARY 27, 1967 -- BUT EARLIER IS BETTER.

It would be much better to have the Challenge Meeting earlier, so that there would be more time for the follow-up visits. The follow-up can be completed in a couple of days, however, provided there is careful planning and organization.

Be sure to make arrangements for a quick tally of the memberships and the pledges made on the night of the Challenge Meeting, so that those attending can share in the achievement. Don't forget to plan the 45-minute training session after the meeting for your follow-up visitors.

Be sure that everything mentioned in Part 7 of STEP TWO above is carefully planned and understood before the Challenge Meeting and done at the Challenge Meeting.

STEP FIVE

TO BE TAKEN BY THE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE AND THE ENLISTED VISITORS -- TO BE COMPLETED BY MIDNIGHT, TUESDAY, JANUARY 31, 1967.

Final report on the follow-up visits should be in the mail to the state office by midnight, January 31. This will enable us to complete the report on the campaign for the whole state and announce it at the Annual Meeting on February 3-4.

You should carry through on the follow-up, of course, even if your whole quota of members and funds should be attained by the end of the Challenge Meeting. Everyone who can give to the support of ACHR, its purpose and its program, needs to do so and should be given the opportunity to do so.

CHECKLIST OF DATES

_____ At least one week before the meeting in step two the Chapter President has appointed a campaign committee and designated a chairman.

_____ December 18. Board of Directors and Campaign Committee meets. Choose the date of and chairman for the Challenge Meeting. Select your advance gifts donors. Committee members have been assigned to visit the donors. Follow-up visitors have been selected and assigned to someone to recruit. Local chapter speakers for Challenge Meeting have been chosen and detailed planning for the Challenge Meeting have been made.

_____ December 31. Advance gifts pledges have been secured and results reported to the state office. All follow up visitors have been recruited and commitments secured from Challenge Meeting speakers.

_____ January 27. (But preferably earlier). Challenge Meeting has been held.

_____ January 31. Follow-up visits have been completed and final report mailed to the state office.

_____ February 4. Victory announcement at the statewide Annual Meeting.

"THE SECRET OF SUCCESS IN ANY UNDERTAKING IS NOTHING MORE -- OR LESS -- THAN DOING WHAT YOU DON'T WANT TO DO WHEN YOU DON'T WANT TO DO IT."

ALABAMA —
Membership and
Finance

file

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Auburn, Alabama

January 31, 1967

MCCHESNEY AND MACHEN
PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS
AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Auburn, Alabama

Financial Statements
January 31, 1967

Prepared By

McChesney and Machen

McChesney And Machen
Public Accountants

Alabama Council on Human Relations

Auburn, Alabama

## Contents


| | |
|---|---|
| Balance Sheet | Page 1 |
| Statement of Changes in Fund Balance | Page 2 |
| Statement of Revenues and Expenses | Page 3 |
| Bank Reconciliation | Page 4 |

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Auburn, Alabama

Balance Sheets

January 31, 1966 and 1967

| | January 31 | |
|---|---|---|
| | 1966 | 1967 |
| **ASSETS** | | |
| Cash in Banks and on Hand | | |
| Cash on Hand | $ 110.00 | $ -0- |
| Auburn National Bank | -0- | 4,979.29 |
| American National Bank | 178.96 | 436.73 |
| First National Bank, Huntsville | 3,509.39 | -0- |
| Citizens Federal Savings and Loan Association | 1,046.80 | 1,414.41 |
| Accounts Receivable (1) | -0- | $ 233.20 |
| Total Assets | $4,845.15 | $7,063.63 |
| Less Liabilities | | |
| Accrued Payroll Taxes | 186.84 | 167.88 |
| Fund Balance | $4,658.31 | $6,895.75 |

(1) Accounts Receivable represents amount due from State of Alabama and Internal Revenue Service for overpayment of Employees' payroll taxes.

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Auburn, Alabama

Statement of Changes in Fund Balance
For Period from February 1, 1966 to January 31, 1967

| | |
|---|---|
| Fund Balance - February 1, 1966 | $4,658.31 |
| Add: Excess of Revenues Over Expenses for period from February 1, 1966 to January 31, 1967 | 2,237.44 |
| Fund Balance - January 31, 1967 | $6,895.75 |

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Auburn, Alabama

Statement of Revenues and Expenses
For Period from February 1, 1966 to January 31, 1967

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Revenues:** | | |
| Memberships and Contributions | $13,797.85 | |
| Southern Regional Council Grant | 7,950.00 | |
| Southern Regional Council Expanded Grant | 9,000.00 | |
| Foundation Grants | 12,000.00 | |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | 1,704.58 | |
| Interest Earned on Savings | 117.61 | $44,570.04 |
| **Expenses:** | | |
| Salaries | $14,012.40 | |
| Staff Travel | 3,454.20 | |
| Rent | 1,912.50 | |
| Office Supplies and Equipment | 1,683.76 | |
| Telephone | 1,668.49 | |
| Postage | 712.20 | |
| Janitor Service | 100.00 | |
| Printing | 500.73 | |
| Literature | 98.75 | |
| Accounting Services | 180.00 | |
| Student Work | 193.65 | |
| Conferences | 1,000.54 | |
| Refunds to Locals | 985.75 | |
| Board of Directors | 894.33 | |
| Miscellaneous Expense | 1,643.95 | |
| Fringe Benefits | 1,196.91 | |
| Southern Educational Conference, Inc. | 10,000.00 | |
| National Sharecroppers Fund | 913.07 | |
| Rural Advancement Project | 1,181.37 | 42,332.60 |
| Excess of Revenues over Expenses | | $ 2,237.44 |

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Auburn, Alabama

Bank Reconciliation
January 31, 1967

| | First National Bank | Auburn National Bank | American National Bank | Citizens Federal Savings & Loan |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Per Books | | | | |
| Balance - January 31, 1966 | $ 3,509.39 | $ -0- | $ 178.96 | $1,046.80 |
| Deposits during year | 25,563.63 | 20,907.32 | 7,141.12 | 7,250.00 |
| Checks Outstanding 1/31/66 Returned to Cash | 106.19 | | | |
| Interest Earned | | | | 117.61 |
| Total | $29,179.21 | $20,907.32 | $7,320.08 | $8,414.41 |
| Checks written during year | $29,179.21 | $15,928.03 | $6,883.35 | |
| Withdrawals | | | | $7,000.00 |
| Balance - January 31, 1967 | $ -0- | $ 4,979.29 | $ 436.73 | $1,414.41 |
| Balance Per Bank Statement - January 31, 1967 | -0- | $ 6,312.81 | $ 438.73 | $1,414.41 |
| Less Outstanding Checks | -0- | 1,333.52 | 2.00 | -0- |
| Balance Per Books, January 31, 1967 | $ -0- | $ 4,979.29 | $ 436.73 | $1,414.41 |

Ala. - Finance + Membership

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

Membership and Financial Quotas for 1967

This year a "Quota Committee" of ACHR's executive committee met and tentatively decided upon each chapter's quota for 1967. These suggested figures were presented to the representatives of the local chapters meeting in Birmingham on November 19, 1966. That meeting was a "training seminar" for each local 1967 financial committee chairmen and members. These quotas are not to be interpreted as "assessments," although they do represent a reasonable share of the necessary support for ACHR from your chapter. All that is asked is that you make the serious effort outlined in the plan of campaign, with the effort pegged at least at the level suggested below for your chapter.

For each chapter we have listed a membership goal and, in parentheses beside that figure, calculated at $4.00 per person, the approximate amount of the membership fees. (At $5.00 single, $8.00 joint, and $3.00 student.) Next we have listed a "Donations Quote" for each chapter, which is what you should aim to raise over-and-above the membership fees (although we take any donor's membership dues out of his total contribution). Your "ten-percenters" and "five-percenters" should be asked to give 10% or 5% of this "Donations Quota" figure. And then we have listed the total of membership fees and donations.

| CHAPTER | MEMBERSHIP QUOTA | (AM'T OF FEES) | DONATIONS QUOTA | TOTAL GOAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| EAST ALABAMA | 500 | ($2,000.00) | $ 2,800.00 | $ 4,800.00 |
| GREATER BIRMINGHAM | 200 | ( 800.00) | 1,300.00 | 2,100.00 |
| HUNTSVILLE | 150 | ( 600.00) | 1,300.00 | 1,900.00 |
| MOBILE | 200 | ( 800.00) | 1,900.00 | 2,700.00 |
| MONTGOMERY | 75 | ( 300.00) | 900.00 | 1,200.00 |
| MUSCLE SHOALS | 125 | ( 500.00) | 1,500.00 | 2,000.00 |
| TALLADEGA | 75 | ( 300.00) | 400.00 | 700.00 |
| TUSCALOOSA | 175 | ( 700.00) | 1,400.00 | 2,100.00 |
| ALABAMA - At Large | 25 | ( 100.00) | | 100.00 |
| OUT-OF-STATE | 75 | ( 300.00) | 100.00 | 400.00 |
| SPECIAL GIFTS | | | 7,000.00 | 7,000.00 |
| TOTALS | 1,600 | ($6,400.00) | $18,600.00 | $25,000.00 |

TOTAL GOAL OF CAMPAIGN.... $25,000.00

AND 1,600 MEMBERS OR MORE!

Ala. M.&F.

## TENTATIVE BUDGET FOR 1967

| | |
|---|---|
| Executive Director's Salary | $ 5,500.00* |
| Associate Director's Salary | 7,500.00 |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,600.00 |
| Fringe Benefits | 2,200.00 |
| Staff Travel | 5,000.00 |
| Rent | 1,620.00 |
| Office Supplies and Equipment | 2,000.00 |
| Telephone | 1,500.00 |
| Postage | 1,000.00 |
| Printing | 700.00 |
| Literature | 150.00 |
| Accounting | 200.00 |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 |
| Student Work | 250.00 |
| Subsistence and Allowances | 300.00 |
| Conferences | 1,250.00 |
| Board of Directors | 1,000.00 |
| Refunds to Locals | 1,000.00 |
| Salary Increases | 1,500.00** |
| Miscellaneous | 1,300.00 |
| TOTAL | $37,670.00 |

* Based on approximately seven months--any earlier hiring of an executive director would necessitate an increase of this figure.

**An approximation that might be shifted up or down contingent on possible personnel changes.

## 1966 FINANCIAL-MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN RESULTS

| | FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN | | | MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Pledged & Rec'd | Total 1966 Goal | Per Cent of Goal Pledged & Rec'd | Total Pledged & Rec'd | Total 1966 Quota | Per Cent of Quota Pledged & Rec'd |
| GREATER BIRMINGHAM | $ 952.00 | $ 2,800 | 34% | 125 | 200 | 63% |
| EAST ALABAMA | 3,254.00 | 4,600 | 71% | 352 | 400 | 88% |
| HUNTSVILLE | 1,573.00 | 1,600 | 98% | 90 | 100 | 90% |
| MOBILE | 1,793.50 | 2,600 | 69% | 150 | 150 | 100% |
| MONTGOMERY | 821.00 | 1,300 | 63% | 52 | 75 | 69% |
| MUSCLE SHOALS | 1,717.50 | 1,900 | 90% | 89 | 100 | 89% |
| TALLADEGA DISTRICT | 591.00 | 700 | 84% | 71 | 50 | 144% |
| TUSCALOOSA | 1,445.00 | 2,100 | 69% | 126 | 150 | 84% |
| SPECIAL GIFTS | 4,758.14 | 10,000 | 48% | 56 | | |
| AT LARGE | 88.50 | | | 17 | | |
| TOTALS | $16,993.64 | $28,000 | 61% | 1,128 | 1,250* | 90% |

*Includes 25 for Enterprise

INFORMATIONAL SHEET FOR LOCAL CAMPAIGN CHAIRMEN

| INFORMATION ABOUT DONOR | | | | INFORMATION ABOUT WORKER | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NAME | ADDRESS | ASKED TO GIVE | TOTAL GAVE OR PLG'D | ASSIGNED TO | PHONE |
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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

1967 Membership and Funding Campaign

INSTRUCTIONS FOR VISITORS

1. Study the contents of the Alabama Council brochure, provided, and these instructions. Don't memorize them, but be so familiar with the contents that you can use them naturally.

2. Be sure to make your own pledge first. You cannot reasonably or convincingly ask another to do what you have not done yourself. You may very well be asking others to give more than you can give, but you should first commit yourself to a donation according to your means.

3. Call only on prospects assigned to you. If you have a friend or acquaintance whom you think a likely prospect for a membership or contribution, clear with the chairman to be sure he is not assigned to someone else. Duplicate visits can be annoying.

4. Be sure to call on all persons or families assigned to you. If you do not find a prospect at home, make a return visit. But do not give up until you have some result to report--even if it is negative (which is unlikely).

5. Make a personal visit to the home of each prospect. At the very least make a special call on him in his office or other place of employment for this sole purpose. This is not a casual matter, so please do not deal with it in a casual telephone call or chance meeting!

6. Ask for a definite amount--and know what you will ask for before you go. The Campaign Committee of your chapter should have noted a suggested asking on your pledge card. If there is no such notation, consult the chairman. The "asking" should be the estimated largest amount that the prospect could give if so disposed. (For example, if John Doe could readily give $10 per month, don't ask him for $5. He may only give $5 per month. But if you ask only $5, chances are he'll still dicker with you!)

7. Make pledging as effortless as possible to the prospect. Have the pledge card filled out with address, occupation, etc.--all except the amount and the signature.

8. Be pleasant but purposeful. It is fine, for instance, to take your spouse along, if you are calling on another couple--but have it understood that there is not to be a second conversation going on while you are talking about the human relations council!

9. Be appreciative. If your prospect made a contribution during 1966, or if he is a good worker in the local council, thank him for what he has done.

10. Get to the subject. You might begin by saying, "George, I'm here today about the Alabama Council on Human Relations. We are rather proud of what the organization has accomplished during the past year, and we are eager to be even more effective in 1967." At this point you might show him one of the fact sheets which have been given to you by your campaign chairman and say, "This is just a partial listing of the things the Alabama Council has done in 1966." Talk about any of them in which the prospect is interested. Then talk about 1967. Empahsize the fact that the Rural Advancement Project was begun last February, and that the grant which makes it possible will be renewed for one more year provided the basic operation of the Council remains strong enough to administer it effectively. You should also explain that your local chapter will be able to become much more active than in the future if this financial campaign is a success. This is so because starting this year rebates from the state council to local chapters will be increased significantly if the local chapter is successful in its campaign (this year the local chapter will receive back 10% of all that it raises and if it goes over its quota then the chapter will receive back 75% of all the rest it raises). It should also be emphasized that financial assistance from the Southern Regional Council depends upon our success in fundraising, e.g., the better we do the better are our chances for a substantial grant-in-aid from SRC and the poorer we do the poorer our chances.

11. Get to the point--the point of decision, if you will. Something like this: "So we feel that we have a great chance in 1967 to make the Alabama Council an organization that will make a big difference in the state. But we all know that this will take a lot of doing. So we are trying to get everyone to be more than members this year. We are asking for regular support." (If your prospect is already a regular giver, you should change this, of course: perhaps, "So we are asking for increased support this year-which we think the record justified." At about this point pull out the pledge card with the prospect's address filled out on it. With a pencil check the category you had previously decided to suggest (e.g., "$60 Sponsor" or $36 Underwriter"). And say: "We are asking you to be among those giving $5.00 per month-- or $15.00 per quarter, if you prefer." Or, "I wonder if you would like to be among those giving $3.00 per month in 1966."

PERIOD!! Don't say another word! Wait for him to respond! If he says, "Well, yes, I think I could do that," you say, "Fine. Just sign the card and the state office will bill you on the first of each month (or quarter). You can make the first payment now or later, as you prefer." If he says, "Well, I have a lot of organizations to give to, but I guess I could manage the $6.00 each quarter," you might say, "Well, that would certainly be a big help, too. Just sign the card . . ."

12. Check the pledge card to be sure that all pertinent information is on it. Be sure that the donor has indicated clearly whether he wants statements monthly, quarterly, or on some irregular dates. Be sure to note any cash payment as "Paid herewith $_____." And be sure to get the ZIP CODE.

13. Report promptly to your campaign chairman. Turn in completed pledge cards and any cash or checks collected as soon as you conveniently can, even if you have not finished all your calls.

14. Take satisfaction in having done well something that is important and worthwhile. You may not be much of a salesman. And maybe you never thought you could raise money. But if you have followed the suggestions above, chances are you and your group have been astonished at the results. Why? Because beyond and beneath the mechanics and techniques of soliciting funds, you have had going for you the fact that a lot of people in Alabama are genuinely and deeply concerned about human relations in this state and realize, however vaguely, that they have a rare opportunity and urgent duty just because they live here. Thus, in one sense you have not asked for anything. You have offered an opportunity, a tool for creative effort, a meaningful approach to problems about which the donor is deeply concerned. Maybe some people who gave even thanked you for asking them . . .

AUDITS

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Auburn, Alabama

Financial Statements
January 31, 1968

Prepared By

McChesney And Machen
Public Accountants

Alabama Council on Human Relations

Auburn, Alabama

Balance Sheet
January 31, 1968

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **ASSETS** | | |
| Cash in Banks | | |
| Auburn National Bank | $ 285.33 | |
| Citizens Federal Savings & Loan | 5,637.46 | $5,922.79 |
| **LIABILITIES** | | |
| Payroll Taxes Payable | | 333.41 |
| Fund Balance, January 31, 1968 | | $5,589.38 |

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Auburn, Alabama

Statement of Revenues and Expenses
For Fiscal Year Ended January 31, 1968

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Revenues** | | |
| Memberships and Contributions | $14,049.64 | |
| Southern Regional Council | 15,100.00 | |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | 1,915.20 | |
| Interest Earned | 223.05 | |
| For Freedom Quilting Bee | 6,386.05 | $37,673.94 |
| **Expenses** | | |
| Freedom Quilting Bee | $ 3,680.98 | |
| Salaries | 15,844.75 | |
| Staff Travel | 3,401.17 | |
| Miscellaneous Expenses | 1,068.59 | |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 1,326.09 | |
| Postage | 951.23 | |
| Accounting | 200.00 | |
| Board of Directors | 967.36 | |
| Conferences | 1,347.95 | |
| Rent | 2,503.50 | |
| Fringe Benefits | 1,535.58 | |
| Printing | 820.45 | |
| Telephone | 2,097.03 | |
| Refunds to Local Chapters | 1,784.87 | |
| Literature | 175.76 | |
| Petty Cash | 75.00 | |
| Contingencies | 200.00 | |
| Southern Courier | 1,000.00 | 38,980.31 |
| Excess Expenses over Revenue | | $ 1,306.37 |
| Subtract Fund Balance, January 31, 1967 | | 6,895.75 |
| Fund Balance, January 31, 1968 | | $ 5,589.38 |

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Auburn, Alabama

Bank Reconciliation
January 31, 1968

| | Auburn National Bank | American National Bank | Citizens Federal Savings & Loan |
|---|---|---|---|
| Book Balance, January 31, 1967 | $ 4,979.29 | $436.73 | $1,414.41 |
| Deposits During Year: | 38,199.84 | | 4,000.00 |
| Checks Outstanding 1/31/67 Returned to Cash | 27.90 | 2.00 | |
| Interest Earned | | | 223.05 |
| Total | $43,207.03 | $438.73 | $5,637.46 |
| Checks Written during year | 42,921.70 | 438.73 | - |
| Book Balance, January 31, 1968 | $ 285.33 | | $5,637.46 |
| Bank Balance, January 31, 1968 | $ 2,433.59 | -0- | $5,637.46 |
| Outstanding Checks | 2,148.26 | | |
| Adjusted Bank Balance, January 31, 1968 | $ 285.33 | $ -0- | $5,637.46 |

March 4, 1966

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
308 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Gomillion:

Enclosed is a resume for one Rev. Donald Johnson. He called me to inquire about it and to ask that it be sent to you.

Frankly, I did not remember receiving this data when he called to inquire about it. Subsequently I discovered it in my files and recalled perusing it when it came (at a busy time for me) and concluding that he was not an apt candidate. I really should have answered the letter, and I apologize for that.

At any rate, I really do not think this prospect is worth investigating further. I would feel too pedantic in spelling out my reasons, but if your impression is not the same and you want my reasons, I can give them to you!

It is embarrassing that I have made no measurable progress in the search for a prospective Alabama Council Director. Believe me, it is constantly on my mind and I have inquired in several directions. I have a high standard in mind for all of the state councils -- especially for Alabama -- and in general I think it better to do without for a while than to

hire a weak person or one of doubtful qualities. But my personal involvement in this case makes me feel uneasy or guilty or something.

I'll try even harder and hope to have a prospect soon.

Very best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

Encl.

File

March 29, 1966

Dr. C. G. Gomillion coo
308 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Gomillion:

I received a copy of the call of an executive committee meeting on April 2. Unfortunately I am scheduled to be in South Carolina on that day. However, this reminds me of a copple of matters that need to be brought to the committee's attention.

First, there is the matter of the office secretary, Mrs. Rogers. Bob Valder indicated to me some time ago that she had expressed her intention to resign on June 1. I recently had occasion to ask her about this, and it appears that she is unhappy that the Board did not give her a raise in salary, in view of her increased responsibility. I recall that Bob had asked me, before the annual meeting, if I thought an increase in her salary should be budgeted. I answered that, since she had received a slight increase ($25 per month), in July, it would seem to me better to wait at least another six months and then give her a significant increase. I believe Bob brought this up at the Board meeting, but the Board left the matter for the executive committee to consider.

It is not clear to me whether she would reconsider, even if an appropriate increase were offered at this time. She said to me that she thought any increase should be retroactive to January 1, this being the time when I left and

she had to assume (as she feels) so much responsibility for the office. My own feeling now is that her present salary ($325) is probably below the market in Huntsville and that an increase to $400 per month would be appropriate. Mrs. Rogers is a very valuable employee. As a matter of policy, however, I would have doubts about making any raise retroactive.

Another matter about which representatives of both the East Alabama Council and the Muscle Shoals Council spoke to me some time ago has to do with the relation of the state and local councils in fund-raising. It seems to me that it would be advisable to have the state Board of Directors suggest each year a recommended percentage division of funds raised by local councils. This division would not apply to foundation funds or to funds raised outside the state or from at-large members within the state. For the first year (next year), I would suggest a division of 90% for the state council and 10% for the local council. As the membership grows this precentage could change to 80-20, then to 75-25, etc. In this way money would be provided for local programming (which I think necessary), state council support would take on the status of a tradition with a structure, and there would be an added incentive for the financial effort. The details could be worked out later, but this idea is of the nature of an overture from the Muscles Shoals group and probably should be answered in the affirmative at this meeting of the executive committee.

I regret to say that I have made little headway on the search for prospective Executive Directors. I have corresponded with several men, but thus far have been unable to find one ready to be interviewed. If you would like to talk to me about this problem (or any other), please call me collect.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

file

308 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
July 30, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Please accept this belated note of thanks for the check for two hundred fifty dollars ($250.00) which you sent for use by the Macon County Community Action Program for the purchase of materials needed for meeting the requirements of OEO for the Head Start (Day Care) in Macon County. The finishing touches are being applied at the three centers; the Director has been employed, and a staff is being assembled. Very shortly, the children will be enrolled. After we are in full operation I shall let you know what the situation is.

Sincerely,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion
Chairman, Macon County Community
Action Program

cc: Mrs. Beulah C. Johnson, Director
Macon County Community Action Program

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

956A EST SEP 29 66 AF052 PC076
P NKB063 PD FAX NEWARK NJER 29 1018A EDT
REV J EDWIN STANFIELD, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST ATLA
DEEPLY REGRET INABILITY TO GET TO ATLANTA TUESDAY
C G GOUILLION
(27).

SF1201(R2-65)

file

LEE COUNTY HEAD START FOLLOW THROUGH PROGRAM
155 Cox Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

May 16, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia30303

Dear Ed,

Just received your letter. I was sorry you didn't get down with Vernon, as I had looked forward to seeing you again but I am not so sure I am now. About Jerry and the Alabama Council, Yes, I am nosy and I will have to admit a bit guilty. Got a call from Jerry at 9:30 the other night saying , "Look, I've got to talk to you." So we talked and he said, "You seem to have kept my name in the limelight and now here I am faced with this decision." I guess I have to plead guilty and not too sorry. Guess I will just have to put my guilt in one corner and think about it later. No kidding, I did call you last week-end as I felt I had been quite responsible for putting a lot of pressure on Jerry and as I said was feeling pretty guilty about this. I am sure you are in agreement that he will do a fine job and we need him. I think all in all he is pleased and looking forward to the opportunity but it just, really, to be truthful, was not the time to have to be faced with such a decision. So, nosy I am and nosy I'll stay even if you do refuse to answer my question. Dr. Gomillion seemed pleased about the possibility of Jerry working in the position last night and also was in agreement of moving the office he thinks now even to Montgomery, of which one time he was against as you well know. I would ask, "How are things with Bob?", but seems you won't tell me.

Did you know that Jan Gomillion is in the hospital? I visited her the day before yesterday and she looked well for Jan, but talking to Dr. Gomillion last night he said the doctors had said that there is no hope for a cure. This is about the fourth time she has been in the hospital for treatment and as he says she will go home this week but it seems like it is about her time.

She is a sweet,lovely person and it sure is a very sad thing. I feel so sorry for him. I thought you might like to know. Oh, yes! She does not know. She told me that she was in just for treatment that it was nothing serious, etc. You know this has been a bad year for the East Alabama Council. Grace Hooks, lost her father; Frankie her mother-in-law; J. C.,our Auburn Vice-President's wife, was killed in a very unhappy tragic situation with another man involved in carbon monoxide poisoning; and now the very sad note of Jan. You know, Dr. Gomillion has not missed a meeting, appointment or anything, except one, the whole time she has been in the hospital. He was to speak to our social workers the day she went into the hospital, and if I had not insisted that he let me find a replacement for him, he would have been right here. He has had lunch with us to meet social workers, he was at the meeting last night. He has a marvelous capacity for keeping going. In ways this is fine but to me very sad.

I have been working on the book proposal and will get it in right away. Thanks for the additional information . If we had a certain book that we would like to have and don't really know if they are in paper-back form, can we go ahead and include them assuming that they might be able to be found in that form?

Vernon is really quite a dynamic person. He hadn't said what he was going to speak on and ended up with a very good interpretation of the political situation. Really made us sit up and take notice and realize what has to be done. He was a bit encouraging on one aspect as to having more liberal candidates. If it hadn't been for that, I am afraid we all may have gotten out and left the state. It is mighty discouraging here right now, but proves that there is much, much, much work to be done. Let me hear from you.

Best wishes,

Nancy

Nancy S. Spears
Director

NSS/lc

3/11/65

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

## OFFICERS

President:
Mr. Nat Welch
Post Office Box 1192
Auburn, Alabama

Vice President
Dr. Lucius Pitts
Miles College
Birmingham 8, Alabama

Second Vice President:
Rev. J. C. Wilson
Post Office Box 67
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Third Vice President:
Father Brice Joyce
220 East 19th Street
Sheffield, Alabama

Secretary:
Mrs. Lois Reeves
218 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Treasurer:
Mrs. Moreland Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

## BOARD MEMBERS "AT LARGE"

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3135 Audubon Road
Montgomery, Alabama

Mrs. Joan Cashin
509 Gallatin Street, N. W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Mr. Gordon DeCoudres
205 Old Rockford Road
Sylacauga, Alabama

Mrs. John Drew
1108 North Center Street
Birmingham 4, Alabama

Mrs. Virginia Durr
2 Felder Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Rev. V. A. Edwards
Box 58
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dr. Luther Foster
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dr. Ray Fowler
Post Office Box 6142
University, Alabama

Dr. C. G. Comillion
308 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dr. E. B. Goode
20 South Hallett Street
Mobile, Alabama

Rev. Phillip Huckaby
429 Calhoun Drive
Florence, Alabama

Rev. Duncan Hunter
8705 Camille Drive, S. E.
Huntsville, Alabama

Mr. Oliver T. Ivey

Smiths, Alabama

Rev. Otis Kirby
110 East Third Street
Tuscumbia, Alabama

Mr. Frederick Kraus
1919 - 7th Avenue, South
Birmingham, Alabama

Dr. Herman Long
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

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Birmingham 16, Alabama

Mrs. Paul McCoy
116 Fairmont Drive
Birmingham, Alabama

Rev. Powers McLeod
Post Office Box 6531
Mobile, Alabama

Rev. C. H. Oliver
416 - 10th Avenue, West
Birmingham, Alabama

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Alabama Exchange Bank
Tuskegee, Alabama

Mr. J. E. Pierce
830 Carter Hill Road
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. Stanley Rosenbaum
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Florence, Alabama

Rev. J. L. Ware
1912 Canyon Road
Birmingham 16, Alabama

Mr. S. C. Watkins
503 So. Washington Street
Tuscumbia, Alabama

Mrs. A. W. West
729 South Jackson
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. W. L. Williams
1630 - 4th Avenue, North
Birmingham, Alabama

## LOCAL COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVES

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BIRMINGHAM: | Mr. James F. Kidd<br>6415 Washington Blvd.<br>Birmingham 6, Alabama | Rev. Herbert Eber<br>Post Office Box 3361-A<br>Birmingham, Alabama |
| EAST ALABAMA: | Mr. Jerry Roden<br>513 Moore's Mill Road<br>Auburn, Alabama | Rev. Vernon Jones<br>Tuskegee Institute<br>Tuskegee Institute, Alabama |
| HUNTSVILLE: | Mrs. Joan Cashin<br>509 Gallatin St., NW<br>Huntsville, Alabama | Mrs. Jane Reed<br>3604 Lookout Drive<br>Huntsville, Alabama |
| MOBILE: | | |
| MONTGOMERY: | Mr. Franklyn W. Taylor<br>1013 Carter Hill Road<br>Montgomery, Alabama | |
| MUSCLE SHOALS: | Rev. M. C. Griffin<br>530 West College Street<br>Florence, Alabama | Mr. Stanley Rosenbaum<br>117 Riverview Drive<br>Florence, Alabama |
| TALLADEGA: | Mrs. Laura N. Daly<br>923 West Battle<br>Talladega, Alabama | Mr. Alfred Radney<br>9 Church Street<br>Talladega, Alabama |

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LOCAL COUNCIL PRESIDENTS
1966

GREATER BIRMINGHAM:

Mr. James F. Kidd
6415 Washington Boulevard
Birmingham, Alabama 35212

EAST ALABAMA:

Mrs. Nancy Spears
265 Cary Drive
Auburn, Alabama 36830

HUNTSVILLE:

Mr. Don Ring
1013 Crestline Road, N. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

MOBILE:

Mrs. James N. Wood
4100 Ridgelawn Drive
Mobile, Alabama 36608

MONTGOMERY:

Mr. Franklyn W. Taylor
1013 Carter Hill Road
Montgomery, Alabama 36106

MUSCLE SHOALS:

Mr. George H. DeBoer
Florence State College
Florence, Alabama 35630

TALLADEGA DISTRICT:

Mr. Q. D. Adams
1907 East Broad Street
Gadsden, Alabama 35901

TUSCALOOSA:

Dr. Joseph D. Bettis
3313 East Sixth Street
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

OFFICERS
1966

President:
Dr. C. G. Gomillion
308 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama 36088

Vice President:
Dr. Raymond D. Fowler
Post Office Box 6142
University, Alabama 35486

Vice President:
Dr. Lucius Pitts
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama 35064

Vice President:
Father Brice Joyce
220 East 19th Street
Sheffield, Alabama 35660

Secretary:
Mrs. Paul J. McCoy
3402 Panorama Drive, S.E.
Huntsville, Alabama 35801

Treasurer:
Mr. J. E. Pierce
830 Carter Hill Road
Montgomery, Alabama 36106

BOARD MEMBERS "AT LARGE"

Dr. Joseph Bettis '69
3313 East Sixth Street
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Mr. Allen Black, Jr. '69
1009 West Irvine
Florence, Alabama 35630

Mrs. John Cashin '68
507 Gallatin Street, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35801

Mrs. John Drew '68
1108 North Center Street
Birmingham, Alabama 35204

Mrs. Virginia Durr '67
2 Felder Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

*The Rev. V. A. Edwards '67
Post Office Box 58
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama 36088

Dr. Luther Foster '69
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama 36088

The Rev. Phillip Huckaby '69
637 Belle Avenue
Birmingham, Alabama 35217

The Rev. Duncan Hunter '68
8705 Camille Drive, S.E.
Huntsville, Alabama 35802

*Mr. James F. Kidd
6415 Washington Boulevard
Birmingham, Alabama 35212

The Rev. Otis E. Kirby '69
913 Oak Street, N.E.
Decatur, Alabama 35601

Dr. Frederick Kraus '69
1919 - 7th Avenue, South
Birmingham, Alabama 35205

Dr. Beryl McClaskey '67
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Birmingham, Alabama 35216

*The Rev. Powers McLeod '67
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Montgomery, Alabama 36111

Mr. J. Allan Parker '68
Alabama Exchange Bank
Tuskegee, Alabama 36083

Mr. Stanley Rosenbaum '68
117 Riverview Drive
Florence, Alabama 35630

* Executive Committee

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2612 Arrow Wood
Huntsville, Alabama 35803

Mrs. Willease Simpson '67
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Montgomery, Alabama

Mrs. Nancy S. Spears '67
265 Cary Drive
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Mr. S. C. Watkins '67
503 South Washington Street
Tuscumbia, Alabama

Mrs. A. W. West '67
729 South Jackson
Montgomery, Alabama 36104

Mrs. Kathleen K. Wood '69
4100 Ridgelawn Drive
Mobile, Alabama 36608

The Rev. J. L. Ware '67
328 North Fourth Court
Birmingham, Alabama 35204

## LOCAL COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVES

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| GREATER BIRMINGHAM: | Mr. Abraham L. Siegel<br>1640 Lakewood Drive<br>Birmingham, Alabama | The Rev. Harold Long<br>1208 Finley Avenue<br>Birmingham, Alabama 35204 |
| EAST ALABAMA: | Mrs. Fannye Harris<br>19 Gaillard Drive<br>Tuskegee, Alabama 36083 | Mrs. Grace Hooks<br>228 Bibb Street<br>Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36830 |
| TUSCALOOSA: | Mr. Thomas de Jefferson<br>718 - 36th Avenue<br>Tuscaloosa, Alabama | Mr. Ross Bonner<br>3009 - 24th Street<br>Tuscaloosa, Alabama |
| MOBILE: | Mr. Arthur Whitfield<br>608 Crawford Lane<br>Mobile, Alabama 36617 | Mrs. James Kennedy<br>207 Tucker Street<br>Mobile, Alabama 36617 |
| HUNTSVILLE: | Mr. Don Ring<br>1013 Crestline Rd., N.W.<br>Huntsville, Alabama 35805 | Mr. Joe D. Wilson<br>Moss Drive, N. W.<br>Huntsville, Alabama |
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| MUSCLE SHOALS: | Prof. George DeBoer<br>Florence State College<br>Florence, Alabama 35630 | Mrs. Thelma Mullins<br>310 East 18th Street<br>Sheffield, Alabama 35660 |

Mr. Louis Sheffield (alternate)
962 Beale Street
Florence, Alabama 35630

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| TALLADEGA: | Mrs. Laura Daly<br>923 West Battle Street<br>Talladega, Alabama | Mr. Alfred Radney<br>9 Church Street<br>Talladega, Alabama |

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# ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

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Alabama Exchange Bank
Tuskegee, Alabama 36083

* Executive Committee

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Rev. John W. B. Thompson
415 Ridge Road
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HUNTSVILLE:

MONTGOMERY:

MUSCLE SHOALS:

TALLADEGA:

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Gadsden, Alabama 35901

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Dr. Joseph D. Bettis
3313 East Sixth Street
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS -- ACHR

### Class of 1966

Nat Welch, Atlanta
Rev. J. C. Wilson, Tuskegee Institute
Father Brice Joyce, Sheffield
Allen Black, Florence
Dr. Luther H. Foster
Dr. E. B. Goode
Rev. Otis E. Kirby, Decatur
Dr. Frederick W. Kraus, Birmingham
J. E. Pierce, Montgomery
Kathleen K. Wood, Mobile

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Mrs. Moreland Smith, Montgomery
Dr. Herman Long, Talladega
Rev. Powers McLeod, Mobile
Mrs. Virginia Durr, Montgomery
Rev. V. A. Edwards, Tuskegee Institute
Oliver T. Ivey, Smiths
Dr. Beryl McClaskey, Birmingham
Rev. J. L. Ware, Birmingham
Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery
Mr. W. L. Williams, Birmingham

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Dr. C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute
Mrs. Earl Andrews, Montgomery
Mrs. John Cashin, Huntsville
Mrs. John Drew, Birmingham
Rev. Phillip Huckaby, Florence
Rev. Duncan Hunter, Huntsville
Mrs. Paul McCoy, Birmingham
Alben Parker, Tuskegee
Stanley Rosenbaum, Florence
S. C. Watkins, Tuscumbia

### Local Council Representatives for 1965

Mrs. Laura Daly, Talladega
Mr. Alfred Radney, Talladega
Rev. M. C. Griffin, Florence
Rev. Vernon Jones, East Alabama
Jerry Roden, East Alabama
James F. Kidd, Birmingham
Mrs. Bill Reed, Huntsville
Franklyn W. Taylor, Montgomery

Alabama

BOARD OF DIRECTORS -- ACHR "State Council Board Lists"

Class of 1966

Nat Welch, Atlanta
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Father Brice Joyce, Sheffield
Allen Black, Florence
Dr. Luther H. Foster
Dr. E. B. Goode
Rev. Otis E. Kirby, Decatur
Dr. Frederick W. Kraus, Birmingham
J. E. Pierce, Montgomery
Kathleen K. Wood, Mobile
~~Dr. E. B. Goode, Mobile~~

This is as I sent it to Gomillion
E.

Class of 1967

Dr. Lucius H. Pitts, Birmingham
Mrs. Moreland Smith, Montgomery
Dr. Herman Long, Talladega
Rev. Powers McLeod, Mobile
Mrs. Virginia Durr, Montgomery
Rev. V. A. Edwards, Tuskegee Institute
Oliver T. Ivey, Smiths
Dr. Beryl McClaskey, Birmingham
Rev. J. L. Ware, Birmingham
Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery
Mr. W. L. Williams, Birmingham

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Mrs. John Drew, Birmingham
Rev. Phillip Huckaby, Florence
Rev. Duncan Hunter, Huntsville
Mrs. Paul McCoy, Birmingham
Alben Parker, Tuskegee
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Mr. Alfred Radney, Talladega
Rev. M. C. Griffin, Florence
Rev. Vernon Jones, East Alabama
Jerry Roden, East Alabama
James F. Kidd, Birmingham
Mrs. Bill Reed, Huntsville
Franklyn W. Taylor, Montgomery

Ala - LISTS

# INFORMATION FOR ACHR 's 1967 NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Officers
President--Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Vice President--Dr. Ray Fowler
Vice President-Dr. Lucius Pitts
Vice President-Father Brice Joyce
Secretary--Mrs. Paul McCoy
Treasurer--Mr. J. E. Pierce

At Large
Rev. V. A. Edwards
Mr. James F. Kidd
The Rev. Powers McLeod
Mrs. Bill Reed

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS BY YEAR

Class of 1967

Dr. Lucius Pitts
The Rev. Powers McLeod
Mrs. Nancy Spears
Mrs. Virginia Durr
The Rev. V. A. Edwards
Dr. Beryl McClaskey
The Rev. J. L. Ware
Mrs. A. W. West
Two vacancies exist in the Class of 1967.

Class of 1968

Dr. Raymond Fowler
Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Mrs. John Drew
The Rev. Phillip Huckaby
The Rev. Duncan Hunter
Mrs. Paul McCoy
Mr. Allen Parker
Mr. Stanley Rosenbaum
Mr. S. C. Watkins
Mrs. John Cashin

Class of 1969

Mr. Allen Black, Jr.
Mrs. Bill Reed
Dr. L. H. Foster
Father Brice Joyce
The Rev. Otis Kirby
Dr. Frederick Kraus
Mr. J. E. Pierce
Dr. Joseph Bettis
Mrs. James Wood
One vacancy exists in the class of 1969.

NOTE: In addition to these board members, each local chapter elects two members annually to serve on the state board of directors.

**Memo** from **PAUL ANTHONY**

Ala - Listo -

#504 - 3:35 - 5:21

#587 - 7:30 - 7:46

Mac NAIR

(Di) Everett W. MacNair
Talladega College
Talladega, Ala.

Send Ga Educ. Study

PA calling card

Done -

Ala- LISTS

Charles Smith
Calhoun, Alabama
President, L.C.C.M.

Claire McMeans
Ft. Deposit, Alabama

James Kolb
Rte. 2, Box 90
Luverne, Alabama
Crenshaw Co. Demo. Con., Inc.

Mrs. Annie C. Grayson
Rte. 3, Box 302
Wetumpka, Alabama
Teacher
NAACP

J. C. Lawson
1928 1st. Avenue
Selma, Alabama

Mr. Daniel Alexander
Hope Hill, Alabama

Miss Camilla Austin
Wetumpka, Alabama
Rte. 3, Box 383
Teacher

Abraham Billups
Route 3, Box 219
Wetumpka, Alabama
N.A.A.C.P.

L. H. Rodgers
Route 2, Box 32
Bexar, Alabama
Mation County Teachers

Rufus C. Huffman
P. O. Box 332
Union Springs, Alabama
Bullock County Civic Organ.

A. J. Cooper, Jr.
P. O. Box 114
Mobile, Alabama
Law student NYU

Lois Jean Scott
1515 Cavalry St., N. W.
Huntsville, Alabama
C.S.C., S.C.L.C.

Mrs. Alvin L. Robinson
300 E. Parmer Street
Greenville, Alabama
School Teacher

A. P. Nalls
Route 4, Box 61
Fayette, Alabama
Fayette County Board of Education

Fannie L. Dew
110 Carver Circle
Bulow, Alabama
N.A.A.C.P., S.C.L.C.

Guss Jolly
Rte. 2, Box 50B
Boligee, Alabama
N.A.A.C.P., S.C.L.C.

Alfred Radmey
9 Church Street
Talladega, Alabama
T.I.A.

Rev. S. Little
Rte. 1, Box 14C
Epes, Alabama
N.A.A.C.P.

Sandy Berry
Route 3, Box 67
Greensboro, Alabama
Improvement Association

Alice L. Moore
Rte. 1, Box 165
Hayneville, Alabama

P. G. Pickens
Route 3, Box 67
Greensboro, Alabama
Improvement Association

Rev. Woodson Lewis
Forkland, Alabama
Civic Organization

Rev. P. J. Kirks, Jr.
Rte. 1., Box D-19
Boligee, Alabama
N.A.A.C.P.

Rev. J. C. Brown
66 B McKenzie Court
Tuscaloosa, Alabama
T.C.A.C.

Mrs. Annie M. Sinclair
Route 1, Box 522
Notasulga, Alabama

Rosie Lue Fields
Route 1, Box 496
Notasulga, Alabama

Mr. C. J. Johnson
762 Wellington Street
Mobile, Alabama
N.A.A.C.P.

Arther Ree Kelley
P. O. Box 246
Newbern, Alabama
Improvement Association

James W. Flowers
Route 1, Box 44
Sprague, Alabama
Montgomery Co. Civic Club

John L. Buskey
1403 Wilcox Street
Montgomery, Alabama
Alabama State College

Howard McCord
Lowndes County
Farmer

Rev. N. H. Craig
P. O. Box 293
Haynesville, Alabama
Lowndes Freedom Organization

Mrs. Mildred Williams
1332 Spruce Street
Gadsden, Alabama
S.C.L.C.

Elder James C. Pritchett
1331 Fairview Street
Selma, Alabama
D.C.V.L.

E. Simpson James
Rte. 1, Box 47
Pittsview, Alabama
Russell County School System

Mrs. Mildred Black
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama
Hale County Improvement Assoc.

Wylie Yelverton
1402 Carver Drive
Dothan, Alabama
N.A.A.C.P.

Rev. W. L. Gaines
554 So. Cedar Street
Mobile, Alabama
Clark County Civic Movement

Charlie Goodson
Ellton, Alabama
Farmer

H. C. Means
Route 1, Box 21-B
Boligee, Alabama
Farmer

Mrs. Lucille Wise
415 Short Street
Wetumpka, Alabama
Civic League

Samson Cowan, Sr.
803 Center St., So.
Selma, Alabama
D.C.F.I.V.O.

Callins W. Harris
Route 1, Box 128
Grady, Alabama
C.C.I.A.

R. L. Strickland
P. O. Box 21
Lowndesboro, Alabama
Lowndes Freedom Organization

Mrs. Jacqueline Lacey
Route 1, Box 264-E
Wetumpka, Alabama

Louis Roberts
Box 25,
Bulka, Alabama

Mr. Patt J. Davis
P. O. Box 141
Marion, Alabama
S.C.L.C.

Mr. Eugene Roberts
P. O. Box 51
Elmore, Alabama
N.A.A.C.P.

McKenzie Wiley
557 Davis Avenue
Mobile, Alabama
Non-Partisan Voters League

William A. Winston
808 Washington Avenue
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
Ala. Council of Human Relations

Herman Stewart
2507 W. Edgemont Ave.
Montgomery, Ala.

Julius Robinson, Jr.
554 E. 6th Street
Prattville, Alabama
P.I.A.

Ulysses Stanford
Abbeville, Alabama
Farmer

G. F. Grubbs
512 E. Academy Street
Troy, Alabama
Ala. Council of Human Relations

Mrs. Jacqueline W. Jacobs
2063 Tucker Street
Mobile, Alabama
N.A.A.C.P.

Bernest Brooks
103 Cook Street
Enterprise, Alabama
The Citizens Civic Club

Rev. Frank Smith
Route 1, Box 171
Lower Peachtree, Alabama

Mr. James A. Malone
Route 2, Box 106
Newville, Alabama

Mr. Sidney Logan, Jr.
Route 1, Box 140
Haynesville, Alabama
Lowndes County Freedom Organ.

H. L. Beauchamp
100 14th Street
Clanton, Alabama
C.A.P.

G. R. Coleman
1651 Elliott Street
Mobile, Alabama
N.A.A.C.P.

George Mason, III
P. O. Box 93
Emille, Alabama

Dr. F. N. Nixon
Route 1, Box 151
York, Alabama
Sumter County Branch N.A.A.C.P.

Miss Lois Jean Gardner
865 Bunche Ave.
Prattville, Ala.
Freedom work

Freddie Lee Davis
235 Easy Street
Pratterville, Alabama
N.A.A.C.P.

J. C. Dutch
2529 1st Avenue
Mobile, Alab.
Pres. P.T.A.

Johnnie M. Warren
611 R.R. Ave.
Troy, Alabama
Pike County Voters League

Mr. Eddie Long, Jr.
301 Depot Street
Greensboro, Alabama
H.C.I.A.

Mrs. Viola W. Clifton
P. O. Box 127
Pine Hill, Alabama

Mrs. Ollie K. Johnson
762 Wellington Street
Mobile, Alabama
N.A.A.C.P.

Wilbon Thomas
Route 1, Box 14
Midway, Alabama
Midway N.A.A.C.P.

Drue W. Williams
Route 1, Box 512
Notasulga, Alabama
Community Worker

Mrs. Sallie Hadrott
623 Easy Street
Prattville, Ala.
N.A.A.C.P., Voters League

W. T. Lovejoy
Route 1, Box 127
Grady, Alabama
Crenshaw County Improvement Assoc.

Charles Smith
R.F.D. #1 Box 21
Calhoun, Ala.
Lowndes Freedom

Mrs. Z. Williams
2010 Hill Street
Montgomery, Alabama
N.A.A.C.P.

W. Clay
217 Riley Street
Roanoke, Alabama
N.A.A.C.P.

Mr. Willie L. Wood
139 8th Street
Prattville, Ala.
Autauga Voters Assoc.

William H. Harrison
Route 1, Box 6
Yantley, Alabama
Choctaw Co. Civic League

Anthony S. Butler
P. O. Box 177
Lismun, Alabama
Alabama State Teachers Assoc.

Mrs. Ruby Bowman
P. O. Box 293
Wetumpka, Alabama
Civic League

Robert Logan
Route 1, Box 113
Hayneville, Alabama
Lowndes County Freedom Organ.

Mrs. Idessa Williams
1010 Bragg Street
Montgomery, Ala.
Montgomery Improvement Assn.

Joe L. Reed
853 Thurmon Street
Montgomery, Ala.
Alabama State Teachers Assn.

Jack T. Williams
Akron, Alabama
Akron Improvement Assn.

T. B. William
Akron, Alabama
Akron Improvement Assn.

Mattie L. Curry
110 Caskrey Street
Troy, Alabama
C.W.T. & Voting League

Virginia Durr
2 Felder Avenue
Montgomery, Ala.
Human Relations Organ.

Mrs. Dorothy Williams
702 N. Craft Highway
Prichard, Alabama
N.A.A.C.P., S.C.L.C.

Arthur L. Whitfield
608 Crawford Lane
Mobile, Alabama
Ala. Council on Human Relations

Gwendolyn Biggs
P. O. Box 164
Baykins, Alabama
S.N.C.C.

Rev. Handy L. Davis
705 Roof Street
Prichard, Alabama
Prichard N.A.A.C.P.

Mrs. Thelma W. Mullins
310 E. 18th Street
Sheffield, Ala.
Ala. Council on Human Relations

Rev. Leslie Patton
Box 36
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Cornelius Jones
Box 191
Hayneville, Ala.
S.N.C.C.

W. C. Truett
Houston County
Cottonwood, Alabama
Pastor

Mrs. Carrie Peavy
P. O. Box 83
Wetumpka, Ala.
N.A.A.C.P.,Elmore Co. Civic League

Rev. M. L. Gabriel
417 14th Ave., N. W.
Decatur, Alabama
Decatur Improvement Assoc.

~~Essex~~ Ernest Essex
Route 1, Box 186
Demopolis, Alabama

Arthur DeBardeleban
527 6th Street
Prattville, Alabama

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*HUNTSVILLE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS*

*Our purpose . . .*

*. . . To promote channels for prompt and easy communication between individuals and groups of all races.*

*. . . To foster an atmosphere and environment in which citizens of all races, creeds, and colors can exist and work together in decency and dignity.*

* * * * * * * * * * * *

NEWSLETTER, MARCH 1966

NEXT MEETING

Thursday, March 31, 8:00 p.m.
Providence Presbyterian Church
2403 Oakwood Road (North of Oakwood Avenue off Jordan Lane)

The Employment Committee, jointly chaired by Mrs. Edward Falkowski and Dr. Mary Pandow, will be responsible for this month's council meeting. The program will feature talks by employment officers at Redstone Arsenal. Mr. Jim Temple from Marshall Space Flight Center and Mr. Bill Jasper from Army will tell of the equal employment opportunity programs of Huntsville's two largest federal employers. There will be an opportunity to ask questions following their talks.

CALENDAR

| | |
|---|---|
| March 15<br>8:00 p.m. | Mass Meeting sponsored by the Community Service Committee, First Baptist Church, 236 Church Street, NW. |
| March 16<br>8:00 p.m. | J. Metz Rollins, National Associate Executive Director of the United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race, will speak at Providence Presbyterian, 2403 Oakwood Road, NW--interested persons are invited to attend |
| March 21 | One year ago, Selma to Montgomery March |

CALENDAR (Continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| March 21<br>8:00 p.m. | NAACP meeting; report on district meeting in Mobile, Union Chapel, Gardner Street. |
| March 22<br>8:00 p.m. | Tuskegee Institute Choir, Huntsville Coliseum. Adult tickets: $2.00 in advance, $3.00 at the door; student tickets: $1.50 in advance, $2.00 at the door. Call Mrs. Joe D. Wilson (539-0606) for further information. |
| March 24<br>7:30 p.m. | City Council Meeting Municipal Building |
| March 29<br>6:30 p.m. | League of Women Voters Annual Dinner, Holiday Inn West. Call Mrs. Jim Dollard (852-0847) for further information. |
| March 31<br>8:00 p.m. | Huntsville Council on Human Relations General Meeting Providence Presbyterian Church |
| April 4<br>8:00 p.m. | Huntsville Council Executive Board, Unitarian Church 701 East Clinton Avenue |
| April 5<br>7:30 p.m. | Huntsville School Board meets, 714 Bob Wallace Ave. |

* * * * *

Congratulations to Kathy Filer who won second place in the A. G. Gaston Spelling Bee.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

STATE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Over three hundred people from every section of Alabama attended a meeting in Montgomery last weekend to become informed about the new school desegregation guidelines, Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, issued last week by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The conference was sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations, Alabama State Conference of Branches--NAACP, the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Speakers included Dr. Caryle C. Ring, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Mr. David Marlin, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Mrs. Septima Clark, SCLC, Miss Jean Fairfax, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, and Mr. Sam Ethridge, National Education Association.

Dear Ed,

I am going to be in Atlanta on April 1 & 2. I would like to speak to you for a few minutes — will you be in town?

Jane

STATE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION (Continued)

The following people attended from Huntsville: R. C. Adams, Tom Taylor, Ennis Hardy, Gregory Wilkins, Mary Pandow, Evelyn Falkowski, Jane Reed and Bob Valder.

The 1966 guidelines require school officials to file assurance of their intention to comply with Title VI by April 15, 1966, to act to eliminate discrimination including the maintenance of dual schools and faculties, and to show substantial progress in 1966. The guidelines do not automatically apply to school districts under court ordered desegregation plans. However, a court order which is not in accord with current judicial standards as reflected by the guidelines is subject to legal action by the Department of Justice or by the parties to the original suit. Huntsville School System is under court order.

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING

The Executive Board of the Huntsville Council met on March 7 and took the following actions:

Heard report from Voter Registration and Education Committee and agreed to co-sponsor with the NAACP and Community Service Committee a voter registration project to be funded by the Southern Regional Council, if approved.

Agreed to hold next Executive Board meeting at the Unitarian Church on April 4, at 8:00 p.m.

Heard report from Education Committee regarding status of School Desegregation Project.

Discussed questionnaire to be used for School Desegregation Project, and agreed to ask the Employment and Housing Committee to compile a set of questions for possible inclusion which would be helpful in their future committee work.

Agreed to sponsor the attendance of one or more students at the School Desegregation Meeting in Montgomery.

QUOTABLE QUOTES

"The main goal of America in this decade is the fulfillment of human rights," said Civil Service Commission Chairman John W. Macy, Jr. "And after more than twenty years, the leadership in non-discrimination and equal opportunity in government employment has shifted from a succession of presidential committees to the Commission."

"The goal is equal results," Macy said, "and the milestone is the need to move beyond opportunity--beyond the opening of the door. We need to insure the achievement, not just a promise of equal opportunity for all Americans."

--Recent address by John Macy, Jr.
Chairman, Civil Service Commission

"We need not take seriously the accusation of favoritism when we encourage special programs in behalf of Negroes. Most of us who are white and have got along well are the recipients of many favors. High offices in Washington are widely filled by men whose most obvious qualification for preferment is that they are sons of fathers, brothers of brothers, or nephews of uncles, and the same is true throughout business and the professions and even the arts, and in some labor unions the practice is made formal. Negroes do not as yet have this advantage, nor are they in the chain of gossip which provides both early information about openings and recommendations. When the typical firm or university department or newspaper editor wants to take on a new man, someone calls his friends in the profession; this is the way most important appointments are made and Negroes are as yet outside the circuit. Large companies tend to promote from within, and Negroes are not in the lines of advance. It is not favoritism to build into our practices some ad hoc compensating bias."

--From "Public Policy and the Arts of Peacemaking," by Leslie W. Dunbar; New South, Winter, 1966 Issue, published by the Southern Regional Council

Ala- Local Councils

COUNCIL NEWS

THE MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS — Mobile, Alabama

Mrs. Kathleen K. Wood, President — Vol. I, No. 9
Mrs. Joan Lamb, Editor — May, 1966

## Meeting

| | |
|---|---|
| 8:00, May 24 | Church of the Good Shepherd<br>605 Donald Street |
| Program: | Where Do We Go From Here? |
| Business: | Election of Officers |

"Where Do We Go From Here?" You will be the speaker at the May meeting of the Council on Human Relations. A new slate of officers and Board members will be elected and they need your direction. Their plans must be based on your interests and concerns if they are to be effective. In order to be sure that everyone has a chance to express his ideas and opinions, we are going to divide into small "buzz sessions" to discuss project and program ideas for the coming year. What would you like to see the Council do in 66-67? We want to know!

We hope that you will make a special effort to attend this meeting to assure the new officers and Board members of your support and to give your help in evaluating how the Council can best contribute in the struggle for civil rights and human rights here in Mobile.

---

## Elections

Also at the May meeting the Nominating Committee will submit for your consideration the following slate of officers and Board members for the coming year:

| | |
|---|---|
| President: | Mrs. Kathleen K. Wood |
| Vice-President: | Mr. John Milton |
| Secretary: | Mrs. Joan Lamb |
| Treasurer: | Mr. Arthur L. Whitfield |
| Board: | Mrs. Janice Kennedy |
| | The Rev. John W.B. Thompson |
| | Mr. Kermic McChriston |
| | Mrs. Dorothy Raine |
| | The Rev. John J. Ellard |
| | Dr. Kurt Tauss |
| | Mrs. Sarah Hamlin |
| | The Rev. T.E. Williams |
| | Dr. R.W. Gilliard |
| | Mrs. Valena McCants |
| | Mr. James N. Wood, Jr. |

## Committees

We need you on a committee. We have an obligation to keep informed on all the important areas of civil rights activity -- and on those areas where there is no activity but where some is needed. We must be ready to coordinate our programs with those of other organizations, to initiate programs when necessary, and, at all times, to act when it is appropriate. In addition, we need members to help with the Council's "housekeeping" -- finance, telephone, hospitality etc.

The committees are chaired by a member of the Board and the amount of work varies from committee to committee and depends, in part, on the projects which we elect to undertake during the year. You know the area in which you can best work. Don't wait to be called or invited to serve. Look over the following list, decide where you can help, and give your name and the committee of your choice to any of the new officers or Board members:

Health and Hospitals; Employment; Housing; Federal Programs; Education; Voting; Law Enforcement and Police Practices; Local Government; Hospitality; Telephone; and Finance.

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## Mobile's Summer School Program

There will be a free summer school program in Mobile this year. It will be financed by the federal government under Title I of the Primare and Secondary Education Act. It will not be as complete as the program which was originally proposed and which was supported actively by the Council and by many other local organizations. For reasons known only to the Mobile County School Board, the Board chose to delete the cultural enrichment courses and the mid-morning snack from the project when it voted to sponsor the summer program.

It is understood, however, that some enrichment activities are planned by some of the teachers within the framework of their regularly offered courses. There will be, in addition, a thorough remedial program offered. Although the program leaves much to be desired there are a great many Mobile children who should profit greatly from their summer school experience.

We hope that parents will take every advantage of all that the program offers for their children and, at the same time, make it very clear to the School Board that they believe that the Board, in reducing the original proposal, deliberately deprieved those children most in need of help. We must do whatever is necessary to make it clear to those in authority that our children cannot be used as pawns in their schemes to perpetuate prejudice and ignorance.

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## Run-off Election

Don't forget to vote Tuesday, May 31. There are still many important races to be decided, including seats in the legislature and one place on the School Board. Every vote counts.

Ark. - M + M

Rec'd 2/17/66 WJ

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

ANNUAL MEETING
February 26, 1966

Registration and Reservations

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____

Reserve _____ place (s) for dinner ($3.00)

Mail to Arkansas Council on Human Relations, 1310 Wright Avenue, Little Rock, Arkansas

BEFORE February 22, 1966

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

# ANNUAL MEETING

PLACE: Hotel Albert Pike, parlors, A,B,C, and Tiki Terrace Room
Seventh and Scott Streets, Little Rock

DATE: Saturday, February 26, 1966, 2 p.m. to 9 p.m.

COST: $3.00 for dinner (Reserve before February 22 on enclosed blank.)

SCHEDULE:

2 p.m. - 4 p.m. Advisory Council with the Board of Directors: Panel of members with Edwin Stanfield as resource leader. (Members of ACHR will be welcomed.)

4:30 p.m. - 6 p.m. Membership Meeting: Report of staff, resolutions, democratic deliberation, business.

6:30 p.m. - 9 p.m. Dinner: Tiki Terrace Room

Address: Vernon E. Jordan (Mr. Jordan will direct a vigorous campaign of voter education in Arkansas and other Southern states in 1966.)

WHO'S WHO: Edwin Stanfield, Director of Field Services of the Southern Regional Council; native of Dardanelle, Arkansas; past Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations; Presbyterian minister.

Vernon E. Jordan, A.B., LL.B., Atlanta, Director of Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council; member of the American and Arkansas Bar Association; former Attorney-Consultant, U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, Atlanta; former Georgia Field Director of NAACP.

(Travel for members of the Board and Advisory Council will be paid.)

# *a new concept in luxury and comfort!!*

ADDRESS! Important? Yes, when you say "I'm at the Albert Pike", people know you've chosen a distinctive address—a place of quality and reputation . . . Other practical considerations of the Albert Pike Motor Hotel is its downtown location in a quiet, tree shaded, picturesque area only one block from the key downtown part of Little Rock, yet five minutes from the Airport. Its reputation for hospitality, good food, free parking, family rates, complete hotel facilities and service, including an outstanding coffee shop for dining is widely known . . . The Albert Pike with its excellent meeting and banquet space is the best for groups of 10 to 300 . . . Rooms and suites of every size to fit your taste.

**THE BEAUTIFUL NEW TIKI TERRACE ROOM** . . . This ultra-modern meeting room has every convenience for meetings and displays with controlled lighting, stage, complete sound equipment with built-in mikes, and electrical outlets for booths and displays.

**Six Deluxe Display Rooms**
These efficient rooms are available for a variety of uses for meetings, banquets, displays or as sample rooms. Each have private bath and storage space. Room sizes 22' x 17' —each accommodate 40 for meetings or dining for 30.

**COMPLETE MEETING ROOM FACILITIES!**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| TIKI TERRACE ROOM | 36' x 68' | SEATS 300 | DINES 250 |
| NORTH LOUNGE | 35' x 40' | SEATS 170 | DINES 140 |
| MIRROR ROOM | 19' x 39' | SEATS 90 | DINES 75 |
| PARLOR "A" | 15' x 16' | SEATS 40 | DINES 28 |
| PARLOR "B" | 15' x 23' | SEATS 50 | DINES 40 |
| PARLOR "C" | 15' x 19' | SEATS 40 | DINES 30 |
| "A-B-C" COMBINED | 15' x 58' | SEATS 140 | DINES 115 |

**YEAR 'ROUND SWIMMING POOL!** Arkansas' most exotic year 'round heated swimming pool—in an exclusive location adjacent to the beautiful and elegant **LANAI SUITES.** The Patio Pool Area is designed for beauty and relaxation so that every day is a vacation.

***A SPACIOUS LOBBY**—A commodious and colorful lobby with plenty of room for relaxing, chatting and registrations.*
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*PHONE AREA 501—FR 2-5211*

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Ninth St. Sixth St. Markham St.

*SEVENTH & SCOTT STREETS • LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS*

Ala - M+M

**FOR YOUR INFORMATION**

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

March 24, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : Executive Committee and RAP Director

From : Bob Valder

Subject: Meeting of ACHR Executive Committee

President C. G. Gomillion has asked me to inform you that there will be an Executive Committee meeting in Birmingham, beginning at 10:00 a.m., and ending around 3:00 or 4:00 p.m., on Saturday, April 2, 1966. The meeting will be held in the Panther Room of the Bankhead Hotel. As is customary, your expenses will be paid by ACHR.

Included in the day's business will be reports by the Rural Advancement Project Director and the Associate Director. Topics for discussion will include the status of the membership and financial campaign, the Southern Regional Council grant-in-aid program, program concerns and others.

If you will be unable to attend, please let me know.

Ala - M+M

DA

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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

April 12, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : ACHR's Board of Directors

From : Bob Valder

Subject: Executive Committee Actions

The Executive Committee of ACHR's Board of Directors met on April 2, 1966, in Birmingham, with Dr. C. G. Gomillion presiding.

Some of the important actions need to be called to your attention, and are as follows:

1. The Associate Director was directed to send to each chapter president and financial chairman a memorandum listing each person from their chapter who has pledged or contributed $24 or more during the current campaign. The memorandum suggested to each chapter that they find replacements for those who contributed last year, but who have indicated that they will not do so this year.

2. June 1, 1966 was set as the target date by which time each chapter should have their membership quota met.

3. A "bonus" of $75 monthly, retroactive to January 1, was authorized for Mrs. Benny J. Rogers, Office Secretary.

4. A recommendation in ACHR's April newsletter of The Southern Courier was adopted.

5. A statement of appreciation to Attorneys Erskine Smith and David Vann for their valuable legal advice and assistance was authorized.

The following topics were suggested for consideration at the Board of Directors meeting in September, 1966:

1. The development of an official file to begin a historical record of ACHR.

2. The need to set a common time for each chapter's election of officers and naming of committee chairmen prior to each annual meeting.

3. A training session, prior to next year's membership and financial campaign, for local presidents and campaign chairmen.

4. The appointment of an ACHR Board of Directors member to the Board of the Southern Regional Council.

5. Possible changes from the present method of refunding to local chapters to a percentage refund of all monies solicited by the efforts of local chapters.

The following topics will be discussed at the next Executive Committee meeting in June, 1966:

1. A tentative date, location and possible speaker for 1967's Annual Meeting.

2. The appointment of a treasurer to the Executive Committee in place of the deceased Rev. J. C. Wilson.

3. A full review of the current membership and financial campaign.

4. The possibility of initiating some kind of incentive plan for the membership and financial campaign for local chapters similar to the Southern Regional Council's George S. Mitchell Award.

Ala - M+M

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

May 13, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : ACHR's Executive Committee; RAP Director; SRC"s Field Director

From : Bob Valder, Associate Director

Subject: Executive Committee meeting on May 26, 1966.

*An extremely important meeting of the ACHR executive committee will be held in Birmingham at the Bankhead Hotel on Thursday, May 26, 1966. It will begin at 2:00 p.m.*

This date and time were selected because the meeting needs to be held soon and because no other common dates were open in May for President C. G. Gomillion, Mr. Ed Stanfield and myself.

The purpose of the meeting is to (a) interview and discuss with Mr. Jerry Roden the position of executive director of ACHR; (b) interview and discuss with Mr. Bob Valder the position of associate director upon the expiration of his current internship period and (c) discuss and hopefully come to a decision concerning the need for and feasibility of moving the state office to a location which may better satisfy current needs (this decision will probably be influenced by the decision concerning the executive directorship).

At the April 2, 1966 meeting of the executive committee in Birmingham the following items were scheduled for consideration at the next executive committee meeting. Time permitting these will also be considered on May 26. They are:

1. A tentative date, location and possible speaker for 1967's Annual Meeting. Birmingham, Feb. 4,
2. The appointment of a treasurer to the Executive Committee in place of the deceased Rev. J. C. Wilson
3. A full review of the current membership and financial campaign.
4. The possibility of initiating some kind of incentive plan for the membership and financial campaign for local chapters similar to the Southern Regional Council's George S. Mitchell Award.

As you can see this will be an extremely important meeting. We hope everyone will be able to attend. As usual, expenses will be paid by ACHR. If you will be unable to make it please let us know.

Ala - M+M

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

May 31, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : ACHR Board of Directors

From : Bob Valder

Subject: Called Meeting of the Board of Directors on June 10, 1966

At the request of President C. G. Gomillion, I am writing to inform you that the Executive Committee is calling a meeting of the entire Board of Directors of ACHR in Birmingham on Friday, June 10, 1966. The meeting will be held in the French Room of the Bankhead Hotel. It will begin at 2:00 p.m., and should be over by around 6:00 or 6:30 p.m.

The purpose of this meeting is to decide upon the actions of the Executive Committee as a result of their May 26 meeting in Birmingham.

Executive Committee decisions which the Board will be asked to decide upon are: (a) the nomination of Mr. Jerry Roden as Executive Director of ACHR; (b) the nomination of Mr. Bob Valder as Associate Director of ACHR; and (c) the recommendation that the State Office be moved in the near future to Auburn, Alabama.

Mr. Lewis Black, Rural Advancement Project Director, will also present a comprehensive report of his work since starting work on February 1.

I would also like to direct your attention to the Page 1 article of our May Bulletin (which should arrive shortly) concerning the school desegregation meeting in Birmingham on Saturday, June 11. We have scheduled the Board meeting on the previous day in hopes of encouraging and making it more convenient for all Board Members to attend both meetings.

As is customary, ACHR will reimburse Board Members for those expenses incident to the Board meeting.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Ala - MHM

**FOR YOUR INFORMATION**

June 14, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : ACHR Board of Directors

From : Bob Valder

Subject: Actions of the Board of Directors

The Board of Directors of the Alabama Council on Human Relations met at the Bankhead Hotel in Birmingham, Alabama, on June 10, 1966, with the president, Dr. C. G. Gomillion, presiding.

The nominations from the Executive Committee of ACHR for Mr. Jerry Roden as Executive Director and Mr. Bob Valder as Associate Director were confirmed. The salaries were set at $9,200 and $7,400 respectively. The moving of the State Office from Huntsville to Auburn was confirmed.

Mr. J. E. Pierce was elected to fill the unexpired term of Rev. J. C. Wilson as treasurer.

The annual meeting will be held on Friday and Saturday, February 3 and 4, 1967, at the Stafford Hotel in Tuscaloosa. The Tuscaloosa Chapter will be the host committee. A national figure will be invited for the Friday night session, and the names for the luncheon speaker on Saturday will be suggested at the Board meeting in September. The suggested speakers for the Friday night meeting are: Hubert Humphrey, Sargeant Shriver, Nicholas deKatzenbach, Constance Baker Motley, Edward Kennedy, and Arthur Goldberg.

It was decided that the Fall Board meeting in September would be in part a "seminar." The planning committee is to be composed of staff and officers. The meeting will be in Birmingham in late September of early October. The purpose of the seminar portion is to discuss, evaluate, and make decisions about the role, function, method, image, etc., of the Alabama Council.

Mrs. Bill Reed was elected to fill the vacancy of Mr. Jerry Roden on the Executive Committee.

The discussion of an incentive award for membership increase in local chapters was deferred "for at least five years."

The group insurance plan suggested by the Southern Regional Council was accepted for our state staff members.

The Associate Director gave a report of his activities over the past few months as well as those of the Rural Advancement Project Director.

It was suggested that the Selma Inter-Religious Project be written up in the next newsletter.

Ala - M+M

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

August 16, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : ACHR Board of Directors

From : Jerry Roden, Jr., Executive Director

Subject: Plans for ACHR Board Meeting and Seminar

You will recall that the Board of Directors, meeting in Birmingham on June 10, 1966, decided that the regular September Board meeting would be in part a "seminar." The purpose of the seminar portion is to discuss, evaluate and make decisions about the role, function, method, image, etc., of the Alabama Council.

This combination board meeting and seminar has been scheduled for Saturday, September 17, 1966. In accordance with the request of the Board, the meeting will be held in Birmingham at the Bankhead Hotel. Present plans call for a late morning, an afternoon, and an evening session. A complete agenda will follow at a later date.

The President, Executive Director, and Associate Director have made preliminary plans for the program, and SRC's Edwin Stanfield has accepted an invitation to be with us. *We hope that each of you will make every effort to attend the entire meeting.*

Now is the time for each of you to enter suggestions and topics that you wish included in the final plans for this important meeting. Please fill out the enclosed data sheet and return it as soon as possible in the enclosed stamped self-addressed envelope. As customary, your travel, eating and hotel expenses will be reimbursed by ACHR. Feel free, if you so desire, to have us make hotel arrangements for you.

We hope that everyone will be able to attend this meeting.

____ I will be able to attend the Board meeting in Birmingham on Saturday, September 17, 1966.

____ I will not be able to attend the Board meeting in Birmingham on Saturday, September 17, 1966

____ Please make a hotel reservation for me for the night (s) of September 16, September 17 (underline one or both). I want a single, double, twin bed room (underline one).

The topics and suggestions which I would like to have entered on the agenda for the regular business session of the Board meeting are:_____

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The topics and suggestions which I would like to have entered on the agenda for the seminar portion of the Board meeting are:_____

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SIGNED_____

Ala - M+M

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

September 12, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : Board Members Attending ACHR Seminar

From : Jerry Roden, Jr., executive director

Subject: Proposed Agenda

"Heavenly Days!" I can hear some of you exclaiming when you look at the attached tentative agenda: "Does anyone expect me to read all this?" As a matter of fact, the state staff does expect you to do just that--in the interest of ACHR and in deference to our President who will have to preside over this session. Every suggestion in the seminar sessions comes directly from one of you, and every item in the business session--including state staff recommendations--comes directly or indirectly from one or more of you.

The formidable appearance of the proposed agenda is the result of an attempt to organize and detail a broad range of topics in such a way that all of us may help structure our limited time in dealing with them. President C. G. Gomillion, Associate Director Bob Valder, and Rural Advancement Director Lewis Black all were involved in detailed preliminary planning of this program. But the task of putting all their ideas and your suggestions into an agenda form properly fell to me. I don't consider the result at all sacred. Miss Eaton and I have attempted to leave adequate space throughout the agenda for you to pencil in suggested changes and additions. Please be ready first thing if you have any proposed major changes so that we will not--like the United Nations at times--spend an endless period adopting the agenda. Minor changes may, of course, be made as we go along.

It still looks like a challenging program to me. And I want to thank each of you for taking the trouble to make suggestions. The only suggestion that we have partially ignored was an execellent one by Mrs. Jane Reed on outside consultants. Instead of employing several consultants for whom we have no money to pay right now, we turned to Ed Stanfield who is a whole bundle of consultants in one, who comes for free, and who is really a member of the family and thus may be properly included in sessions at which we may wish to purge off personal peeves and misunderstandings in order to push ahead more firmly and efficiently with our great task.

One final note: The concluding "Heart to Heart Exchange" topics do not appear in any particular order. If time permits, the plan here is to let members identify special interests and break into small groups before coming back for a brief final wrapup on these topics.

I ain't coming to the next Board meeting. I promise.

ACHR BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING
TENTATIVE AGENDA

10:00--10:30 REGISTRATION, COFFEE AND DOUGHNUTS

10:30--12:00 BUSINESS SESSION

I. STATE STAFF REPORT

A. Review of quarterly activity report included in each kit.

B. Question and answer period for board members to pose questions in depth on any staff activity area of special interest.

II. REVIEW OF FINANCIAL REPORT

III. COMPLETE PLANS FOR ANNUAL MEETING

A. Select list of possible speakers for Saturday noon session.

B. Check appointments to nominating committee.

IV. LAY PLANS FOR TRAINING SESSION FOR 1967 MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN

A. Review of the Stanfield Manifesto by its author.

B. Discussion and adoption of the Stanfield plan, or the formulation of another.

V. STATE STAFF RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Director and Associate Director's recommendations on salary revisions for:
1. Rural Advancement Director
2. Rural Advancement Secretary
3. State Office Secretary

B. Director's recommendation of consolidating bank deposits.

C. State staff recommendation to retain present membership rates.

D. State staff recommendation to run membership advertisements in The Southern Courier.

E. State staff recommendation on membership expansion plan.

F. Director's recommendation to abolish district chapters and adopt a county and bi-county plan.

G. State staff recommendation for clearing board of inactive members.

H. State staff recommendation that chapters forfeit right that year to local representatives not reported to state office by March 31.

I. State staff recommendation that Board adopt policy of encouraging local chapters to have representatives (preferably an integrated delegation) at all offical meetings of local governing bodies (city council meetings, county commissioners, boards of education, etc.)

Note: Idea courtesy League of Women Voters via Ed Stanfield.

J. State staff recommendation that Board name special committee to study ways in which council might assist in the implementation of public school faculty desegregation.

K. Lewis Black's recommendation of Council Christmas music program for television broadcast.

L. State staff suggestion that Board consider adopting plan to divide Board members into committees to formulate with state staff plans for:

1. General membership and financial campaigns
2. Developing new chapters
3. Voter Registration and Citizenship Education
4. Credit Union Establishment and Consomer Education
5. Job and Housing Discrimination
6. Public Education Problems, including (student and faculty):
   a. Desegration
   b. Tutorials
   c. Integrated creative play schools in summers
   d. Development of basic adult education programs

M. Bill for membership for three months only and then drop--unless requested otherwise--if they do not pay up.

12:00--2:00 LUNCHEON (ALL TOGETHER)

2:00--3:30 SEMINAR SESSION ONE

General Topic -- SELF ANALYSIS
(Or--The Board of Directors as analyst and patient)

I. HOW FAR CAN WE GO?

What obligations and limitations does ACHR's charter as a non-profit organization place upon the Board of Directors and ACHR generally in reference to:

A. Confrontations of state and federal laws and governments--as in the current guidelines conflict?

B. The definitely political arena of partisan politics--such as the upcoming general election?

C. Legislative lobbying on behalf of education, justice, and equality for all?

D. Initiating court suits to insure the protection of civil rights and liberties?

Note: We have asked Ed Stanfield to review this important question in advance and to serve as our resource person on thorny definitions of the term"political activity".

II. WHAT SHOULD WE DO?

What are the responsibilities of the Board of Directors to ACHR--its local chapters and state staff:

A. In fund raising and membership campaigns--in maintaining a sound organization physically and financially?

B. In providing the leadership for chapter expansion?

C. In establishing unified goals for the entire organization?

D. In presenting the sentiments, desires, and problems of local chapters at offical meetings of ACHR?

III. WHAT IS THE ROLE OF OUR LEADER?

The top man in ACHR is our president, elected annually. Just what do we expect of him?

A. Administratively in directing the state staff, interpreting general ACHR policies and the legal policies governing ACHR, and reviewing the operations of the general organization?

B. Imaginatively in developing dynamic new approaches to old problems and practical solutions for new problems?

C. Judicially as the chairman of a Board composed of intensely individualistic members--all dedicated to the same goal, but with sometimes radically different views of the proper means?

3:30--3:45 COFFEE BREAK

3:45--5:15 SECOND SEMINAR SESSION

General Topic -- OUR SOURCE OF STRENGTH
(Or--The local chapters and the Council's future)

I. HOW AUTONOMOUS SHOULD LOCAL CHAPTERS BE IN:

A. Fund raising for purely local needs through:
1. Subscription campaigns?
2. Seeking foundation support for fresh, imaginative projects?
3. Seeking government grants to relieve the effects of cultural deprivation and poverty when local government agencies fail to act?

B. The moderation or militancy of their stances on civil rights and civil liberties?

II. WHAT ROLE SHOULD LOCAL CHAPTERS PLAY IN ESTABLISHING NEW CHAPTERS?

III. HOW CAN THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND THE STATE STAFF SERVE LOCAL CHAPTERS BETTER GENERALLY?

IV. ARE THE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS IN ORDER?

A. The establishment of a basic minimum recommended program including as essentials:
   1. Voter registration and citizenship education
   2. Public school integration and improvement (including council sponsored tutorials, study halls, and get-acquainted integrated summer programs)
   3. Consumer education and the establishment of credit unions and cooperatives
   4. Promotion of fair employment practices
   5. An undeviating pursuit of equal justice
   6. The promotion of open housing policies

(Note: If you like the idea of a basic minimum program but not the detailed points as stated above, please have your own version prepared ahead of this session.)

B. The request that each existing chapter endeavor to establish at least one new chapter during the coming year--with, of course, cooperation and assistance from the state staff.

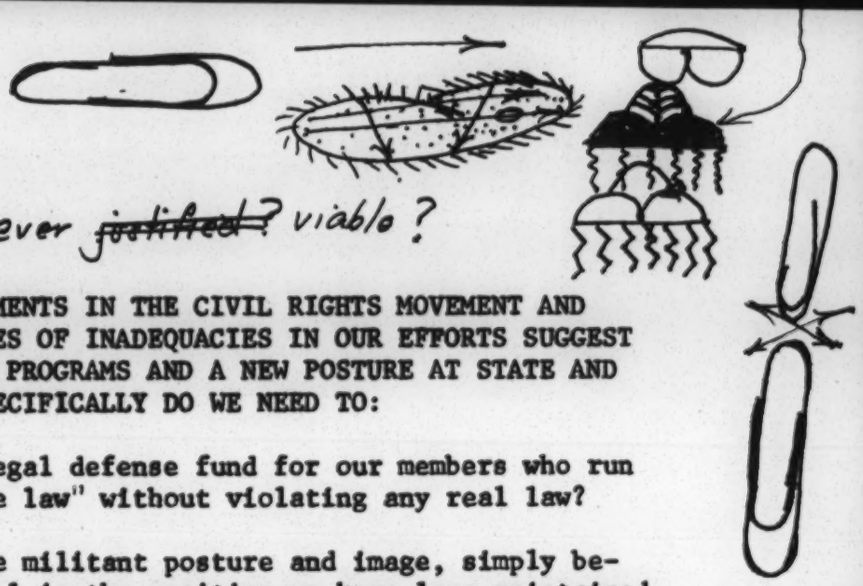
C. The recommendation that local chapters and the state staff increase efforts to promote inter-chapter communication to the end that council affiliation becomes a common bond for people from all sections of the state.

5:15--7:15 SUPPER ON YOUR OWN

7:15--9:45 FINAL SEMINAR SESSION

General Topices:
1. Thunder on the Left and Lightning on the Right
2. A Heart to Heart Exchange

THUNDER AND LIGHTNING
(Or--A review of ACHR's programs and posture in view of the accelerating militancy of a significant minority of the Negro population and the hardening of white "never-never" segregationists into fascistic attitudes.)



Is ineffectiveness ever ~~justified?~~ viable?

I. DO RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND OUR OWN DISCOVERIES OF INADEQUACIES IN OUR EFFORTS SUGGEST THE NEED FOR NEW PROGRAMS AND A NEW POSTURE AT STATE AND LOCAL LEVELS? SPECIFICALLY DO WE NEED TO:

✓A. Establish a legal defense fund for our members who run afoul of "the law" without violating any real law?

B. Develop a more militant posture and image, simply become more vocal in the position we have long maintained, or seek to do our work more effectively and still attract as little general press notice as possible?

✓C. Make any coordinated effort to oppose the anti-guidlines law?

D. Concentrate more on the simple promotion of interracial communication in areas where little or none exists?

E. Become either an interpreter <u>for</u> or opponent <u>of</u> the "black power" movement?

F. Set up voter registration committees at all college campuses and renew our efforts to enlist college students in the Council?

G. Promote a social and religious concern for the inmates of Alabama penal institutions?

• H. Attempt more actively to involve the poor (black and white) in the work of the Council?

II. HEART TO HEART EXCHANGE

(An exchange among members of the Board of experiences in projects nearest to the heart of each--the following specific topics, constitute the balance of your written suggestions which have not been explicitly included in the agenda heretofore. Please think through these and any additions ahead of the session.)

A. Methods for Exposing and/or Correcting Police Brutality in and out of Prison

B. Methods for Promoting Courtroom Desegregation

C. Promotion of Free School Lunches

D. Providing Summer Jobs for Youth

E. Study Hall and Tutorial Experiences

F. School Desegregation Plan of Birmingham Chapter

G. Creation of Community Interest in the Council

H. Inducing Increased Member Participation in Council Activities

I. Explicit Suggestions for Strengthening Interracial Channels of Communication

Ala - M & N

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Minutes of the Board of Directors' Meeting

September 17, 1966

BUSINESS SESSION

The Board of Directors of the Alabama Council on Human Relations met at the Bankhead Hotel in Birmingham, Alabama, on September 17, 1966 with the president, Dr. C. G. Gomillion, presiding.

The minutes of the June 10 meeting were approved.

Director Jerry Roden, Jr. explained the Financial Report.

Rural Advancement Director Lewis Black explained ACHR's work in preparation for the Agricultural Stablization Conservation Service county elections. ACHR, under the leadership of Mr. Black and the Associate Director Bob Valder is making an intensive effort to educate Negro farmers on the benefits to be derived from their participation in ASCS elections. Chosen in these elections are committees that govern allotments and the distribution of subsidies. Southern Regional Council has made ACHR a $1,650 grant to support this voter education effort.

Mr. Valder, stated that the proposed leadership conference at Miles College, if funded by OEO, will prove beneficial. ACHR is a cooperating organization in the proposal.

All three staff members are devoting some time to the establishing of credit unions.

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director of Field Activities for SRC, made suggestions for improving the 1967 Membership and Financial Campaign. Specific suggestions included:

(a) That all chapters follow the Stanfield plan--give it a chance.
(b) That workers use only the pledge card (never the membership card) in contacting members
(c) That the State Board establish a functioning special gifts committee.
(d) That ACHR institute a training session for all chapter campaign chairmen.
(e) That ACHR decide upon a percentage division for refunds to local chapters.

The Board voted to hold the recommended training session and to invite to it both chapter presidents and membership and finance chairmen.

It was moved that of the moeny raised through local chapters by pledges and memberships, the state will receive 90% and the local chapter 10% and that all money above the chapters' goal, will be divided 25% to state and 75% to local chapter.

The plans for the annual meeting to be in Tuscaloosa had to be changed, because space was not available at that time. The second choice, the Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham, will be the site of the annual meeting.

ACHR Nominating Committees henceforth will consist of one representative from each functioning chapter--to be chosen in all cases by the chapter. The Executive Director will preside at sessions of the nominating committee but will under no circumstances have voting privileges.

An amendment was made to the Director and Associate Director's recommendations on the salary revision for the RAP Director, and that was a raise to $7,400 annually be made retro-active to July 1.

It was moved that Mr. Roden be relieved of salary as of September 15, and be considered for rehiring June 1, 1967. The consensus was that his name be removed form the letterhead and that from September 16, until such time as the board changes the action, the executive officer of ACHR will be the associate director.

It was moved that items B thorugh M on the prepared agenda be accepted with exceptions of F and G. The topics of the accepted recommendations are:

B. Consolidating bank deposits.
C. Retaining present membership rates.
D. Advertising in The Southern Courier
E. "Expanding Chapters"plan.
H. Reporting to state office by March 31, names of local representatives to Board or forfiet representation for that year.
I. Encouraging local chapters' representation at official meetings of local governing bodies.
J. Appointing a special committee on implementation of public school faculty desegregation.
K. Supporting Council Christmas Music Program for TV.
L. Adopting plan to divide Board Members into committees:
   1. membership and financial campaigns
   2. developing new chapters
   3. voter registration and citizenship education
   4. credit unions and consumer education
   5. job and housing discrimination
   6. public education problems
M. Billing for membership for only 3 months.

NOTE: Below are listed in outline form, the topics discussed and those actions made during the "seminar" portion of the Board meeting.

## SEMINAR SESSION ONE

II. WHAT SHOULD WE DO?

Responsibilities of Board of Directors

A. Fund raising and membership campaigns.

   a. Board should suggest names to fund raising committee.
   b. Board should suggest other sources of revenue other than members. Example: business, etc.

c. Board members themselves should be active in fund raising.
d. Promote publicity.
e. Board members from one part of the state should be present at other membership meetings at other places in the state.

B. Leadership for chapter expansion
a. Board members help state staff in locating names of prospective members in different counties.

C. Unified goals for entire organization. Example: Committee should function as representative of the board carrying out the decisions made by the Board.

Other suggestions: Board should function in committee. Example: state staffs, vacation insurance, etc., and Board Members should relay back to their local chapters decisions and policies made at the board meetings.

III. ROLE OF OUR LEADER

A. Should be the official representative of the Board relaying policy decisions made by the Board.

B. Interpreter for the role of the Council

C. Should be close working consultant with the staff who in turn answer to the Board.

D. Should be mutual consultant between president and staff with staff carrying out proposed policy made by the Board.

E. President should be official speaker and signer of documents unless authority has been given to executive director to do so by president.

## SECOND SEMINAR SESSION

SOURCE OF STRENGTH

I. HOW AUTONOMOUS SHOULD LOCAL CHAPTERS BE?

A. Fund raising.
a. Should obtain authority from Board before seeking government grants, foundation support, etc.

b. Should be free to raise money for specific projects within their local chapter.

B. Moderation or militancy?
a. Staff appear at demonstrations only as observers.

b. Individuals should act as individuals as far as demonstrations are concerned.

c. Common sense used on the part of local chapters!

II. ROLE LOCAL CHAPTERS PLAN IN ESTABLISHING NEW CHAPTERS

A. Name should be submitted to state staff of people inclined toward human relations in areas where there are no chapters.

IV. SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS

A. All six points which include:
1. Voter registration and citizenship education.
2. Public school integration and improvement (including council sponsored tutorials, study halls, and get-acquainted integrated summer programs).
3. Consumer education and the establishment of credit unions and cooperatives.
4. Promotion of fair employment practices.
5. An undeviating pursuit of equal justice.
6. The promotion of open housing policies were adopted with addition of working on all welfare agencies and hospitals.

B. Each existing chapter should be responsible for establishing new chapters during the coming year with assistance from the state staff.

## FINAL SEMINAR SESSION

FREEDOM

I. Role of local chapter should have flexibility as well as staff's flexibility.

Motion was made and passed for state staff to formulate letter deploring the state of Alabama's new anti-guidlines law. Letter to be released to the press.

Motion was made and passed that a legal defense information committee be established to present infromation on available organizations and /or funds to the local chapters leaving it up to the local chapters to utilize as they see fit.

Motion made and passed to establish a legal defense committee to raise money for those who run afoul of the law without violation of any real law.

Motion was made and passed that above should be a five member committee.

Motion was made and passed to reconsider the wording of the motion on the legal defense fund. Wording to be reconsidered by the five member committee and then reported to the executive committee for implementation. Passed 13-0.

Motion was made and passed that election of five member committee should be an open floor nomination with the five receiving the largest number of votes to be the serving members.

The following people were nominated for the Legal Defense Fund Committee:

Dr. Raymond Fowler
Mr. Allen Black, Jr.
Mrs. Nancy S. Spears
Prof. George H. DeBoer
Mr. Thomas de Jefferson
Dr. Joseph Bettis

Motion was made and seconded that the above five be elected with the exception of Raymond Fowler who withdrew from the nomination.

Motion passed that Prof. DeBoer be elected convener chairman until committee could elect chairman.

Mrs. Paul McCoy, Secretary

Ala - M+M

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

October 17, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : Local Chapter Presidents; ACHR Executive Committee

From : Bob Valder

Subject: Various and Sundry Things

This memo contains a number of important items. I hate to burden you with these all at once, but that's the way it goes.

1967 MEMBERSHIP & FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN CHAIRMEN

First, ACHR's Board of Directors, at their September meeting, decided to institute a "1967 Membership and Financial Campaign Training Session" for all local presidents and for all local campaign chairmen. The idea is that all persons responsible for a successful 1967 Membership and Financial Drive--this includes ACHR staff and officers, Ed Stanfield of SRC, and local persons--will meet for an afternoon and very carefully and clearly map out plans for conducting the drive locally and statewide. The Board decided this was necessary, because we need a better coordinated and a better understood campaign--they thought this was the best way to assure that. It is hoped that when this meeting ends, everyone will be able to go back to their chapters and conduct the most successful and best planned campaign yet!

We need the name of your chapter's 1967 Membership and Financial chairman. This person does not necessarily have to be a person who is "good" at solicitations, although that would be helpful. But this person does have to be someone willing to work hard on this for a few months and this person must also be a good "organizer." That is, someone who can figure out what needs to be done, who can lead others to do it, and who will keep track of what is been done and of what needs to be done.

We are planning to hold this meeting on Saturday afternoon in the last part of November, probably in either Birmingham or Montgomery. The date will be set to best fit the schedule of those attending it. ACHR will pay the expenses incident to attending the meeting for both chapter presidents and campaign chairmen. If the person who you think is best qualified to be campaign chairman can not be free on Saturdays in November, you should still appoint that person chairman and then select another person to come to this meeting in the place of the campaign chairman. However, if it is at all possible, the campaign chairman should attend this important meeting. Could we please have this persons name and address no later than November 7? Your cooperation on this will be greatly appreciated.

## EXCHANGE OF NEWSLETTERS

You may recall the suggestion in the August Bulletin from Huntsville's president, Don Ring, that all chapters put out newsletters and exchange them with all other chapters. Mobile chapter president, Kathleen Wood, tells us she likes this idea too-- and so do we. Not all chapters put out newsletters, but others put out very informative and quite excellent ones. We are enclosing a list of all chapter presidents so those of you who do put out newsletters can mail them to other chapters if you are so disposed. Some chapters which don't have newsletters do mail out monthly notices with their meeting's agenda, speaker, etc. It seems to us that it would be good for you to send these to other chapters since this would give them some idea of what is going on in your chapter.

## MORE INFORMATION TO LOCAL CHAPTERS

We're thinking that some local chapter presidents are not always fully aware of what is going on statewide, because in the past we have-not been mailing them certain information (since many local presidents are also on the State Board this isn't true for them). So as of now, we will mail to all presidents copies of our monthly financial report and other pertinent information which normally has been going to Board Members only.

PLEASE DON"T FORGET--WE NEED CAMPAIGN CHAIRMEN NAMES AND ADDRESS BY NOVEMBER 7.

Ala. M+M

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

November 8, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : Chapter Presidents

From : Bob Valder

Subject: "Workshop on the Courts"

You will recall that in the October Bulletin we had an article about the "workshop on the courts" on November 22, 1966 in Montgomery. The article said that a site had not then been determined and that local chapter presidents would be informed of its location as soon as it was determined.

*The meeting will be at the Holiday Inn, Southwest (on the Mobile Highway).*

This meeting should be quite informative--and it will provide invaluable ideas for local projects. If you can at all manage it, try to have a delegation from your chapter there.

Also we are making a special effort to get women's organizations to this meeting--perhaps you or someone else in your chapter could contact the various women's groups, especially church groups in your area, and invite them to this meeting. For further information on this meeting, see October's Bulletin.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

1966 FACT SHEET

This is a brief summary of some of the more significant activities which the state council and the state staff participated in during 1966.

RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT:

Our Rural Advancement Project was started in February with Mr. Lewis Black from Greensboro, Alabama as its Director. A partial list of his activities and accomplishments includes: (1) *extensive work in voter registration activities prior to the May primaries.* This work included drafting proposals in five counties for financial grants for voter registration programs--two programs were funded: (2) *extensive work in organizing credit unions for poor people.* To date, he has been able to get two Federal credit union charters approved in Demopolis and York and charters have been applied for in Tuscaloosa, Wilcox County and Clark County. He has also made trips to Huntsville and Auburn to help organize credit unions there: (3) *work on school desegregation in the Black Belt;* (4) *helping with a crisis in Monroe County resulting from a severe beating inflicted upon a Negro resident by the mayor of a town there;* (5) *extensive involvement in Hale and Perry Counties in attempts to obtain anti-poverty programs.* He has been instrumental in forming a Community Action Program in Hale County and also in attempting to obtain a surplus commodities program in Hale County; (6) *talks to a number of different groups and numerous other meetings across the Black Belt;* (7) *extensive travel throughout the Black Belt and many out-of-state trips including two to Washington (one to attend the White House Conference and one to see anti-poverty officials): (8) full-time work for almost three months in 12 Black Belt counties as the "coordinator" of an effort to obtain Negro representation in a very important election conducted by the U.S. Department of Agriculture--the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) elections.* He and the Associate Director of ACHR were responsible for obtaining a grant of $1,650.00 for this effort (9) *efforts have been started to begin a farm cooperative and some market development efforts have been made for a co-op in Hale and Perry Counties: (10) working on a $250,000.00 proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity for a leadership training program for persons from the ten poorest counties in Alabama, which will be funded through Miles College.*

THE STATE COUNCIL OFFICE AND STAFF:

Activities and accomplishments of the state council staff (excluding those of the Rural Advancement Project) during the past year include: (1) *sponsoring a student conference on human relations which attracted about 80 students and faculty members from 12 different colleges and universities: (2) our annual meeting which was attended by over 200 persons from 40 cities in Alabama.* Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was the featured speaker and Assistant Attorney General John Doar was present to receive a statement of appreciation from ACHR; (3) *monthly newsletters have been sent to all members of ACHR; (4) co-sponsoring two conferences on school desegregation which were well attended: (5) moving the state office from Huntsville to Auburn in order to have a more central location in the state: (6) helping 1,128 members contribute to a better Alabama: (7) attempting to assist two local chapters in starting credit unions: (8) extensive staff work on the ASCS elections, particularly in Macon County.* This work included distributing funds from a $1,650 grant to ASCS workers in eight Black Belt counties (9) *helping the Freedom Quilting Bee, a cooperative composed of poor people in Wilcox County, with organizational matters: (10) representing ACHR at various meetings including the White House Conference, school desegregation conferences, conferences of other organizations, and meetings of the Southern Regional Council and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and (11) working with local chapters on local activities.*

Mr Alexander.

Mr. Paul Wooley

Goal

Human Relations knows no bounds

Geographic - Racial or Religious.

8 Chapters

Mont $31,000.00

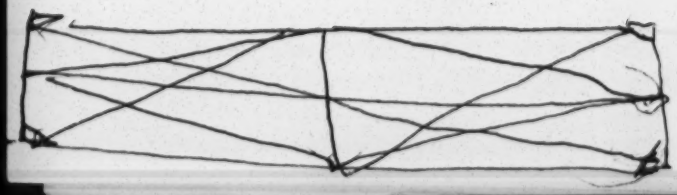
Mobile

Bham 10%

Florence 75% after Proj

Huntsville

Ala



Ala. - M+M

# ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

## THE MONTGOMERY CHAPTER

### PURPOSE

To promote channels of communication between individuals and groups of all races.

To foster an atmosphere and environment in which citizens of all races, creeds and color can exist and work together in dignity and harmony.

### OPPORTUNITY

The Montgomery Council feels that it has a chance to make the organization felt in Montgomery in the year 1967. A number of people here and over the state are deeply and genuinely concerned about human relations in Alabama. The Council offers the rare opportunity for doing something about it while sharing in its program.

### PROGRAM

The program for 1966 included discussions and activities with voter registration, integration in the schools, elections, job corp training, housing and the administration of justice.

The program for 1967 is projected around the varying needs of the community and resources available. The Montgomery Council is now involved with Citizenship Education at the state, county and local levels with all its ramifications.

### ACTION

At present the Council is actively engaged in an attempt to get some Negroes appointed to the voting precints. Contact has been made with the proper official and discussions are to be held with both the Democratic and Republican parties. Some results are to be expected from either one or both groups.

Ala - M+M

Memorandum

To: To Board Members Attending ACHR Seminar Meeting
Subject: Staff Recommendations
From: Jerry Roden, Jr., executive director

This sending you a second bundle of material right after that long agenda is, admittedly, rather sneaky. But I just couldn't resist this avenue for attempting to reduce the time necessary for the business session. If you can read these recommendations and be prepared to vote (either "yea" or "nay"--we don't expect to bat 1,000), it may enable Dean Gomillion to hold the business session in bounds. I should note that aside from the recommendations concerning routine procedures the ideas in this long list derived ultimately from either you or the chapters.

BUSINESS SESSION

STATE STAFF RECOMMENDATIONS IN DETAIL
(Business AGENDA ITEM V -- the detailed recommendations below appear in the same order that they are listed on the agenda.)

A. Recommendations on Salary Revisions

Rural Advancement Director

Despite the tightness of our general budget, both the executive director and the associate director recommend an immediate, substantial raise in the salary of our Rural Advancement Director Lewis Black. The fact that employment by ACHR represented "a promotion" for Mr. Black does not alter the fact that our salary scales appear discriminatory when his salary, responsibilities, and performance are compared with the director's and the associate director's. Neither the director nor the associate director feels that he is manifesting any real modesty at all by saying that in many areas of council activity he would hate to see his dedication and effectiveness placed on an impartial balance scale opposite that of Lewis Black. (Mr. Black has not requested any increase in salary, nor has he suggested that he considers his salary discriminatory. These facts do not alter, but rather reinforce the conviction that underlies this recommendation.)

Our specific recommendation is a raise from an annual rate of $6,600 to $7,400 per annum, with the increase retroactive to July 1 ~~January 1~~, 1966. Such an increase would place the Rural Advancement Director on the same salary as the Associate Director. The amount necessary to pay this increase is available in Mr. Black's budget in the form of $800 allocated to pay ACHR's overhead for the Rural Advancement program. It is the firm opinion of the director and associate director that Mr. Black's general services to ACHR have more than offset any state office expenses incurred for the Rural Advancement Program--to say nothing of the fact the Rural Advancement Program represents the most progressive single step made in the name of the Alabama Council on Human Relations recently.

Rural Advancement Secretary

The work of Mr. Black's secretary is manifestly not of the highest quality, but we could scarcely expect that it would be on a salary hardly designed to attract a trained person. However, there has been a marked improvement in both the quality of Miss Nabors' work and in the development of a more professional attitude toward it. Hence, the director and associate director join Mr. Black in recommending an immediate increase from $50 to $60 per month as a modest reward and token of appreciation.

State Office Secretary

When the state office lost the expert services of Mrs. Lillian Rogers, the staff found it impossible to locate a desirable

experienced applicant. Thus, even though the position demands experience, we found it necessary to employ a young lady scarcely through her secretarial training courses. Among those available, the director chose Miss Mae Eaton as the one best qualified to attempt the difficult task. Miss Eaton has made and will continue for awhile to make some mistakes that only experience will eliminate. But on the whole she has performed well under handicaps. Her attitude is excellent; her personal appearance neat, modest, and attractive; and her manner in handling visitors gracious. She works diligently and manifests a serious interest both in increasing her general knowledge and improving her professional skills. We started her at the modest salary of $275 per month with the promise of a $25 per month increase at the end of three months if her performance proved satisfactory. A further condition of her employemnt was a review of her performance at the beginning of 1967 for the purpose of considering a merit raise if warranted. These stipulations correspond to the practices of Auburn University, the chief employer of secretarial help, in Auburn. The director and associate director recommend the promised $25 per month increase for Miss Eaton effective October 1.

B. Recommendation on Bank Deposit Consolidation

As a gesture of appreciation the Council on a Board vote sometime ago established accounts in the American National Bank and the Citizens Federal Savings and Loan Association in Birmingham. It now appears to the director that the size of the balance in our accounts during the latter part of the year plus the extra labor involved on the part of the secretary in making financial reports render this practice expensive and hence unfeasible. Hence, the director requests the authority, if his assumptions on service costs prove correct upon further study, to consolidate all bank accounts.

C. State Staff Recommendation to Retain Present Membership Rates

Several Council members have long discussed the need for us to involve the poor more actively in our programs. Coupled with these recommendations have been specific suggestions that we establish a special membership rate to encourage the economically depressed to join. After careful study the state staff has reached the conclusion that we cannot service a membership for less than the $3.50 remaining after the local chapter gets its rebate. Hence, we regretfully recommend the retention of the present minimum of $5 per single member, with the special student rate pf $3.00 standing as the only non-productive (in cash terms) membership. (But we do recommend increased efforts to enlist members from the laboring classes actively in Council work, and we wish to note that Lewis Black has cited rather convinving evidence that a $5.00 fee is not a particular bar to such members.

D. Membership Advertisement in Southern Courier

This recommendation requires little elaboration. It is in effect a request for Board approval of the staff's desire to run an inexpensive appeal for membership in the Southern Courier, with the staff responsible for wording of such ads, subject to the approval of the President.

E. The state staff requests the Board's endorsement of the Chapter Expansion plan announced in the August newsletter and hopes that the Board will seriously consider commiting itself to an active role in chapter expansion when the subject arises in the first seminar session.

F. Abolishing District Chapters

As far as the staff can ascertain, only one chapter any longer makes a pretence of operating on a district basis. The district chapter concept was beneficial only during the period that the best we could do was perform a sort of hand-holding operation. Hence, the staff strongly recommends the elimination of the district chapter concept from our structural vocabulary and the adoption of a basic county chapter plan with leeway to permit a dual county operation such as East Alabama as the largest autonomous unit and to allow the establishment of more than one chapter in populous counties.

G. Clearing the Board of Inactive Members

The staff recommends that the Board act now to appoint a special committee, vote authority to the executive committee, or require the state staff to devise and execute a plan to terminate board appointments--with courtesy and due respect for the individuals involved--of all those who may find themselves for any reason unable to function as board members in any active capacity.

H. Local Representatives

The whole purpose of local chapter representatives on the Board is defeated and the work of the state staff hampered by the present tendency of several chapters to delay the annual appointment of their local representatives to the Board. Hence the state staff strongly recommends the establishment of a policy that requires chapters to send names of local representatives to the state office on or before March 31, or else to forfeit the right to the same that year. We further recommend that chapters be required to secure the consent of any representative appointed and to ascertain his ability to become reasonably active.

I. Council Attendance at Meetings of Governing Bodies

This recommendation as stated in the agenda requires no additional elaboration--except, perhaps, explicit statement of the staff's belief that this practice could produce one of our most significant contributions to the development of a better society.

J. Special Committee For Study of Public School Faculty Desegregation

One can scarcely over-estimate the enormity of problems, both actual and assumed, that hamper faculty desegregation in our public schools. But regardless of their complexity, these problems must be solved in order to eliminate a dual school system. And the rapidity with which reasonable solutions are reached will determine in a significant measure the rate at which actual integration of public school programs takes place. The state staff believes that the magnitude and complexity of these problems demand immediate special attention from the Council. Hence, we urge the appointment of a special committee of the Board to study the problems and advise the state staff and local chapters of fruitful approaches for providing solutions.

K. Proposed Christmas Music Program

The idea is Lewis Black's, but the director and associate director think it one with real possibilities. Rather than elaborate it here, we request five minutes for Lewis to do so in his own inimitable style at this point in the meeting. Our recommendation is that the Board not only grant Lewis the authority to attempt the organization of such a program but also join him actively in developing it.

L. Division of the Board into Committees

The basic recommendation here is that the Board be divided into responsible committees to provide leadership to ACHR in each of its major areas of activity. The areas listed on the agenda are merely suggestive. This step, if it meets with Board approval, may prove far too complex and important to complete at this meeting. Our recommendation is the approval of the basic idea and the assignment of responsibility for developing the best possible plan to either a special committee or the excutive committee and the state staff.

M. Bills for Membership Dues

The recommendation of billing for three consecutive times and then dropping if not requested to bill again at a later date by the member applies to the regular dues only--not to above and beyond contributions. The practice of billing for dues is convenient and helpful to chapters and members. But three months seems adequate time for people to pay up. The present system of leaving such members on the books results in a confusion of records. The state office doesn't count those who don't pay as members; but the local chapters in most instances do.

Ala - QUARTERLY REPORT

**ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
**QUARTERLY REPORT**
**April, May, and June, 1966**

## THE ALABAMA COUNCIL

Total membership on June 30, 1966, was 1,079; our membership at the same time last year was 954. Right now, in other words, we are 125 members ahead of last year. We need not only to maintain but also to increase that margin during the remainder of the year. A glance at the accompanying financial report will remind us of how much our present economic health depends upon assistance from the Southern Regional Council. Continuation of that support until we are able to stand on our own feet will rest principally upon indications of solid growth. SRC and the foundations help those who demonstrate the ability to help themselves.

The ACHR Executive Committee met in Birmingham on April 2 and May 26. At the first meeting, the Committee adopted a resolution commending The Southern Courier and recommending that Council members seriously consider subscribing and contributing to this excellent newspaper. At its second meeting, the Committee recommended that the Council employ Jerry Roden, Jr. as Executive Director, retain the services of Bob Valder as Associate Director, and move the state offices from Huntsville to Auburn.

The ACHR Board of Directors, meeting in Birmingham on June 10, adopted the Executive Committee's recommendation on the employment of executive and associate directors and the moving of the state offices. The Board also voted to: (1) schedule a Board seminar for late September in Birmingham to define clearly the goals of the Alabama Council and to chart its course for the future; (2) to hold the annual meeting on February 3-4, at the Stafford Hotel in Tuscaloosa; and (3) to invite two nationally known speakers for the annual meeting--one for the Friday night session, and another for the luncheon on Saturday.

A number of Alabama Council members were among the record crowd of some 1,300 people turning out for a U. S. Commission on Civil Rights meeting on the 1966 school desegregation guidelines, at the Dinkler Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham on June 11. Following that meeting, the American Friends Service Committee, the Alabama Council, the Alabama State Conference of Branches of the NAACP, SCLC, SNCC, and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund sponsored a session of community leaders on school desegregation. A highlight of this meeting was a series of addresses by Negro students who attended last year formerly all-white schools. The consensus of these students was that they find their new academic programs difficult but challenging.

## THE LOCAL COUNCILS

Birmingham. The Magic City chapter continues to push for the hiring of Negro policemen in Birmingham. The Birmingham Chapter also continues its investigation of the ratio of voting machines per polling place and its efforts to involve the U. S. Department of Justice in the McGowan case (Emory Warren McGowan, a 23-year-old white man, shot five Negro marchers protesting alleged unfair hiring practices at Liberty Super Market in Birmingham on February 21. The Jefferson County Grand Jury failed to indict McGowan, and so far the Justice Department has not entered the case). Like other Council chapters, Birmingham is working to encourage a speed-up of school desegregation. The chapter reports good results from efforts in Fairfield and Bessemer, and will concentrate on Birmingham itself for the remainder of the summer.

LOCAL COUNCILS (Continued)

Huntsville. The June meeting was family picnic time for the Huntsville Council. The May meeting program was a panel discussion of "Special Problems in Implementing the Poverty Program in Huntsville." In April, the Huntsville Chapter presented a symposium on school desegregation. Council members in the Rocket City continue to work on school desegregation, voter registration, housing, and fair employment practices. Contacts resulting from school desegregation efforts in rural Madison County have lead to proposals for expansion of the chapter into a Huntsville Area or Madison County Council in order to include new friends in all Council activities.

Mobile. June 18 was family picnic time for the Mobile Council. At the May meeting, Mobilians used a buzz session to determine the answer to: "Where do we go from here?" The April meeting, second in a series on local government, featured Mr. E. C. Doody, administrative assistant to the Mobile Board of County Commissioners. Like several other chapters, Mobile is concentrating on school desegregation this summer.

Muscle Shoals. At its June meeting, the Muscle Shoals Chapter heard a report from Mr. Phil Draper of the American Friends Service Committee on his recent work with the NAACP and discussed the 1966 school desegregation guidelines. Present at the meeting was Mr. Allen Thornton, Lauderdale County Superintendent of Education, whose program under the Civil Rights Act has won national recognition. Program for Muscle Shoals' May meeting consisted of reports on the Tuskegee Institute and Talladega College Civil Rights Conference, a review of Stanley Rosenbaum's "Inter-racial and International Communication," and commentaries on the May 3 Democratic Primary.

Tuscaloosa. The Council's Tuscaloosa chapter is making a concentrated effort to secure the establishment of an official Tuscaloosa Community Relations Board composed of twelve Negro and twelve white representatives. The Council chapter has presented to the Tuscaloosa City Commission a proposed ordinance for establishing such a board along with an equitable plan for selecting members to it.

Talladega. Talladega Chapter held its spring meeting in Gadsden on May 14. Featured speaker for the occasion was the Rev. Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Montgomery. Our Capitol City chapter has filed no official reports this quarter, but we hear by the grapevine that a new slate of officers has taken the reins and that the whole chapter is planning to step-up activities.

East Alabama. Its May meeting constituted a new milestone for the East Alabama Chapter: it met for the first time in a public building--the auditorium of Drake High School in Auburn; and it had the largest turnout on record--more than 200 people. The subject was school desegregation, and present were city and county superintendents and some school board members. Summer is the season of greatest activity for East Alabama, which now has underway programs involving some 2,500 men, women, and children in Head Start, Head Start Follow-Through, tutorial, integrated play-school, and adult education program. In addition, this chapter continues to work on voter registration and voter education and the development of economic opportunities.

## THE STAFF

### Executive Director

The Executive Director, after his appointment on June 10, spent his first weeks on the job arranging for the move from Huntsville to Auburn, interviewing prospects and hiring a new secretary, getting acquainted with state office procedures, reviewing the current programs in East Alabama, and making a tour of the West Alabama Black Belt area with the Rural Advancement Project Director, Lewis Black.

### Associate Director

In the first part of this quarter, the Associate Director concentrated upon school desegregation efforts, particularly with the Birmingham, East Alabama, and Huntsville chapters. The past month has been spent arranging for the move to Auburn. The Associate Director has also been working with the RAP Director on the leadership training proposal to OEO.

Trips include two to Decatur to speak to the Decatur Improvement Association, a few to Birmingham for ACHR meetings and other meetings, one through the Black Belt checking on possible voting irregularities in the May 3 Primary, two to Washington, D. C., for a NAIRO Intern meeting and the White House Conference, one to Atlanta for a Southern Regional Council meeting and a National Sharecroppers Fund meeting, and one to Tuskegee to attend a student conference.

### Rural Advancement Project Director

The RAP Director has concentrated upon establishing and working with already established credit unions in the Black Belt. Applications for credit union charters have been made in Wilcox and Sumter Counties; a charter has been approved for Marengo County; attempts to organize a credit union are being made in Greene and Monroe Counties. Efforts have been started to begin a farm cooperative and some market development efforts have been made for a co-op in Greensboro.

The RAP Director also helped write proposals for five counties for funds from the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project. Two were funded. He was also active in voter registration activities, liaison with the Justice Department and political education programs.

The Director has been instrumental in writing and helping to get funded a $79,000 surplus food commodities program for Hale and Perry Counties. The program will probably be funded shortly.

Another program which the Director has been working with is a proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity for a leadership training program, which will be funded through Miles College.

Trips of the RAP Director include many through the Black Belt, a number to Birmingham for ACHR meetings and meetings at Miles College, two to Atlanta for SRC and NSF meetings, a few to Montgomery on OEO business, one to Jackson, Mississippi, for a meeting on co-operatives and one to Washington, D. C. to attend the White House Conference.

Ala - QUARTERLY REPORTS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
A PARTIAL QUARTERLY REPORT
July, August, and September, 1966

*Note to Board Members: After promising the quarterly report in the agenda, I have decided against giving it to you in full now--principally because the quarter is not yet complete and because we will know the outcome of the ASCS elections next week. The final quarterly report should properly inform you of the results of the tremendous effort exerted by Bob Valder, Lewis Black, and others working with them on this vital project. May I also request that you encourage your chapters back home to send in resumes of their summer's work for this report, if they have not done so already. We stand at about 50% on comprehensive chapter reports for this period.*

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL--MEMBERSHIP ANALYSIS

The membership summary in the financial report shows that we had at the end of August a paid up membership of 1,110. Our membership at the same time last year was 1,019. We are still ahead of last year's record but are falling back in the margin of superiority over last year. During August, 1965, we gained 23 new members--13 coming from the East Alabama Chapter, 5 from Huntsville, and 3 from out of state. This year we gained only 6 new members during August--5 from East Alabama and 1 from out of state.

Membership isn't everything by far. In one sense, programs are much more important--as the agenda for today indicates. But how in the world can we carry out all those vital programs if we don't get more members to work and contribute?

DON'T FORGET THAT WE ARE NOW IN THE HALF-PRICE MEMBERSHIP PERIOD. YOUR FRIENDS WHO HAVEN'T JOINED CAN GIVE US A TRIAL ON A BARGAIN BASIS. (Commercial style employed here by courtesy of Madison Avenue and the Hootin Holler Gazette.)

THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Moving the state office from Huntsville to Auburn required several days of the executive director's time during July (although the heaviest burden of this effort fell upon the associate director). Other activities during July included: (1) a meeting with the Huntsville Chapter executive committee. (2) A trip to Washington with Rural Advancement Director Lewis Black to confer with United States Department of Agriculture and Office of Economic Opportunity officials at the policy making level in an effort to break the log-jam on the distribution of surplus food to the poor in counties where local officials aren't interested--We received some golden promises, which the poor haven't been able to cash yet; the burden of the failure to date appears to rest on the USDA and not OEO. (3) A visit to the Alabama Technical Assistance Corporation offices in Montgomery to establish a working relationship between this office and the ACHR state office.

THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR (Continued)

(4) Visits to Tuskegee to confer with State President Charles G. Gomillion, and with American Ethical Union and East Alabama Council personnel engaged in a series of jointly sponsored projects. (5) A survey visit of Lee County Head Start. (6) A visit to the Muscle Shoals Chapter meeting. (7) Attendance of a community leadership conference at Emory University--where he had the privilege of meeting Council directors from other states in the Southeast.

The executive director spent a goodly portion of August in the state office in what might be termed administrative work, but perhaps should be more accurately described as simply learning to feel his way around the established ropes of state office procedures with the assistance of the associate director and state office secretary. Other activities included: (1) Meeting with Mobile Chapter's executive committee. (2) Working with East Alabama Chapter to set up a meeting and plan for developing new chapters--Montgomery Chapter leaders were also involved in this meeting and the final planning. (3) Four speaking engagments to groups interested in establishing a credit union under the auspices of the East Alabama Chapter. (4) Attendance at meeting of Council directors with SRC staff in Atlanta.

September activities to date include: (1) Paper work and planning for the Board of Directors meeting in Birmingham, (2) Continued efforts with EACHR on credit union project. (3) Attendance of a meeting in Selma on ASCS elections--the meeting included Rural Advancement Director Lewis Black, representatives of SCLC and others working on this special voter education project, and ASCS officials.

THE ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

The associate director spent a large portion of July in arranging for the state office move, moving office and family to Auburn, and handling related administrative details. (By common consent, the director and associate director decided that it would be more efficient for the associate director to handle the heaviest burden of such detail until the office moved.) In addition during the first half of July, the associate director set up a meeting with Rural Advancement Director Lewis Black, SRC's Al Ulmer, and a Huntsville group interested in forming a credit union, possibly under the aegis of the Huntsville Chapter; conferred with the Huntsville Chapter leaders on a number of other problems, particularly school desegregation plans.

During the latter part of July, all of August, and September to date, the associate director has worked almost full time on the Agricultural Stablization and Conservation Service elections. Along with Rural Advancement Director Lewis Black, he drafted a proposal for obtaining a $1,650 grant from SRC to support a special Voter Education effort prior to the ASCS elections and has worked closely with RAP Director Black in coordinating this multi-county program. In addition to his efforts with the overall ASCS election program, Associate Director Valder has worked intensively

THE ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR (Continued)

in Macon County in organizing and educating the people about their ASCS voting and election rights and how to exercise them.

Other activities during August and September include a meeting with the executive committee of the Tuscaloosa Chapter, work along with the director on efforts to establish a credit union in Lee County, and a talk to Lee County Head Start parents on minimum wages.

THE RURAL ADVANCEMENT DIRECTOR

During the first half of July, the rural advancement director made an intensive effort to get a surplus food program into Hale and Perry Counties. His efforts during this time included endless negotiations with local officials, numerous meetings with the people of his area, and a trip to Washington, D.C.. Since those intensive efforts produced a lot of promises but no food for the needy, RAP Director Black has continued and is continuing efforts to break through the prejudices and governmental red tape that leave people hungry in a land of surplus.

Throughout this quarter Mr. Black has been working further with credit union development in Monroe, Sumter, Marengo, Clarke, and Tuscaloosa Counties; has served as speaker and consultant on credit union development to a group in Huntsville; and has conferred with the director, associate director, and EACHR President Nancy Spears on credit union development in East Alabama.

He has also worked with people to initiate the establishment of a promising cooperative in Perry County and has conferred with people in Tuscaloosa seeking to reinstate the Head Start Program there.

Like Associate Director Bob Valder, he has devoted his major energies during the latter part of July, all of August, and September to date to providing leadership and direction to the Voter Education Project on ASCS elections. Mr. Black has served as field director for ACHR in this project and has become in effect a leader for various groups working on the same project.

During this quarter, Mr. Black has also continued to work as a leader in an effort to secure a grant for a community leadership training program at Miles College. (And, also like Associate Director Bob Valder, he has upon rare occasion spoken to his family and slept a full night's sleep.)

Ala - QUARTERLY REPORTS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
QUARTERLY REPORT
October, November, and December, 1966

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL

The main effort of the past quarter has been planning and executing preliminary steps for the 1967 Membership and Financial Drive. Included as part of this effort was a "Training Session" for local leaders of each chapter in a meeting in Birmingham on November 19. Since then every chapter but one has had one or more meetings of their financial and membership committees to develop and execute plans for their particular campaign; the Assocaite Director has attended at least one of these meeting with each chapter.

During almost the entire month of October, the state staff concentrated upon the Agricultural Stablization and Conservation Service (ASCS) re-elections in Macon County which were invalidated in September. Although the Macon County election effort was primarily the responsibility of the Associate Director, the RAP Director also rendered time and service to it.

ACHR, the Southern Regional Council and the Fellowship of the Concerned co-sponsored a workshop on the courts in Montgomery on November 22. Nearly forty persons from about six counties were in attendance.

Part of December was taken up with plans for ACHR's Annual Meeting in Birmingham on February 3 and 4, 1967.

During this quarter, two ACHR monthly Bulletins were published.

THE LOCAL COUNCILS

Almost every chapter has been putting in a great deal of time and effort on their plans for the 1967 Membership and Financial Drive.

Birmingham. The Birmingham chapter's monthly programs have been as follows: October--Mr. Harold Wershow, sociology professor at the University of Alabama, Birmingham Extension, summarized his detailed study of the social and economic needs of Jefferson County--a study prepared for the Jefferson County Committee on Economic Opportunity. An up-to-date report on school desegregation progress was made and the chapter also decided to ask the American Friends Service Committee to consider Birmingham as an area to place a field worker if the AFSC should decide to have such persons available; November--Mr. John Beecher, author of To Live and Die in Dixie and Visiting Professor at Miles College, presented and interpreted some of his recent poetry. The BCHR Committee on Desegregating Local TV Programs reported on their progress to date and following this meeting, the Executive Committee sent telegrams to Acting Attorney General Ramsey Clark and to Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers, asking for public information which might be available concerning the death of Mr. James Earl Motley in Wetumpka on November 20; December--Mr. Lewis Black, RAP Director, presented an account on his work in the Black Belt.

LOCAL COUNCILS (Continued)

East Alabama. The main effort of the East Alabama chapter has been a continuing one of Project Headstart. During the past quarter, Headstart has been conducting the Lee County Follow Through Program (this is for children who have already been through a regular Headstart Program) and it has also been busy getting a new eight month proposal funded by OEO. Speakers at its monthly meetings were ACHR RAP Director, Black, and ACHR Associate Director, Valder. Of continuing interest has been the attempt to begin a credit union charted by the East Alabama chapter--we should know about this sometime during the present quarter. In Tuskegee, an exploration is currently underway of whether or not to form a type of Community Coordinating Council the purpose of which would be to act as a clearinghouse of information to all interested agencies, public and private, concerning what types of resources are or could be available for such things as job training, better education, civil rights problems, etc.

Huntsville. Huntsville's November meeting was a panel of speakers from the Association of Huntsville Area Contractors explaining a program called Community Resources Development. The panel came to explain the program and to ask for the chapter's participation in it. The chapter decided to participate and so one of it's programs now is to prepare a presentation to be given to delegations from various cities who are taking part in the program. December was the annual Christmas party. One other project to which various chapter members are giving considerable time is assisting the Sisters of Concern Club (a service organization for domestics), particularly in helping to begin a credit union which would be charted by SOCC.

Mobile. The Mobile chapter's monthly meeting topics and speakers have been as follows: October--Dr. Cranford Burns, Superintendent of Mobile County's School System, spoke about the Alabama School System as the first of a two-part series on the public school system; November--Mr. William B. Crane, Mobile County School Board member, spoke about the Mobile County School System; December--a general discussion followed by discussion groups planned the chapter's school desegregation program for 1967. Other concerns of the Mobile chapter have been: sponsoring an exhibition and sale of the products of the Freedom Quilting Bee (a cooperative composed of poor people from Wilcox County) at Mobile's Annual Art Fair; sponsoring a series of six weekly meeting on Negro History and Culture--over 100 persons attended the programs and average attendance was about 45 for each meeting--and the chapter is prepared to sponsor another series if the demand should arise; applied for and received shipments of paperback books for the Mobile Council on Human Relations Library from the Southern Regional Council; sponsoring a continuing program of 8 to 10 study halls for children living in various neighborhoods.

Montgomery. In October, a committee was appointed to call on the proper officals in an attempt to obtain some Negro poll watchers--Montgomery County has none. This committee has spoken to the chairman of the Montgomery County Democratic Committee and hopes to see his Republican counterpart soon. Elections for the three-man city commission will be held in March of 1967 so the Montgomery chapter hopes to have some results on the poll watchers issue by then.

The chapter has also begun a series of political education programs. Their last three meetings have been addressed by persons explaining how various

MONTGOMERY CHAPTER (Continued)

levels of government work. City Commissioner for Public Affairs, Mr. L. B. Sullivan, spoke to the December meeting explaning how the city commission form of government works in Montgomery.

Muscle Shoals. If our reports are correct (of which we have received none this quarter) the Muscle Shoals chapter has been relatively inactive. However, we do know that they are planning a very big Challenge Meeting this month.

Tuscaloosa. Although we've experienced no inundation of reports here either, we do know that the Tuscaloosa chapter has been active in helping the Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee (a local civil rights group) receive approval from the Tuscaloosa Opportunity Program (the local anti-poverty program) to apply for and conduct a Headstart Program--the TCAC won approval over a last minute application by the Tuscaloosa City School System. The chapter has also established a legal defense fund for helping persons arrested in civil rights incidents.

Talladega. The Talladega chapter has had no official programs as such due to the fact that all of its leaders are members of other organizations which do have programs going.

THE STAFF

The Associate Director

As reported above, the ASCS elections in Macon County was an almost full-time project during all of October. Since then, a major portion of his time has been taken up in preparing for the 1967 Membership and Financial campaign; efforts here include making preparations for the "Training Session" and traveling to each chapter during December to meet with their 1967 campaign committees. Other program concerns have been helping organize and moderating the workshop on the courts in Montgomery, attending the annual meeting of the state's NAACP, making a presentation to the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, a talk to the East Alabama chapter, appearing, with two Birmingham chapter members, on a radio interview program in Birmingham, and efforts to help in organizing farmers' cooperatives in the Black Belt.

Trips have included many to Tuskegee, Montgomery and Birmingham, two to Huntsville, one each to Mobile, Tuscaloosa, Talladega, and Atlanta, the latter to attend the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council. Most of the trips were to attend either a monthly meeting of the chapters, or a meeting of their financial committee. The trips to Huntsville were to provide assistance in the presentation they will be making to the above mentioned city delegations.

The Rural Advancement Project Director

As reported above, the RAP Director worked in Macon County on the ASCS elections in October; he also attended two meetings in Selma on matters related to the ASCS elections. Much of his time has been occupied with attempting to obtain funding for both a surplus commodities program and a Community Action Program in Hale County (both unsuccessful to date), with establishing or working with already established credit unions and with working on efforts to organize some farmers' cooperatives. He has spoken to the Birmingham and

THE RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT DIRECTOR (Continued)

East Alabama chapters, to many groups and organizations throughout most of the Western Black Belt, and he has made a presentation to the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission Civil Rights.

Trips included those to Birmingham, Auburn, Macon County, Selma (many times) every county in the Western Black Belt and one to Atlanta for a three-day meeting of other RAP directors and staff members of the National Sharecroppers Fund.

11 Ala - QUARTERLY REPORTS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS INC.

1966 FACT SHEET

This is a brief summary of some of the more significant activities which the state council and the state staff participated in during 1966.

RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT:

Our Rural Advancement Project was started in February with Mr. Lewis Black from Greensboro, Alabama as its Director. A partial list of his activities and accomplishments includes: (1) *extensive work in voter registration activities prior to the May primaries.* This work included drafting proposals in five counties for financial grants for voter registration programs--two programs were funded; (2) *extensive work in organizing credit unions for poor people.* To date he has been able to get two Federal credit union charters approved in Demopolis and York and charters have been applied for in Tuscaloosa, Wilcox County and Clarke County. He has also made trips to Huntsville and Auburn to help organize credit unions there; (3) *work on school desegregation in the Black Belt;* (4) *helping with a crisis in Monroe County resulting from a severe beating inflicted upon a Negro resident by the mayor of a town there;* (5) *extensive involvement in Hale and Perry Counties in attempts to obtain anti-poverty programs.* He has been instrumental in forming a Community Action Program in Hale County and also in attempting to obtain a surplus commodities program in Hale County; (6) *talks to a number of different groups including ACHR chapters, civil rights groups and numerous other meetings across the Black Belt;* (7) *extensive travel throughout the Black Belt and many out-of-state trips including two to Washington (one to attend the White House Conference and one to see anti-poverty officials);* (8) *full-time work for almost three months in 12 Black Belt counties as the "coordinator" of an effort to obtain Negro representation in a very important election conducted by the U. S. Department of Agriculture--the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) elections.* He and the Associate Director of ACHR were responsible for obtaining a grant of $1,650.00 for this effort; (9) *efforts have been started to begin a farm cooperative and some market development efforts have been made for a co-op in Hale and Perry Counties;* (10) *working on a $250,000.00 proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity for a leadership training program for persons from the ten poorest counties in Alabama, which will be funded through Miles College.*

THE STATE COUNCIL OFFICE AND STAFF:

Activities and accomplishments of the state council staff (excluding those of the Rural Advancement Project) during the past year include: (1) *sponsoring a student conference on human relations which attracted about 80 students and faculty members from 12 different colleges and universities;* (2) *our annual meeting which was attended by over 200 persons from 40 cities in Alabama.* Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights was the featured speaker and Assistant Attorney General John Doar was present to receive a statement of appreciation from ACHR; (3) *monthly newsletters have been sent to all members of ACHR;* (4) *co-sponsoring two state-wide conferences on school desegregation which were well attended;* (5) *moving the state office from Huntsville to Auburn in order to have a more central location in the state;* (6) *helping 1,128 members contribute to a better Alabama;* (7) *attempting to assist two local chapters in starting credit unions;* (8) *extensive staff work on the ASCS elections, particularly in Macon County.* This work included distributing funds from a $1,650 grant to ASCS workers in eight Black Belt counties; (9) *helping the Freedom Quilting Bee, a cooperative composed of poor people in Wilcox County, with organizational matters;* (10) *representing ACHR at various meetings including the White House Conference, school desegregation conferences, conferences of other organizations and meetings of the Southern Regional Council and the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights* and (11) *working with local chapters on local activities.*

$2,000.00

Mississippi Council on Human Relations

306 First Federal Building

Jackson, Mississippi

Field Foundation grant to Mississippi Council -- quarterly payment.

Field Foundation

special.

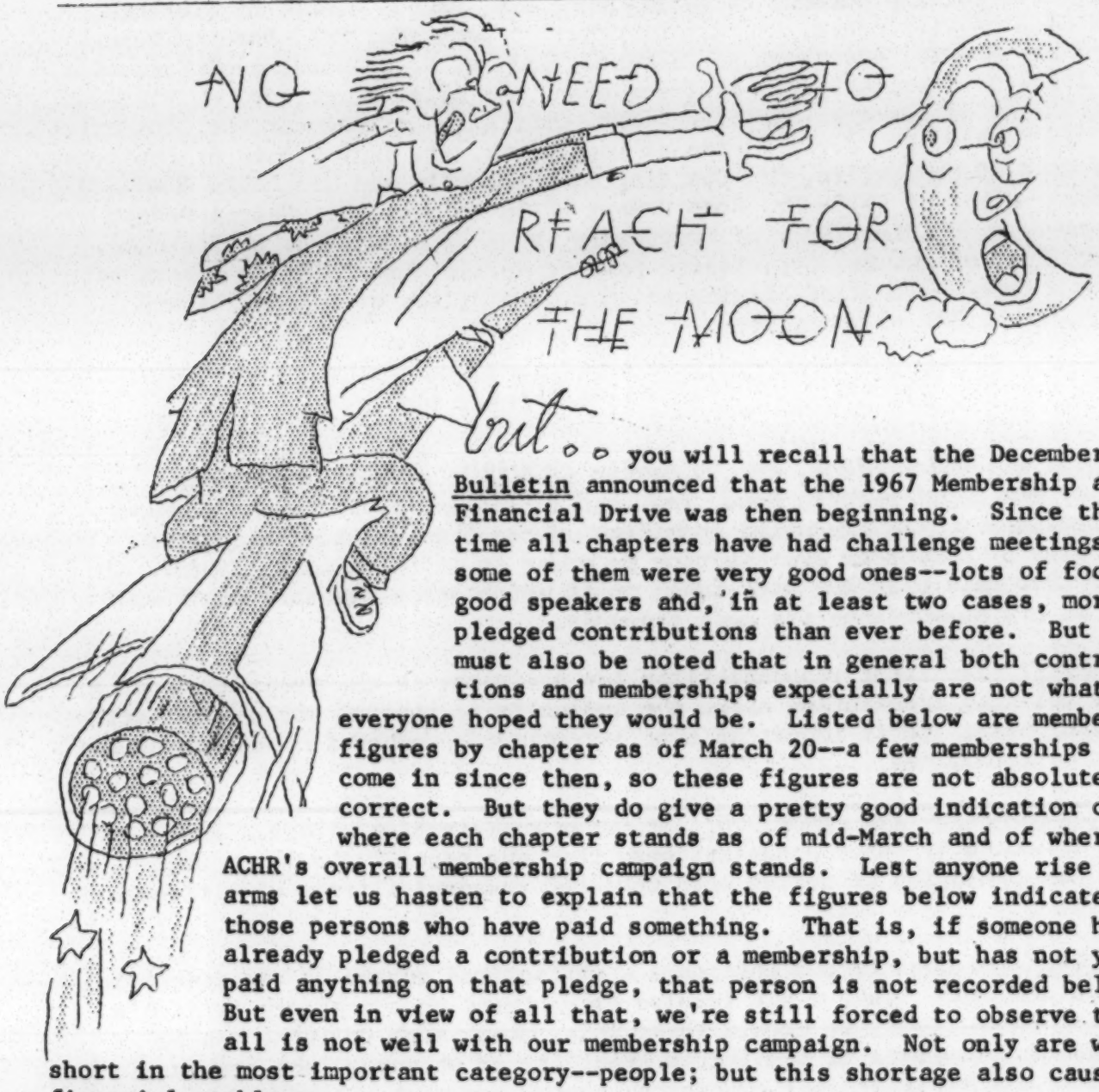
January 6, 67

J. Edwin Stanfield

Ala - QUARTERLY REPORTS

# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830
Bob Valder
Associate Director
March 29, 1967




but... you will recall that the December Bulletin announced that the 1967 Membership and Financial Drive was then beginning. Since that time all chapters have had challenge meetings. And some of them were very good ones--lots of food, good speakers and, in at least two cases, more pledged contributions than ever before. But it must also be noted that in general both contributions and memberships expecially are not what everyone hoped they would be. Listed below are membership figures by chapter as of March 20--a few memberships have come in since then, so these figures are not absolutely correct. But they do give a pretty good indication of where each chapter stands as of mid-March and of where ACHR's overall membership campaign stands. Lest anyone rise up in arms let us hasten to explain that the figures below indicate only those persons who have paid something. That is, if someone has already pledged a contribution or a membership, but has not yet paid anything on that pledge, that person is not recorded below. But even in view of all that, we're still forced to observe that all is not well with our membership campaign. Not only are we short in the most important category--people; but this shortage also causes financial problems.

*So we are making a special appeal right now to all of you who have not yet renewed your 1967 membership and to you who have never joined ACHR, to please do so.* If you want to give more than the membership fee, that's great!! But why not at least join up?? We need you, we need your active participation and, frankly, we need your money too. As the figures below indicate, if we reach our membership goal, aside from contributions and other pledges, that in itself will assure us of about $4,300.00 more than we are assured of right now. Naturally we hope that all of our out of state friends and our Alabama friends who live where there is no local ACHR chapter will become members if they haven't already done so.

*But we are especially hopeful that all of you who receive this bulletin will send us your membership if you have not already done so. Please fill out the application blank on page 4 and send it to us. We appreciate that. And we think you will too.*

(Continued on page 3)

# ACHR'S OFFICERS AND BOARD

At ACHR's Annual Meeting in February, new officers were elected for 1967. They are as follows: President--Dr. C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute; Vice-Presidents--Dr. Ray Fowler of Tuscaloosa, Dr. Everett McNair of Talladega and Dr. George H. DeBoer of Florence; Secretary--Mrs. Paul McCoy of Huntsville; Treasurer--Rev. Joseph Ellwanger of Birmingham. At large members of the Executive Committee are Mr. Allen Black, Jr. of Florence, Rev. V. A. Edwards of Tuskegee, Mr. Earl Pippin of Montgomery and Mrs. Bill Reed of Huntsville.

ACHR's Board of Directors is as follows: Class of 1968--Mrs. John Cashin of Huntsville, Mrs. John Drew of Birmingham, Mrs. Grace Hooks of Tuskegee Institute, Rev. Phillip Huckaby of Birmingham, Rev. Duncan Hunter of Florence, Mr. James Kidd of Birmingham, Mr. Allen Parker of Tuskegee, Mrs. Dorothy Raine of Mobile, Mr. Stanley Rosenbaum of Florence, and Mr. S. C. Watkins of Tuscumbia. Class of 1969--Dr. Joseph Bettis of Tuscaloosa, Mr. Allen Black, Jr. of Florence, Dr. L. H. Foster of Tuskegee Institute, Rev. Otis Kirby of Decatur, Dr. Frederick Kraus of Birmingham, Mr. J. E. Pierce of Montgomery, Mr. Earl Pippin of Montgomery, Mrs. Bill Reed of Huntsville, Mr. Don Ring of Huntsville and Mr. Louis Sheffield of Florence; Class of 1970--Mr. Ross Bonner of Tuscaloosa, Dr. George DeBoer of Florence, Mrs. Clifford Durr of Montgomery, Rev. V. A. Edwards of Tuskegee, Mrs. Willie King of Auburn, Mrs. George Lamb of Mobile, Mrs. William Spears of Auburn, Mrs. James Walbert of Birmingham, Mrs. Joe Wilson of Huntsville and Mr. Paul Woolley, Jr. of Montgomery.

# IDEAS FOR LOCAL CHAPTERS

*Editors note: Mr. Allen Black, Jr., a member of ACHR's executive committee, an executive of the Legal Defense Fund, Inc. and a resident of Florence, Alabama recently outlined to the executive committee of the Muscle Shoals chapter a suggested plan of committee organization in order to activite that chapter. In the belief that this plan has some ideas in it which other chapters might want to adopt, we are summarizing its main features.*

1. *NEWSLETTER:* The first responsibility for a chapter is the preparation of a newsletter relating information about the community in general and chapter activities in particular. It is important that a systematic method for publishing the newsletter be formulated.

2. *VOTER REGISTRATION AND EDUCATION:* If voter registration programs are adequately executed by other organizations, then the council should conduct clinics on the operation of voting machines, the responsibilities of citizenship and the like.

3. *EMPLOYMENT:* The council can undertake a statistical survey of the industrial potential in the area. This would involve determining what jobs are available, what training is necessary to attain these jobs, where such training can be acquired and how prospects of the future stability of whatever jobs are available, projections of future indistrail expansion, stated and real polices of companies, unions, and employment agencies, specifics about on the job training or apprenticeship programs, salary breakdowns, opportunities for advancement and instancies of reported discrimination by employers, unions and employment agencies an assessment of the needs and skills of the labor market, securing personnel tests and training people in how to take them, encouraging local citizens to apply for employment and training, sponsoring a career conference between the employers, unions, employment agencies, training agencies and federal fair employment practice enforcement officials.

4. *EDUCATION:* "Surely our organization should have put forth more diligent efforts to encourage minority transfers, but it is also ture that the whole idea of eliminating the dual system by freedom of choice plan is impractical to say the least. Our responsibility is now to take affirmative action to stimulate our cooperative school boards. The committee (Education Committee) should also attempt to devise alternate methods of achieving the goal of the unified system and to present such schemes to both school officials and federal officials. The committee would also concern itself with the matter of text books being used in our schools." Tutorial programs can also be established. Efforts should be made to insure Negro representation on school boards.

5. *TITLE VI:* A Title VI committee could concern itself with a number of things (Title VI is that part of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which forbids the use of Federal funds in a discriminatory manner). As reported on these pages earlier,

(continued on page 3)

# WANTED: MANAGER FOR COOP

The Rev'd Francis X. Walter, Chariman of the Advisory Committee to the Freedom Quilting Bee, has told us that this cooperative is very much in the market for a manager. We are passing this on to our readers in hopes that they might know someone qualified and interested in such a position. Anyone interested, should write to Rev. Francis Walter at 810-29th Avenue, Tuscaloosa, Alabama-35401. The information below summarizes what the coop is, what kind of job it would be and what kind of person they are looking for.

This person should be willing to serve for at least one year as the supervisor of a cooperative association of Negro women in rural Black Belt Alabama. The coop is now producing quilts, sun bonnets, baskets, pot holders, and other small cloth items. There are currently 150 members residing in Dallas, Marengo, Monroe and Wilcox counties. The center of the coop is in Alberta, Alabama, about 40 miles southwest of Selma. However, on the basis of unsolicited inquiries from Alabama women they feel they could expand throughout central Alabama with the help of a full time Manager. The coop was organized in March 1965 with the help of the Selma Interreligious Project, an ecumenical ministry in Alabama stemming out of the Selma march. The chief sponsor of the Project is the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ.

The following is a description of the person they are looking for. Sex--they think a woman would be better for this job although they would consider a male applicant. Education--a college degree is preferable with a major in design or art. Ability or Experience--any applicant should have some background in design, arts and crafts, needlework or related work. An applicant should also have the ability to

(Continued on page 4)

NO NEED TO REACH FOR THE MOON but (continued)

| Chapter | 1967 Membership goal | Estimated income @ $4.00 per person average | Memberships Rec'd so far | Additional income if membership goal is reached |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| East Alabama | 500 | $2,000.00 | 125 | $1,500.00 |
| Greater Birmingham | 200 | 800.00 | 103 | 388.00 |
| Huntsville | 150 | 600.00 | 30 | 480.00 |
| Mobile | 200 | 800.00 | 89 | 444.00 |
| Montgomery | 75 | 300.00 | 50 | 100.00 |
| Muscle Shoals | 125 | 500.00 | 45 | 320.00 |
| Talladega | 75 | 300.00 | 21 | 216.00 |
| Tuscaloosa | 175 | 700.00 | 46 | 516.00 |
| Out-of-state | 75 | 300.00 | 19 | 224.00 |
| At Large | 25 | 100.00 | 5 | 80.00 |
| TOTAL | 1,600 | $6,400.00 | 533 | $4,268.00 |

IDEAS FOR LOCAL CHAPTERS (Continued)

the Federal government has done some compliance work with hospitals and nursing homes. In general, however, the government has not yet begun to establish affirmative programs of Title VI compliance with most projects receiving Federal financial assistance. For example, the following projects all receive Federal assistance, but to our knowledge the government has not tapped their Title VI potential: Educational Television, highway construction, airport construction, street construction, sewage installation and services, city water boards, public health departments, public recreation programs, public housing programs and many, many others. Local chapters might look into a few of these programs in their area and communicate their findings to the government, in which case the government would have to investigate.

6. *ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS:* The appropriate committee should attend meetings of the boards governing the use of these funds. The committee should also study news media for reports of new funds and determine their equitable use. A major task would be to assure that the agencies distributing federal funds are themselves not discriminating.

WANTED: MANAGER FOR COOP (Continued)

keep a simple set of books and handle business correspondence. Personal characteristics--the members of the coop are all poor people. A manager suited to the coop's needs would of necessity have a great deal more education and sophistication than the members for whom she worked. Such a person would need the patience and humility necessary to live and work among the poor. The members of the coop feel they can work with such a person, though the burden of adaptation would lie more heavily on the manager.

The manager would live in a rural community in Wilcox County. She would have to travel a good bit between the above counties. Her essential job would be to control the quality of the products and to strive to develop markets for those products. She would supervise the filling of orders, shipping of products and the distributing and picking-up of materials among members. She would be expected to be responsible to designers, interior decorators, and others to develop products.

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APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

I would like to lend my support to the program of the Council by becoming:

1. A Single Member ($5.00) ( ) New ( ) Renewal ( )
2. A Joint Member, Husband and Wife ($8.00) ( ) Check Enclosed ( )
3. A Student Member ($3.00) ( ) Cash Enclosed ( )
4. A Contributor ($ ) ( ) Bill Me ( )

NAME_____ ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZIP CODE_____ COUNTY_____

OCCUPATION_____ DATE_____

NOTE: Memberships and contributions to ACHR are Federal Income Tax deductible.
PLEASE INCLUDE YOUR ZIP CODE ON THE APPLICATION.

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MR. J. EDWIN STANFIELD
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Ala - QUARTERLY REPORT

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
QUARTERLY REPORT
April, May and June of 1967

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL

The main projects of the state office during the past quarter have been efforts to desegregate the state mental health facilities and the state industrial schools, limited work with the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association, testimony to the Alabama State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights about ASCS matters, assisting Attorney Donald Jelinek with planning for a comprehensive research project involving Federal programs in rural areas in four Southern states, assisting the East Alabama chapter with the formation of the newly chartered credit union, efforts in locating an Associate Director, organizing a meeting of ACHR's executive committee and preliminary planning for the 1968 Annual Meeting.

During the past quarter, memorandums about the following topics have been mailed to local chapter presidents: Encouraging them to inform the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil Rights that they should consider holding their planned hearing on the school desegregation guidelines in Alabama and the availability of a consultant for planning tutorial programs. Program materials sent to local chapters included: consumer education leaflets; a list of multi-ethnic textbooks and readers; a minimum wage campaign kit; the booklet Know Your Rights; a welfare questionnaire provided by the Georgia Council and a Handbook for local Councils on Human Relations provided by the Arkansas Council.

ACHR continued to receive contributions for the Freedom Quilting Bee. We were also able to secure a foundation grant of $1,000.00 which will be used by The Southern Courier to train human relations interns in journalism. During this quarter, two ACHR Bulletins were published.

THE LOCAL COUNCILS

Birmingham: The April meeting featured a talk by Attorney Demetrius Newton entitled School Desegregation--Answers Now--Problems Later. He discussed the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals school desegregation decision. In April the executive committee nominated Mr. Newton to the Young Men's Business Club as their selection for Man-of-the-Year. However, due to a mix-up on dates, the nomination was delivered too late for consideration this year. The Birmingham chapter's May newsletter dovoted a full page to discussing the various aspects of Equal Employment Opportunities. Their May meeting was devoted to The Employment Situation in Jefferson County and was addressed by two Urban League representatives. During the past quarter, this chapter's main program emphasis has been school desegregation and quality education programs.

East Alabama: Project Headstart is a continuing project of this chapter. The main project this quarter has been the newly chartered Federal credit union--the East Alabama Federal Credit Union. The major attention in the past few weeks has been intensive work in preparation for the organizational meeting, which will be held in mid-July. Headstart employees are informing Headstart parents about the credit union and a nominating committee is now concentrating on preparing a list of nominees for the Board of Directors, the Credit Committee and the Supervisory Committee. The chapter is currently

(Continued on Page 2)

LOCAL COUNCILS (Continued)

co-sponsoring with the American Ethical Union a tutorial program in Lee and Macon Counties. In May, the chapter sponsored a Voter Education Forum which included panelists from Tuskegee Institute, the Tuskegee Civic Association, Auburn University and the Auburn League of Women Voters. A chapter ad hoc committee is currently investigating and publicizing its findings about recent police harassment and brutality.

Huntsville: This chapter is continuing with its study hall project they will be operated through the summer. The main project this quatrer has been intensive door-to-door school desegregation project. The April meeting featured a panel duscussion with representativies from the Community Service Committee, the NAACP, the Sisters of Concern Club, the Madison County Voters League and the League of Women Voters. Each representative discussed their own organization's goals, special interests, projects and methods of operation. Information on the Job Corps has been disseminated through the April Bulletin and by chapter members. In May, the monthly meeting was addressed by Anthony Rachal, Jr., who is the Special Assistant for Equal Employment Opportunity for the Civil Service Commission. The June meeting heard George Brakefield of the Huntsville Housing Authority talk about the status of low income housing in Huntsville. Huntsville's June bulletin says "an assessment of our family visitation project reveals worthwhile results--the most concrete of which are 673 requests for transfer to integrated schools so far received.. Approximately 60 people have taken part so far." The chapter is now finishing a similar project in the Madison County School System.

Mobile: This chapter's April meeting was addressed by the Rev. William Aldering, SSJ and the Rev. Brett Smith, who spoke about The Ecumenical Institute: You Can Bend History. The Ecumenical Institute is an organization of men and women of all faiths who believe that the mission of the church is to achieve a better life for people by removing the barriers of poor education, segregation, and unemployment. On April 3, an ad appeared in the Mobile Press-Register written by the Rev. John Thompson and signed by thirty Mobilians, many of them Council members. It stated in part "We the undersigned members of the Mobile community, express our dismay at the speech of Gov. Lurleen Wallace, delivered to the Legislature on Thursday evening, March 30. Though not surprised, we are nonetheless heartsick that once again our state administration has led us down the dead-end path of defiance." On April 11, a similar ad was run with 489 signatures. Much of this was coordinated by Mobile chapter members. In April, the chapter also distributed a questionnaire designed to find out the extent to which children are bussed to maintain segregated schools. At the May meeting, three representatives of the Mobile Housing Board spoke about Urban Renewal and Low-Cost Housing in Mobile. In june the annual chapter picnic was held.

Montgomery: Although we have no definite information about the Montgomery chapter's monthly meeting this quarter, we do know that they have been held.

Muscle Shoals: This chapter has become quite active during the past quarter. They have begun a monthly newsletter and they have activated their committee system. In their May meeting, the Alabama school system was discussed by a panel of persons from the U.S. Office of Education, the Legal Defense Fund, the Probate Judge's office, and Florence State College. At this time, the Housing Committee became active and remains so. The Federal Programs Committee decided to place primary emphasis on implementing Title VI

(Continued on Page 3)

LOCAL COUNCILS (Continued)

of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The June meeting was addressed by Judge Emmett Roden, who talked about the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals' school desegregation decision. The Employment committee began working in May on a survey to determine the availability of jobs in the Muscle Shoals area, to register qualified people now unemployed and to locate opportunities for training for jobs available. They have also planned a detailed job-readiness program which will help job seekers prepare for employment tests and interviews and will acquaint them with opportunities.

Tuscaloosa: The May meeting was devoted to forming task forces in the areas of headstart, employment and housing. The June meeting was about Urban Renewal. The Tuscaloosa chapter has a committee working with the Community Interest Corps in contacting employers, finding employment opportunities and they may get involved in union hiring practices. They have also helped obtain volunteer drivers and other volunteers for the Headstart program.

Talladega: Talladega chapter members were instrumental in helping obtain a Voter Education Project grant of over $2,300.00 from the Southern Regional Council. The grant was sent to the Talladega Improvement Association.

THE STAFF

The Director

The three major program interests this quarter have been agricultural projects and research concerning the white boy's and white girls' industrial schools located in Birmingham and research concerning the State Board of Mental Health.

The agricultural projects were (1) researching and testifing about ASCS matters in Alabama to the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and (2) helping Attorney Donald Jelinek prepare an extensive questionnaire concerning the programs, benefits and services of the various agencies within the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The research mentioned above concerning various state insitutions was forwarded to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. They will use this and other information in desegregation suits.

Trips included a few to Selma, one to Jackson, Mississippi, some to Montgomery to meet with HEW and Department of Justice representatives, to make preliminary plans for the Annual Meeting, to act as a resource person at a meeting of the Alabama State Teachers Association, to meet with state ASCS officials and to meet with the Montgomery chapter president; to Tuscaloosa to meet with that chapter's executive committee; to Tuskegee to meet with the West Macon Parents Association and to speak to a meeting of the American Ethical Union; to Birmingham to attend one of that chapter's monthly meetings, to obtain information about the industrial schools and the mental health system, to appear on radio station WATV for a two hour discussion; to Huntsville to attend two monthly meetings and one executive committee meeting and to help plan their school desegregation project; to Florence to meet with local chapter representatives; and two trips to Atlanta to meet with other state council directors and for a meeting of the National Sharecroppers Fund.

THE STAFF (Continued)

## THE RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT DIRECTOR

As noted in the previous quarterly report, the RAP Director was then and continues to work full-time with the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association. This work has included helping them get badly needed loans, and markets and also helping to sell seed and fertilizer to SWAFCA members. He has also done a great deal of work now that SWAFCA is purchasing cucumbers and other produce from its members.

During the past quarter, he has been all over the Black Belt, to Gasden, Montgomery, Florence (to speak to an ACHR meeting), to Birmingham a few times for co-op or ACHR business, to Atlanta for a meeting with the National Sharecroppers Fund and to Virginia where he spoke to a seminar about credit unions.

Although SWAFCA has taken almost all of his time, he has done limited work on credit union business. He is also helping to organize a sewing club in Greene County.

Ala- QUARTERLY REPORTS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
QUARTERLY REPORT
July, August and September of 1967

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL

The main projects of the state office during the past quarter have been primarily of an administrative, rather than program, nature.

The office was moved to a different location in Auburn on August 1. Mr. William Harrison assumed the position of Associate Director on August 15. 185 personal letters were mailed to persons who had not renewed their 1967 memberships and to date, 95 personal letters have been mailed to persons who are delinquent on their 1967 pledges (these letters remind persons of their pledge and inquire about whether or not the pledge will be payed). During the past quarter one newsletter was published.

Additional office work was required in preparation for (1) the seminar for local chapter presidents held in Birmingham on September 27 and (2) the semi-annual Board of Directors meeting held in Birmingham on September 30, 1967 (minutes enclosed).

Since August 1, the East Alabama Federal Credit Union has been sharing the state office thereby requiring some additional time and effort on the part of the state staff.

ACHR continued to receive contributions for the Freedom Quilting Bee. We have also received one contribution from the Southern Regional Council for the Green-Hale Sewing Center--a newly organized sewing cooperative (see below for details).

THE LOCAL COUNCILS

Birmingham: The June meeting featured a discussion by Mr. Ted Seaver who resides in Jackson, Mississippi. His topic was welfare rights; his main point was that persons need to learn how to use the welfare regulations in order to obtain for clients the rights and benefits to which they are entitled. In July, the chapter heard Capt. Glenn V. Evans of the Birmingham Police Department, Police-Community Relations Division. This is a new division of the Police Department and its purpose is to establish communications, confidence and understanding between the community and the law. The September meeting was addressed by a panel of attorneys, students and parents; the topic was "Progress and Action in (School) Desegregation".

The Birmingham chapter's main program concerns the past quarter have been (1) cooperating in a four week basic skills program intended especially for junior high students who are attending desegregated schools this fall; (2) helping to organize a Job Corps Support Project which is an organization to work with returnees from Job Corps centers and (3) hosting the September 29 meeting of local chapter president. The Rev. Joseph Ellwanger, a long time supporter and current president of the Birmingham chapter has moved to Milwaukee--a testimonial dinner was given for him by the chapter in August. During this quarter, the Birmingham chapter became one of two chapters in the state to exceed their 1967 financial quota.

East Alabama: During the summer months this chapter does not hold monthly meetings. Project Headstart is a continuing project of this chapter. During the past quarter, much time has been spent with the newly organized East Alabama Federal Credit Union. This chapter concluded a tutorial project in Shorter, Alabama, Tuskegee and Auburn and a playschool project in Tuskegee and Shorter, both of which were cosponsored with the American Ethical Union. The chapter also cosponsored with the American Ethical Union a trip for five children to two summer camps in New York. Also concluded was an investigation of the Lee County Sherrif's Department--the issue was alleged brutality; after the investigation was completed, the victim refused to press the case so it has been tentatively dropped.

Huntsville: The July meeting featured a talk by Mr. Lloyd Christopher of the U.S. Department of Labor; Wage, Hour & Public Contracts Division. He talked about the new wage and hour legislation and answered a number of questions. The employment committee presented its plans for action to the Council at this time. August was the time for the chapter's annual picnic. In September, Captain Barney Harding discussed the problems, policies and practices of the Huntsville Police Department.

Program emphasis during the past quarter has been (1) helping to obtain funds for and to execute a Voter Registration project and (2) continuing the study hall project--this year there are three centers which meet a total of three nights a week.

Mobile: The July meeting was about "Human Relations: Where Are We Going From Here?" Mr. Numa Rousseve, Director of Project Headstart at St. Vincent's Center was the discussion leader. Program emphasis during the past quarter has been voter registration, a continuation of the study hall project and establishing a welfare committee which will concentrate on helping persons appeal who have been denied welfare.

Montgomery: The September meeting was devoted to organizational purposes. This chapter is currently looking into a non-profit housing program. And a number of persons, both "old" members and new prospects, are currently being recruited with an active year envisioned. The Montgomery chapter is the second chapter to pass its financial quota.

Muscle Shoals: In July, Mr. Michael Rosenbaum told of his experiences at Friends World College. The Annual Picnic was held in August. And in September Father Brice Joyce returned as that meeting's speaker. Also at the September meeting, committee chairmanships were assigned.

The main program this quarter has been extensive activity on the part of the employment committee. The housing committee has also become quite active in recent months.

Tuscaloosa: The subject for the August meeting was a discussion of employment opportunities in Tuscaloosa. In July, candidates for a special election for state representative attended a meeting to explain their views and platforms. In the September meeting, three committees were established and the chairmen appointed. These committees are Credit Union, Urban Renewal and School Desegregation.

THE STAFF

## The Director

The main program concern this quarter has been the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections in Macon County. Much time was spent in helping to organize and carry out an election campaign with the goal of getting a Negro elected to the County ASCS Committee. (It should be noted that this ASCS effort lost again this year--but this time by the margin of 35 votes out of over 1,000 votes cast. And the entire election is now under appeal becaus of alleged irregularities). It is hoped that the work put into this effort by the state staff will result in a strengthening of the East Alabama chapter because of the increased involvement in the ASCS project on the part of Tuskegee persons who in the past have had no contact with the Council.

Trips included: (1) three to Birmingham to attend the testimonial dinner for Rev. Ellwanger, to attend a meeting of the local executive committee and to attend the seminar for local presidents and the Board of Directors meeting; (2) one to Lanett, Alabama to check out the possibility of finding persons to testify in court about that school system's freedom of choice plan; (3) one to Tuscaloosa to attend a local executive committee meeting and to conclude research on the Alabama Board of Mental Health and to meet with a Freedom Quilting Bee representative; (4) one to Lowndes County to gather information about that county's school system; (5) one to Selma to meet with the executive committee of the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association; (6) one to Atlanta to meet with representative of HEW and the Legal Defense Fund to discuss problems concerning school desegregation in Alabama and (7) one to Gatlinburg, Tennessee for a three day "retreat" attended by the staffs of the Southern Regional Council and the state councils on human relation.

## The Associate Director

The Associate Director, while in Auburn, has spent a good deal of time becoming acquainted with the operation of the state office, of Lee County Headstart and of the local chapter and its members. He also spent much time in Macon County working on the ASCS elections.

The Associate Director is a member of the executive committee and Board of Directors of the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association and also of the Advisory Committee of the Southern Federation of Cooperatives. These positions have required many trips to Selma to attend SWAFCA meeting and trips to Jackson and McComb, Mississippi to attend Federation meetings. One result of the Federation meetings has been that seven persons have been hired by the Federation to work with SWAFCA and the Southeast Alabama Self-Help Association (SEASHA)--twelve county association recently organized.

Other trips include: One to Tuscaloosa to meet with that chapter's September meeting, one to Birmingham to attend the seminar for local presidents and the Board of Directors, and several to Choctaw County which were made in an effort to help solve several school problems in that County (A direct result of that work was a court ruling updating that school system's school desegregation plan) and one trip to Gatlinburg, Tennessee to attend the "retreat" mentioned above.

## The Rural Advancement Project Director

During the past quarter the main emphasis of the RAP has been the establishment of a Green-Hale Sewing Cooperative. This is a new coop which the RAP Director has helped organize and to which he has given a great deal of time and effort. It is now a going concern. The Southern Regional Council has made a grant of $500 to the coop. As in the past, another continuing RAP program has been working with SWAFCA--the need for assistance is not as great as it once was, but the need is still definitely there.

As with the Associate Director, another area of continuing attention has been the Federation of Coops. The RAP Director has been to Jackson, Mississippi and to Louisiana in connection with this project due to the fact that he is on the executive committee of the Federation.

Trips this quarter include: (1) one to Columbia, South Carolina to attend a Credit Union meeting; (2) many to all counties in the West Black Belt area--primarily on SWAFCA business; (3) a few to Tuskegee to get help for the sewing coop from Tuskegee Mills; (4) a few to Birmingham one of which was to attend the ACHR Board of Directors meeting; (5) one to Atlanta to attend a meeting of the National Sharecroppers Fund and (6) one to Gatlinburg, Tennessee to attend the above mentioned "retreat."

Ala - QUARTERLY REPORTS

**ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

QUARTERLY REPORT

October, November and December of 1967

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL

The main projects of the state office during the past quarter have been threefold: (1) Programmatic; (2) Preparations and meetings concerning the 1968 Membership and Financial Campaign and (3) Preparations for the 1968 Annual Meeting.

Programs: The main program concerns have been the following (see below for additional details about some of these programs): (1) *Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) elections in Macon County.* The August and September effort to elect a Negro to this county committee failed. But after examining the election returns everyone involved in the effort was convinced that fraud and incompetency on the part of ASCS election officials was responsible for the defeat. So the election was appealed to the State ASC Committee. The State Committee heard the appeal on November 8 and 9 and denied the appeal on December 14. The election is now under appeal to ASCS in Washington, D. C.: (2) *Voter Registration in Lee County.* ACHR's staff was responsible for getting about 700 Lee County residents registered to vote in a four-week period in October and November; (3) *we continue to work with the East Alabama Federal Credit Union: (4) the staff worked closely with the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty's Board of Inquiry on Hunger and Malnutrition.* Much of our time was spent in locating persons to go to a hearing held by the Board of Inquiry in Birmingham in November; (5) *the staff worked with a CBS television crew* by directing them to persons (mainly white) for purposes of interviewing them and filming some of them for a documentary program on Hunger and Malnutrition; (6) *the entire staff, particulary the Associate Director and RAP Director, worked closely with the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association; (7) much time was spent in working with three or four of the local chapter's presidents and executive committees.* This work was oriented primarily towards selected local chapter projects and the 1968 Financial campaign; (8) *some time was spent working with the Southern Regional Council and other State Council Directors in attempting to contribute to solving mutual problems.*

1968 Membership and Financial Campaign: Preparations for 1968's Campaign have been slightly different than in previous years. The main difference has been that this year the Director has met with nearly every chapter's executive committee / financial committee and planned the campaign with them (in previous years this has been done mainly through the mail). However, the same basic plan--advance gifts, personal solicitations, Annual Dinners and follow-up visits--is still emphasized. The State Office also spent more time this year in helping

1968 MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN (Continued)

chapters obtain Annual Dinner speakers. And the State President and staff are working to establish--for the first time--a state-wide Special Gifts Committee which will work on a year-to-year basis rather than only in December, January and February. Also for the first time the executive committee appointed a three-person 1968 Budget Committee which will submit a recommended budget to the Board of Directors and which has already determined the 1968 Membership and Financial quotas for each chapter (see attached list).

Preparations for the 1968 Annual Meeting: Much time has been spent in an attempt to obtain Sen. Eugene McCarthy as the Annual Meeting speaker on February (even at this late date we still have no definite committment or refusal); arrangements with the Stafford Hotel in Tuscalloosa have been made; the Director, as ex officio chairman of the 1968 Nominations Committee, has been working,as instructed by the committee, on putting together a slate of nominees for ACHR's 1968 Officers and Board Members; a panel to present a "seminar" or "think-session" on the morning of Saturday, February 3 has been selected--the panel will consist of Mr. Paul Anthony, Mr. Allen Black, Jr., Mr. Joe L. Reed and Rev. T. Y. Rogers.

ACHR's Executive Committee met in November. ACHR continued to receive contributions for the Freedom Quilting Bee. During the past quarter one issue of the ACHR Bulletin was published.

THE LOCAL COUNCILS

Birmingham: The October meeting featured a panel of persons discussing the employment situation in Birmingham. The panelists represented the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Alabama Employment Service, the Jefferson County OEO, the Birmingham Opportunity Industrialization Center, the Urban League and the Birmingham Council. In November the Rev. Francis X. Walter, Director of the Selma Inter-Religious Project, spoke at the monthly meeting. He discussed his work and some of the self-help efforts with which he is associated in the Black Belt. This chapter continues its study halls for students who need academic assistence. This chapter has recently started holding its meetings at different places in the city, rather than at the same place each time.

EAST ALABAMA: The October meeting featured summary reports of the progress and problems of the Credit Union, and a report about the September State Board of Directors meeting and a report on the Lee County Headstart Project which is a continuing project of this chapter. In November a panel of persons who were active in the ASCS election efforts in Macon County talked about ASCS matters. An ASCS committee was established and a committee chairman was appointed to serve as a regular chapter committee.

THE LOCAL COUNCILS (Continued)

Huntsville: The main projects of this chapter during the past quarters have been (1) co-sponsoring a voter registration campaign, (2) continuing the study hall project and (3) recruiting for Job Corps Women. In November, William Starnes, the new Director of City Planning, spoke to the chapter. In December the Annual Christmas Party was held.

MOBILE: In October Mr. Norman Davis, Director of the Mobile Area Community Action Committee, spoke to the Council about the structure and functions of MACAC. This chapter has also been working on improving the services and benefits of the Food Stamp program once it becomes operative (in the near future) in Mobile County.

Montgomery: During the past quarter this chapter has been quite successful in its efforts to build a stronger base of members and finances; this has been its major emphasis for some months. They have also held monthly meetings one of which was addressed by ACHR's Director. The main program interests have been housing and political education.

Muscle Shoals: This chapter's housing and employment committees continue to be quite active on a day-to day basis. Meetings have been held monthly but our files contain no information about specific topics.

Tuscaloosa: This chapter sponsored two meetings in October. The first was addressed by Mr. Hal McCall of the Tuscaloosa Housing Authority--he spoke about Urban Development Plans and Relocation Problems in Tuscaloosa. The second meeting, which was about credit unions, featured a panel composed of the U. S. Examiner of Federal Credit Unions for Central Alabama, a representative of the Alabama Credit Union League, and the President of the Tuscaloosa Chapter of the Alabama Credit Union League.

Note : It should be noted that every chapter, with no exceptions, has spent a good deal of time and effort, especially in December, in planning for and actively working on the 1968 Membership and Financial Campaign.

THE STAFF

The Director

Much of the Director's time was spent working with projects mentioned above. Other items included attending meetings in Atlanta of the Advisory Committee to the Southern Rural Research Project and attending the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council; in Nashville, Tennessee of some of the State Directors; in Montgomery of the Southern Federation of Cooperatives, and a meeting of a team of officials of the Office of Civil

THE STAFF (Continued)

Rights of HEW in Selma for SWAFCA'S Open House; and in Birmingham of ACHR's Executive Committee. During the past three months the Director met with the Executive Committees of Birmingham's chapter twice, East Alabama's twice, Huntsville's once, Mobile's twice, Muscle Shoals' once and Tuscaloosa's once.

## The Associate Director

Much of the Associate Director's time was spent working with projects mentioned above. Other items included many trips to and meetings in Black Belt Counties and one to Chicago as a result of his membership on the Executive Board of SWAFCA; a few trips to Montgomery and Tuskegee with projects connected with the Southern Federation of Cooperatives; a trip to Jackson, Mississippi to testify to a hearing held by the National Education Association concerning school desegregation; several trips to Choctaw and Marengo Counties to obtain complaints and signatures of persons who believe they have been discriminated against by certain pulp and paper industries--these complaints have been forwarded to the Legal Defense Fund, Inc. which is currently contemplating additional steps against the companies. He also attended the meeting of ACHR's executive committee in Birmingham.

The Associate Director, working full-time for a four week period, was directly responsible for the success of the above mentioned Voter Registration project in Lee County.

## The Rural Advancement Project Director

As with the Associate Director the Director of RAP has continued to work very closely with SWAFCA and with the Southern Federation of Cooperatives. He has made many trips and attended countless meetings in all of the SWAFCA counties. He also continues to spend much time with the Green-Hale Sewing Cooperative. He has also spoken to a mass meeting about voter registration in Lee County, attended and spoken to meetings in Tuskegee of the Southeast Alabama Self-help Association (SEASHA), and he has attended meetings in Montgomery and Tuskegee of the Southern Federation of Cooperatives.

Ala - REPORTS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

PROGRESS REPORT

JANUARY 1967 to JANUARY 1968

## INTRODUCTION

On the next three pages you will read about some of the projects which the State Office and Staff of the Alabama Council on Human Relations have been involved with during the past year.

We think we have reasons to be proud of what we have done during the past twelve months. This is particularly true in view of the fact that, although we have a limited budget and a limited staff, we still manage to conduct a state-wide program. And we are convinced that this program has contributed to a different and better Alabama.

But, at at the same time, we realize that we have not done nearly enough.

The problems of poverty and hunger and alienation and racism still run rampant throughout our state, our region and the nation. Justice, freedom and decent behaviour to everyone are the exception rather than the rule.

However, in spite of the sad state of human relations in Alabama, we need to continue our efforts. We hope you will help us, both financially and by personal involvement, to achieve a just and free society.

## *LOCAL CHAPTERS*

The main value and the most important strength of the Council is that it enables local people to work together in an attempt to educate their own community--local chapters educate the community in their monthly meetings; they also "educate" by means of committees which work on community problems on a permanent basis.

The State Council survives only because local Councils survive: and the Local Councils survive because of assistance rendered them by the State Office.

*Local chapters work on a wide variety of problems.* Some work on *School desegregation* and *quality education,* others on *fair employment,* most work with local *anti-poverty* programs, one is working on *ASCS elections,* some work on *fair housing* or *voter registration* or *political education,* some are concerned with *food stamp* and *surplus commodities* projects, one is engaged with a *"model neighborhoods"* program.

There are many other local chapter activities--the above list gives some examples. But the most important fact is that local chapters exist; they do work on projects; they are concerned about problems; communities are not allowed to ignore their problems.

At the present time, there are eight local chapters in Alabama. We hope to establish three or four more before January of 1969.

There can be no question but that all chapters could do more things and could do them better. This is where you come in--only by the active involvement and assistance of more persons will it be possible for local Councils on Human Relations to more closely realize their potential.

## *THE STATE COUNCIL*

### *1967's Major Projects*

Some of the more important items which ACHR worked on in 1967 represented major contributions in solving some of Alabama's problems.

(1) ACHR's staff, in close cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., conducted in-depth studies of certain public agencies. This information was used to take these institutions to court in order to desegregate and equalize them. Studies were made of The Alabama State Blind and Deaf Schools, the Alabama Mental Health Hospitals, the three Alabama Industrial Schools, and the Barbour and Bullock County School Systems.

(2) ACHR's staff assisted residents of Macon County, for the second consecutive year, in their effort to elect a Negro to the powerful and vital County Committee of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service. 36 votes (out of over 1,000 cast) prevented this effort from succeeding.

(3) All three of ACHR's staff members spent many months of work with the newly organized Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association--a vegetable producing and marketing low-income coop in twelve of Alabama's poorest counties . One staff

member is on SWAFCA's Executive Committee and another is a full-time "coordinator" with SWAFCA.

(4) ACHR sponsored its Annual Meeting in Birmingham in February, 1967. The State Office helped all local councils to sponsor their Annual Dinners in January, 1967.

(5) Two of ACHR's staff members are working closely with the Southern Federation of Cooperatives--a South wide organization of low-income cooperatives. This work includes supervising six full-time field workers.

(6) ACHR received contributions during most of 1967 for the Freedom Quilting Bee--a low-income coop in the Wilcox County area,

(7) One of ACHR's staff members has been responsible for the formation and maintenance of the Greene-Hale Sewing Center.

(8) ACHR's staff continues to work closely with the credit union movement in Hale, Lee, Marengo, Monroe, Sumter and Wilcox counties.

(9) ACHR's staff has been instrumental in a successful voter registration campaign in Lee County; we also worked closely with the ACHR sponsored Lee County Headstart Project,

(10) In addition to the above, ACHR during the past year has also worked with the American Friends Service Committee, the U.S.Commission on Civil Rights, the Columbia Broadcasting System, the Equal Educational Opportunities Program, the Southeast Alabama Self-help Association and the Southern Regional Council.

# ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
303-A Foster Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Bob Valder
Director

January, 1968

## SPEAKER IS BROOKS HAYS

The final plans for the Annual Meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations have now been made!! We think we have put together a most stimulating and interesting program for this year's meeting. We hope that you will be able to attend and bring interested friends.

The meeting will be held in Tuscaloosa at the Stafford Hotel on Friday and Saturday, February 2 and 3, 1968. The Friday night portion of the Annual Meeting will consist only of a meeting of ACHR's Board of Directors, but that meeting will be open to the public. It will begin at 8:00 p.m. On Saturday, February 3, the first item on the agenda is the seminar described below--it will begin at 9:30 a.m. and will last until 11:30 a.m. The next topic on the agenda is the speech by Mr. Brooks Hays--it will begin at 1:00 p.m. The final topic on the agenda is the Annual Business Session, which will begin immediately after the speaker finishes.

*The main speaker for the Annual Dinner will be Brooks Hays. Mr. Hays has both an interesting and provocative background. And, we might observe, his present activities also insure a stimulating talk. For many years, Mr. Hays was a U.S. Representative from the great state of Arkansas. He became nationally known during his years as Congressman as a "moderate" voice--at a time when moderation was all too seldom manifested. His tenure was cut short when he lost his seat in Congress due to the fact that his positions on race and decency were far ahead of the voters.'*

(Continued on Page 2)

## MEMBER$, MONEY AND MEETING$

Well, folks, it's that time of year again. This is when we are all able to take one kind of accurate measurement of how folks are thinking in Alabama and elsewhere. Of course, we're talking about the 1968 Membership and Financial Drive and the opportunity provided by it to allow people to indicate their concern about questions of justice, dignity and community.

By this time all chapters have made final plans for their 1968 campaign. They have all finished or are in the process of finishing their advanced gifts drive, some have already had their Annual Dinners and others will have their's later this month.

On January 4, the Muscle Shoals Chapter held their Annual Dinner. Mr. John Lewis, former head of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and currently with the Southern Regional Council was the main speaker. Approximately 80 persons were in attendance and over $1,600 were pledged or paid at that dinner. The East Alabama Council had its dinner on January 11. State Senator Tom Radney was the main speaker. There were over 70 persons in attendance and about $1,500 were pledged or paid.

(Continued on Page 3)

SPEAKER IS BROOKS HAYS (Continued)

At the present time, Mr. Hays is a lecturer at Rutgers University, a founder and moving spirit of the newly organized Southern Committee on Politic Ethics, and he is also head of the Southern Baptist Convention. While all of these things indicate that Mr. Hays will have a message for us, one other thing needs to be observed--not only is he know as an excellent and thoughtful speaker, but one of his strengths is his ability to sprinkle throughout his speeches a good bit of humor, political anecdotes, and just plain old common sense. We know you will enjoy hearing him.

As if the speech by Hays is not enough, we are doing something different this year to further the effort to "take stock of where we are" in the latter part of the 1960's. Everyone is aware of the fact that things in this country are not like they used to be back in the good ole days of 1964 or '65 or'66. The nation's mood, its priorities, its concern about our concerns, the U.S. Congress, the urban rebellions, national polls, this state's administration and many other factors all thoroughly demonstrate that attitudes and concerns are changing fast and polarizing. It is with this in mind that we are having a seminar or "think session" as a major part of this year's Annual Meeting. Most of you will recall that for the past few years, we have had workshops on the Saturday morning of each Annual Meeting--they were held at the same time and usually concerned employment, education, voting, housing, health and welfare and other similar items. This year we are not going to have workshops mainly because we feel at this time a serious need for taking stock of where we are and the relevancy of all of this to the Council and to other organizations.

*So, this year, Saturday morning's session will consist of a two-hour seminar. The main speaker will be Dr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director of the Atlanta based Southern Regional Council. Other participants on the panel will be the Rev. T. Y. Rogers, Director of Affiliates for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and also pastor of the First African Baptist Church in Tuscaloosa, Alabama; Mr. Allen Black, Jr., Regional Director, Division of Information, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., Memphis, Tennessee; Attorney Donald A. Jelinek, Director of the Southern Rural Research Project, Selma, Alabama. The panel will be chaired by Dr. Ray Fowler, head of the Department of Psychology, University of Alabama.*

At this writing, the exact topic and subject at the seminar are uncertain. But we can tell you two things: (1) we promise that the above mentioned panel members--each of them well qualified to discuss various aspects of the current scene, will present a most worthwhile seminar and (2) you may be assured that an integral part of this session will be that of participation on the part of everyone present. Each speaker will devote only a small amount of time to addressing the audience--the bulk of the seminar will be devoted to dialogue between the panel members and the audience. A splendid time is guaranteed for all.

Although we don't know at this time what other persons of varying degrees of fame will be in attendance at this meeting, we do know that there will be some. The presence of Mr. Hays will probably attract certain political and educational leaders from around the state; the presence of the above mentioned panel members will attract similar and other persons. Viewing the various speakers as a group, it is obvious that there are many differences in both their background, their philosophy and their overall orientation. One is engaged in politics, two in civil rights, one in law and one heads up the foremost, largest and oldest civil rights human/relations agency in the South.

Unlike previous Annual Meetings, there will be no luncheon session this year. This is primary for three reasons: (1) it is difficult to estimate the number of persons who will be eating; (2) Mr. Hays' schedule is such that he will be unable to get to Tuscaloosa by lunch time and (3) we hope that by not having a luncheon session some persons who may not otherwise attend the main address will do so.

Immediately following Mr. Hays' address, the regular business session of the Alabama Council on Human Relations will take place. The highlights of this sessic will be an address by Dr. C. G. Gomillion, out-going and twice president of the Council; a report of the 1968 Budget Committee, a report of the 1968 Nominations Committee and the subsequent election of 1968 officers.

For those of you who will be arriving in Tuscaloosa on Friday night, please be advised that the ACHR Board of Directors will be having its regular semi-annual meeting at the Stafford Hotel, beginning at 8:00 p.m., and each of you are invited to attend this meeting. Also be advised that for early arrivals on Friday night, there will be a reception immediately following the Board of Directors meeting (consult the hotel bulletin board for the exact room number of both of these functions).

(Continued on Page 4)

MEMBERS, MONEY AND MEETINGS (Continued)

The Birmingham Council will have their Annual Dinner on January 30 and their speaker will be Mr. Joe Reed, Executive Director of the Alabama State Teachers Association. The Talladega Council will have their Annual Meeting on Wednesday, January 24. Mr. Ed Stanfield, former Director of the Alabama Council and now Field Director of the Southern Regional Council will be the main speaker. The Huntsville Council's Annual Dinner will be held on January 31. The Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will be the speaker. Mr. David Vann, a Birmingham lawyer and chairman of the newly organized Alabama Independent Democratic Party (AIDP) will address the Annual Dinner of the Montgomery Council on January 25. The date for the Mobile Council's dinner and their speaker are uncertain at this writing. The Tuscaloosa Council will have their dinner sometime in February.

The two charts below should give our readers an accurate picture of the success of the 1967 campaign and of the goals of the 1968 campaign. It should be noted that our present rebate system calls for each local chapter to receive back 10% of all they have helped raise. And after their goal is reached, they will receive back 75%. Both the Birmingham and the Montgomery Chapters surpassed their 1967 goals. We liked that. And so did the chapters 'cause their treasuries are now bulging ready to do great things.

1967 FINANCIAL-MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN RESULTS

| CHAPTERS | FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN | | | MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Pledged & Rec'd | Total 1967 Goal | Per Cent of Goal Rec'd & Pledged | Total Members | Total 1967 Goal | Per Cent of Goal Reached |
| Greater Birmingham | $ 2,657.00 | $ 2,100.00 | 127% | 137 | 200 | 69% |
| East Alabama | 4,104.00 | 4,800.00 | 85% | 285 | 500 | 57% |
| Huntsville | 1,459.00 | 1,900.00 | 77% | 69 | 150 | 46% |
| Mobile | 1,493.00 | 2,700.00 | 55% | 122 | 200 | 61% |
| Montgomery | 1,757.00 | 1,200.00 | 146% | 69 | 75 | 92% |
| Muscle Shoals | 1,359.00 | 2,000.00 | 68% | 82 | 125 | 66% |
| Talladega District | 426.00 | 700.00 | 61% | 34 | 75 | 45% |
| Tuscaloosa | 1,080.00 | 2,100.00 | 52% | 81 | 175 | 46% |
| Out-of-State | 447.50 | 400.00 | 112% | 25 | 75 | 33% |
| At Large | 115.00 | 100.00 | 115% | 9 | 25 | 36% |
| TOTALS | $14,897.50 | $18,000.00 | 89% | 913 | 1,600 | 57% |

1968 FINANCIAL AND MEMBERSHIP GOALS

| Chapters | 1968 Membership Goals | 1968 Financial Goals |
|---|---|---|
| Birmingham | 250 | $3,000.00 |
| East Alabama | 450 | 4,600.00 |
| Huntsville | 150 | 2,200.00 |
| Mobile | 200 | 2,400.00 |
| Montgomery | 100 | 2,000.00 |
| Muscle Shoals | 125 | 2,000.00 |
| Talladega | 75 | 600.00 |
| Tuscaloosa | 175 | 1,700.00 |
| Out-of-State | 50 | 600.00 |
| At Large | 25 | 400.00 |
| Special Gifts | | 7,000.00 |
| TOTAL | 1,600 | $26,500.00 |

*TOTAL GOAL OF CAMPAIGN . . . $26,500.00*
*AND 1,600 MEMBERS OR MORE!!*

SPEAKER IS BROOKS HAYS (Continued)

For those of you who plan to stay overnight in Tuscaloosa on Friday the 2nd or Saturday the 3rd, the following information may be of some help. The Stafford Hotel's address is 2209 - 9th Street; the Town House Motel's address is 919 Greensboro Street; the Travel Lodge Motel's address is 1217 Greensboro Street; and the Holiday Inn's address is U.S. 82 Bypass. For those of you who do not wish to stay at the Stafford Hotel, it should be noted that the Travel Lodge and Town House motels are within walking distance, while the Holiday Inn is some distance from the hotel. Anyone wishing overnight accommodations will need to contact the hotel/motel in order to secure their own accommodations.

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Auburn, Alabama 36830
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Permit No. 99
Auburn, Ala.

MR. J. EDWIN STANFIELD
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Ala- Quarterly Reports

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

QUARTERLY REPORT

January, February and March of 1968

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL

I. INTRODUCTION:

Listed below are the three general areas of concern with which the state office has been concerned during the past quarter.

II. ANNUAL MEETINGS AND FUND RAISING:

A. During January all but one local chapter held their Annual Dinner and initiated and continued their 1968 membership and fund raising campaign. The Muscle Shoals, Huntsville, Birmingham and Montgomery Dinners were particularly well attended. Due to the difference in approach by local chapters there were varying degrees of success with regard to membership and fund raising results.

B. At the ACHR Executive Committee meeting in Birmingham on March 9, the Committee established, provided guidelines to and appointed the Chairman for the Special Gifts Committee. At that same meeting the Committee did the same for a Finances Committee.

C. On February 2 & 3 ACHR's annual meeting was held in Tuscaloosa, Ala. Approximately 200-250 persons from most areas of the state attended this meeting.

III. COOPERATIVE EFFORTS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS:

A. We continue to work with the East Alabama Federal Credit Union.

B. The entire staff, particulary the Associate Director, continues to work closely with the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association.

C. The entire staff is working closely with the Regional Office of the Legal Defense Fund in its newly initiated Pulp & Paper Project. This project has as its goals the elimination of segregation and discriminatory practices in some ten (10) pulp & paper plants in the state.

D. ACHR's Director has helped formed an Association of State Council Directors and has been named treasurer of that Association. The purpose of forming this group is primarily one of attempting to attract foundation support for the state councils.

E. The state office has worked closely with Atty. Donald A. Jelinek making preparations for the suit which he recently brought in Washington, D. C. against the U. S. Department of Agriculture concerning inadequacies in that Department's food policies and programs.

F. The staff has worked with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Poor Peoples Campaign, primarily in the area of fund raising.

G. We have provided to the Penn Community Center of Frogmore, South Carolina a comprehensive list of community contacts. The Penn Community Center is conducting a ten week training session in community organization and local leadership development; our list was one of possible trainees.

H. ACHR continued to receive contributions for the Freedom Quilting Bee during the past quarter. ACHR's associate director and RAP director continue to work closely with the Federation of Southern Cooperatives and the Southern Cooperative Development Program.

IV. INTERNAL OPERATIONS:

A. On February 2 ACHR's Board of Directors held its semi-annual meeting in Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

B. ACHR's Executive Committee met in Birmingham on March 9, 1968.

C. On March 8 most local chapter presidents met with ACHR's staff in Birmingham.

D. In early March ACHR's director submitted his resignation to the Board of Directors, effective May 1, 1968.

E. During the past quarter ACHR has employed a new Office Secretary.

F. The Personnel Selection Committee, appointed by the Executive Committee, has been authorized to locate, interview and hire a new director.

G. During the past quarter one issue of the ACHR's Bulletin was published.

THE LOCAL COUNCILS:

Birmingham: In January this chapter held its Annual Dinner. The main speaker was Mr. Joe L. Reed, executive secretary of the Alabama State Teachers Association. Over 200 persons attended this dinner. The March meeting was devoted to a speech by Mr. B. L. Chaney who works for JACS (a project to support returning Job Corps Trainees) from Atlanta, Georgia. 1968 officers were also elected at this meeting.

In January the executive committee of the Birmingham chapter agreed that they would undertake one major project for the year. This project

THE LOCAL COUNCILS (Continued)

is devoted to an across the board effort to have an significant impact upon the employment policies of major employers in the Birmingham area.

EAST ALABAMA: This chapter's January Challenge Dinner was addressed by State Senator Tom Radney. Over 80 persons were in attendance. The March meeting heard a discussion on problems of education, local taxation and other matters related to state and local financing of the public school system. During this quarter this chapter has been spending some time in attempting to get its Executive Committee organized and effective.

HUNTSVILLE: The January Dinner was addressed by Rev. Ralph Abernathy from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Approximately 150 persons were in attendance. In February White Power was the subject of a talk by Miss Winifred Green of the American Friends Service Committee, Atlanta, Georgia. In March the Rev. Francis X. Walter, director of the Selma Inter-Religious Project, was the main speaker. This chapter continues to support the Sister of Concern Domestic Service, both financially and organizationally. Their study hall project continues.

MUSCLE SHOALS: On January 4, Mr. John Lewis from the Southern Regional Council addressed the Annual Dinner. In the March meeting the membership discussed matters relative to the chapter's program, including the role which they might play in possible litigation against the Florence Housing Authority. This chapter continues to have a very active Executive Committee, Employment Committee and Housing Committee.

MOBILE: Mr. Bobby Doctor from the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Memphis, Tennessee, spoke to the Mobile Chapter's January Dinner. In February the film "Lay My Burden Down" was shown. In March the chapter has been primairly concerned with organizing a comprehensive Pulp & Paper Project to attempt to change the employment patterns in the five Pulp & Paper plants located in or near Mobile.

MONTGOMERY: Mr. David Vann, chairman of the newly formed Alabama Independent Democratic Party, addressed this chapter's Annual Meeting. During the past quarter this chapter has been primarily involved in a Housing Project whose purpose it is to both attempt to find out what's going on and also how to change some urban re development and associated problems caused by the construction of a complex inter-state highway system in the center of Montgomery and some new urban re-newal construction.

TALLADEGA: In January Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, was the main speaker. About 40 persons attended this meeting. In February the chapter met and established a committee to look into the new proposed Urban Renewal program in Talladega.

TUSCALOOSA: Tuscaloosa was the host chapter for the state Annual Meeting. During this quarter members of the chapter have worked with

THE LOCAL COUNCILS (Continued)

the local Anti-Poverty Agency and have been instrumental in initiating a Pulp & Paper committee which will work on employment policies at a paper plant located in Tuscaloosa.

THE STAFF

The Director

Much of the Director's time was spent working with projects mentioned above. He attended each of the local annual dinners. He made necessary preparations and arrangements for the annual meeting. The major programs with which he has been concerned during the past quarter has been the Pulp & Paper project, the Poor People's Campaign and litigation by the Southern Rural Research Project against the U. S. Department of Agriculture. He has met often with the President of SWAFCA. The director attended two meetings in Atlanta--one sponsored by the A. Phillip Randolph Institute and the Southern Regional Council while the other was a meeting of the staff of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Office of Civil Rights. Other trips during the past quarter have included one to Memphis, three to Tuscaloosa, two to Mobile, five to Birmingham, one to Huntsville, two to Atlanta and a number of them to Montgomery and Tuskegee.

The Associate Director

The Associate Director is a member of the Board of Directors of Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association and also of the Advisory Board of the Southern Federation of Cooperatives. These positions have required three trips to Chicago to secure markets and finances to operate the Coop. He has made many trips to Selma for regular Board Meetings and for meetings with the Farmers Home Administration (Washington) and the Office of Economic Opportunity. As a result of these meetings the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association has received a $852,000.00 Farmers Home Administration loan and a $300,000.00 Office of Economic Opportunity grant, and assurances of individual loans from local Farmers Home Administration officies in each of the ten (10) SWAFCA counties. Other trips were to Jackson, Montgomery, and Edward, Mississippi. Other trips include: one to Tuscaloosa to attend the Annual Meeting; to Tuscaloosa, Mobile, Prattville, Birmingham and Choctaw County to help organize a Pulp and Paper Committee; several trips to Tuscaloosa, Birmingham, Talladega and Tuskegee to meet with the local chapter's executive committee; several trips to Choctaw County which resulted in getting more than 800 Negro children to choose an all white school for 1968 - 69 school year in an effort to force the school board to deal with the school problem; other trips were to recruit people and money for the Poor People's Campaign.

The Rural Advancement Project Director

During this quarter the RAP Director has been working less with SWAFCA than in the past. But he has been spending more time on other projects. Chief among them is the Green - Hale Sewing Cooperative, which has required a good deal of time and which has sold more than 500 dozen garments. He helped start

The Rural Advancement Project Director (Continued)

a credit union in Jackson, Alabama during the past quarter; he is also working closely with the Demopolis and Greenala Federal Credit Unions. In March the RAP Director was elected president of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives which is a South-wide organization. He is also involved in the Pulp and Paper Project.

During the quarter he made trips to Louisiana, Mississippi, Atlanta, Memphis, Birmingham and Huntsville. He also made many trips to most Black Belt counties.

Ala - MHF

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

FINANCIAL REPORT - MAY, 1968

RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Membership and Contributions | $ 693.00 | $ 4,787.75 |
| S. R. C. Grant-in-Aid | | 3,625.00 |
| Foundations Grant (1) | | 40,000.00 |
| Miscellaneous Receipts | 47.00 | 182.25 |
| Freedom Quilting Bee (2) | 216.66 | 921.69 |
| Southern Rural Research Project (3) | 300.00 | 300.00 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | $1,256.66 | $49,816.69 |

EXPENDITURES

Budget Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Director's Salary | $ 8,600.00 | $ 816.18 | $ 2,954.16 |
| Associate Director's Salary | 7,800.00 | 802.06 | 2,736.04 |
| Secretary's Salary | 4,900.00 | 437.86 | 1,462.85 |
| Fringe Benefits (4) | 2,000.00 | 25.79 | 448.55 |
| Staff Travel | 4,300.00 | 492.20 | 2,115.53 |
| Rent | 1,500.00 | | |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 1,800.00 | 58.40 | 362.87 |
| Telephone | 1,700.00 | 220.82 | 878.42 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | | 6.00 |
| Printing | 600.00 | | 122.90 |
| Literature | 200.00 | 10.00 | 11.00 |
| Advertising | 100.00 | | 52.00 |
| Petty Cash | 100.00 | 25.00 | 25.00 |
| Conferences | 1,000.00 | | |
| Board of Directors | 1,000.00 | 48.45 | 874.19 |
| Refunds to Local Chapters | 2,500.00 | | 429.06 |
| Accounting | 200.00 | 65.00 | 65.00 |
| Contingencies | 1,000.00 | | 550.00 |
| Miscellaneous | 500.00 | 45.00 | 95.00 |
| Total | $41,000.00 | $3,046.76 | $13,188.57 |

Non-Budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Freedom Quilting Bee | 342.40 | 3,497.40 |
| Southern Rural Research Project | 300.00 | 300.00 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $3,689.16 | $16,985.97 |

(1) These figures represents a one-time grant from the Field Foundation, in memory of the work and achievement of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

(2) ACHR is receiving contributions for the Freedom Quilting Bee. The contributions are in turn given to the Freedom Quilting Bee.

(3) ACHR is receiving contributions for the Southern Rural Research Project. The contributions are in turn given to the Southern Rural Research Project.

(4) This amount includes FICA, insurance policies and moving expenses.

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand May 1, 1968 (Auburn National Bank) | $41,165.06 |
| Receipts during May | 1,256.66 |
| Check returned | 4.45 |
| Total | $42,426.17 |
| Transferred from checking to savings | -35,000.00 |
| Expenditures during May | - 3,689.16 |
| Balance on hand May 31, 1968 (Auburn National Bank) | $ 3,737.01 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance in Savings May 1, 1968 | 00.00 |
| Received from checking | $35,000.00 |
| Balance in Savings May 31, 1968 (Citizens Federal Savings & Loan) | $35,000.00 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance in Savings | $35,000.00 |
| Balance in Auburn National Bank | 3,737.01 |
| Total | $38,737.01 |
| Balance for Freedom Quilting Bee | - 129.36 |
| TOTAL BALANCE | $38,607.65 |

## 1968 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

| Local Council | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 6 | 123 | 129 |
| East Alabama | 17 | 121 | 138 |
| Huntsville | 3 | 104 | 107 |
| Mobile | 0 | 56 | 56 |
| Montgomery | 3 | 71 | 74 |
| Muscle Shoals | 2 | 81 | 83 |
| Talladega | 3 | 37 | 40 |
| Tuscaloosa | 26 | 23 | 49 |
| Out-of-State | 0 | 7 | 7 |
| At Large | 0 | 9 | 9 |
| Total | 60 | 632 | 692 |

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
FINANCIAL REPORT - MAY, 1968

## RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | $ 00.00 | $3,000.00 |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | 00.00 | $3,000.00 |

## EXPENDITURES

Budget Expenditures:

| Accounts | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Director's Salary | $7,400.00 | $539.66 | $2,389.60 |
| Travel | 1,800.00 | 34.74 | 861.01 |
| Fringe Benefits (1) | 600.00 | 33.12 | 213.90 |
| Secretarial Service (Part-time) | 250.00 | | 91.78 |
| Telephone | 725.00 | 97.70 | 306.15 |
| Rent (including utilities) | 525.00 | 83.27 | 168.70 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 100.00 | | 40.57 |
| Postage | 150.00 | | |
| Miscellaneous | 50.00 | | |
| TOTAL | $11,600.00 | $788.49 | $4,071.71 |

(1) This amount includes FICA and insurance policies.

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand May 1, 1968 (Auburn National Bank) | $2,386.36 |
| Receipts during May | 00.00 |
| Total | $2,386.36 |
| Expenditures during May | - 788.49 |
| Balance on hand May 31, 1968 (Auburn National Bank) | $1,597.87 |
| TOTAL BALANCE | $1,597.87 |

Ala.- Q. REPORTS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

QUARTERLY REPORT

April, May, June of 1968

*THE ALABAMA COUNCIL*

I. *INTRODUCTION:*

Listed below are the general areas of concern with which the state office has been concerned during the past quarter.

II. *COMMITTEE MEETINGS AND DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING MEMORIAL GRANTS AND GUIDELINES:*

A. On June 20, 1968 the Special Committee appointed by the Executive Committee met in Birmingham to interview applicants for the position of Executive Director to the Alabama Council on Human Relations left vacant by the resignation of Mr. Bob Valder. Brice Joyce was selected to fill the vacancy. General rules were also set out for the disposition of the Field Foundation Grant to be known as the "Dr. Martin Luther King Memorial Fund".

B. On June 1, 1968 the Executive Committee met together with the Finance Committee in Birmingham to set our guidelines governing the granting of funds from the "Dr. Martin Luther King Memorial Fund." The Finance Committee decided to meet at a later date to be set by the committee jointly with the Special Gifts Committee. Guidelines were formed by the committee. Several grants were made. The guidelines and the grants so far given are listed below under a separate heading.

C. The last week in May the Director attended the meeting of all the southern directors in New York City. The purpose of the meeting was to establish contacts with foundations. All the directors attended the meeting.

III. *COOPERATIVE EFFORTS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS:*

A. We continue to work with the East Alabama Federal Credit Union.

B. The Associate Director continues to work closely with SWAFCA.

C. The entire staff is working closely with the Regional Office of the Legal Defense Fund in its Pulp & Paper Project.

D. ACHR's director continues to work with the Council of Directors in its efforts for joint meetings and common goals.

E. ACHR's director has accepted a position on the Board established by Rev. Francis X. Walters to seek closer working relations with the various churches and church related groups both local and national churches.

F. The staff has worked with the Dr. Martin Luther King's Poor People Campaign.

G. ACHR's Associate Director and RAP Director continues to work closely with the Federation of Southern Cooperatives and the Southern Cooperative Developemt Program.

H. ACHR has turned the funds of the Freedom Quilting Bee over to the Federation of Southern Cooperatives.

I. ACHR has agreed to handle the Southern Rural Research Project of which Donald A. Jelinek is director.

IV. *INTERNAL OPERATIONS:*

A. On June 1, 1968 the Executive Committee met at the Bankhead Hotel in Birmingham to set the following "guidelines" to be applied to all applicants from the grant of the Field Foundation known as the Dr. Martin Luther King Memorial Fund:

(1) The objectives of the proposed grant must be within the scope of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

(2) Monthly reports are required from all the recipients of grants.

(3) There are to be one or more statewide projects.

(4) Associated organizations are eligible for grants.

(5) a. The president and the staff of the Alabama Council will evaluate future grants and approve such grants.
b. Reports of grants, approvals and rejections are to be sent to the Executive Committee by the office.
c. The president or the executive director will poll the Executive Committee when the pres. and the staff feel the amount of the grant requested is such that consultation of the Executive Committee warrents such action.
d. The president and the staff will consult the committee whenever they feel it is necessary to provide wider discussion of grants or relative matters dealing with the Dr. Martin Luther King Memorial Fund.

(6) In kind contributions are expected from the local chapters of the Council where this is at all possible. This pertains also to other

grantees whose membership is structured simular to the Council. These in kind contributions are to be made a part of the monthly report (this does not necessarily mean money but refers to lodging, project services, food, voluntary work efforts, planning, etc.)

B. *Funded Projects:*

(1) *Talladega:* $1,500 for Greater Economic Power Project.

(2) *Montgomery:* $700.00 for Law Student Summer Project.

(3) *Southern Rural Research Project:* $1,000.00 for summer project SRRP Research: U SDA Programs.

(4) *Howard Thorkelson:* $150.00 for handbood, "Revision of Alabama State Welfare Department rules and policies simplified".

(5) *Muscle Shoals:* $1,200.00 for Job Employment. (This is in cooperation with several other groups.)

(6) *Selma Inter-Religious Project - Quilting Bee:* $2,200.00 for much needed changes in facilities.

(7) *Huntsville:* $500.00 to test Welfare Rules in court.

(8) *Birmingham:* $3,016.00 for underprivileged residents project.

*There are more proposals to be considered as they arrive. It is the concern of the Committee that the Foundation money be spent and used to the best advantage.*

*THE LOCAL COUNCILS:*

Several of the local chapters have become involved with other organizations for the purpose of Joint Action. All the chapters have continued their regular meetings.

*THE STAFF*

*The Director*

The new Director spent the first week in the office getting acquainted with the operations of the Council. In this Miss Boykin, the office secretary, was most helpful as was Bob Valder who remained to help in his spare time.

The Director spent the last week of May and first weeks of June in the following ways: The Auburn chapter was visited and the Ad Hoc Committee of which it is a part met the new director on two different occasions. The last weekend in May was spent in New York City at the State Directors Meeting. All of the southern directors were present and there was a helpful exchange of ideas. It also helped

*The Director (Continued)*

the new director to obtain helpful information and meet with other directors. During the month of June the director met with the Talladega and Muscle Shoals chapters of the Council. There was also a meeting with the Executive Committee of the Huntsville chapter at which time plans were discussed for the Annual Meeting. A visit was also made to Mobile. Members of the Council are cooperating with other groups in an effort to improve conditions in the Negro community. The director has committed himself to help in every way possible to help the Mobile Chapter with this most worthy effort. The Montgomery Chapter also welcomed the new director. They made final plans to receive the law student. The director attended the Annual Conference of the Methodist Church of North Alabama in Birmingham. The conference received the director well. Opportunities to meet with various church groups during the coming months have been arranged. Last but not least several efforts have been made in the implementation of the directives of the committee. The director and the staff attended the Executive Committee on June 1, 1968.

*The Associate Director*

The Associate Director is chairman of the Board of Directors of Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association and also a member of the Advisory Board of the Southern Federation of Cooperatives. These positions have required several trips to Washington to meet with the United States Department of Agriculture to negotiate and remove restrictions that would be harmful to the Co-op. These meetings with Secretary John A. Baker resulted that 95% of the demands were met by FHA including the Co-op working with a Washington representative rather than a local state representative of FHA. To me this was a very impressive move to set the Co-op up as a demonstration project and waiver normal restrictions that FHA usually require of borrowers. Other trips and activities include the work with local people in Montgomery as co-ordinator of the Poor People's Campaign. The Associated Director also worked as an assistant to Albert Turner on the Southern Leg of the Poor People's Campaign, conducting non-violent workshops and finally in charge of the Southern Caravan until it arrived in Washington, D. C.

*The Rural Advancement Project Director*

During this quarter the RAP director has been occupied with four different credit unions. He started the Poor People's Campaign in Marion, Alabama and transported people to Birmingham to join the Caravan. He has made two trips to Washington, D. C. since the campaign centered there. There he helped in the work. His activities also include a trip to New York City to make a contract for the Green-Hale Co-op. He has worked closely with the ladies in the Co-op also.

The RAP director is helping in an effort to purchase 901 acres in Sumter County for low income farmers. An effort is being made to organize these farmers into a Co-op. He has also been working to persuade people to seek employment at the Gulf States Paper Mill at Demopolis, Alabama. The RAP director has been elected the new president of the Board of the Co-op Southern Federation. He also supervises the major works of five employees of the CO-OP. The RAP director is involved in both Education and Registration throughout Alabama. He serves as a consultant for the Head Start Program in Troy, Alabama. The RAP director also attended local chapter meetings, board meetings and committee meetings with the other directors.

Ala - REPORTS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

303-A Foster Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830
June 10, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: Local Chapter Presidents
Executive Committee

FROM: Brice Joyce

SUBJECT: Communications

In an effort to further the public image of the Council in Alabama and around the nation, I am asking each local chapter of the Council:

(1) To send a rough draft of the monthly meetings to the office so that we may use them in a bulletin to all other local chapters. So much goes un-noticed on a state wide level. My secretary will mimeograph them and send each chapter the minutes in a complete fashion. This will help all of us understand the problems facing us here in Alabama. It will also help every Chapter to get a better understanding of the progress and plans of the several chapters.

(2) We ask each chapter to establish a way of communicating with the local press. Perhaps we could suggest a notice of the monthly meeting in the paper.

(3) Where it seems reasonable to put an add, however small, in a local paper simular to the one carried in the Southern Courier. It is time we surfaced here in Alabama. Everyone seems to agree that the Council isn't well enough known.

(4) Most towns announce meetings on local radio stations. Get in on this too. There was a time in the Council when we were timid out of necessity, but that time has gone. It is time to "dream dreams of things that could be".

In an effort to make our voice clearer we will publish twice a year, winter and spring, a special news letter of a professional nature in which we will detail the happenings of the Alabama Council on Human Relations which we hope to distribute widely in Alabama and elsewhere.

Mr. Paul Wooley has given me his assurance of all the help I will need. If anyone else has any suggestions or help to offer, Please, Please come forward and I will receive you like a brother.

Our image is good where we are known, but each of us has many times been asked just what the Council is. Let's blow our own horn. We have a lot to offer the people of Alabama. Let's really "stand up for Alabama".

Ed.

Ala - R.A.P.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
"RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT"
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

REPORT BY
Lewis Black

February 1, 1966: I was employed as the director of the Rural Advancement Project by the Alabama Council on Human Relations and also been serving as the representative for the National Sharecroppers Fund throuthout the State of Alabama.

Prior to the time of my employment with the Alabama Council on Human Relations, I was employed as school teacher in Alabama for sixteen years. These sixteen years of experience that I had with working in the rural areas of Alabama gave me a rich experience of the problems that faces the rural people of the State of Alabama, in particular those problems facing the Negroes in Alabama and in the Black Belts thereof.

Realizing some of these problems, we realized that the Negroes are faced with a social problem. We are behind financially, educationally, and politically. It was during the time that I was teaching, I took a keen interest in helping to try to solve some of these problems that made the entire Negro Race deliquent of it's achievement and by for made the progress of this state and nation deliquent of several aspects of it's achievement of progress. I begin working in the interest of people to help to solve some of these problems as I saw fit. During this particular time, it was impossible for me to carry out the things that we felt would be helpful to our people because we were engaged in so many aspects of problems that there were school classroom work and what have you. Therefore, I could spend very little of my time with this.

The time came on February 1, when I was employed by the Alabama Council on Human Relations, for me to make some steps toward the things that I had long wanted to do to help humanity solve some of it's problems. After getting employed by Alabama Council on Human Relations, we set out to look at some of the problems we lacked.

VOTER REGISTRATION

Voter registration problem was one of the major things to be concerned with at that time and we set out to do something about it. Checking in February, 1965, we had in the State of Alabama approximately 216,000 Negroes registered to vote. We knew that achieving the goal of trying to get more Negroes registered to vote, would be impossible without contacting people who were leaders in the communities and also civil rights workers, in trying to get the support from them in helping to get more people registered to vote.

We took the task of going to several counties; Perry County, Hale County, Greene County, Sumter County, Wilcox County, Monroe County, Clarke County, and Tuscaloosa County encouraging people to continue to strive in getting

Negroes registered to vote. We also had education classes on registration during this particulat time.

Robert Valder went to Atlanta, Georgia and meet with some officials in the Southern Regional Council at Atlanta, Georgia, namely, Mr. Vernon Jordon, Director of the Voter Education Project, He discussed with us some guidelines by which we could write a proposal. In writing up these proposals we could put in for some grants to get money to hire people do some work in canvassing in getting people to registered to vote and to have these voter education project.

We applied for these project in some 9 or 10 counties in the State of Alabama and we received grants for 3 or 4 of these projects. In these projects that we conducted in the State of Alabama, we had people canvassing by finding the days when registration was going on, hauling people down to registered to vote, setting up classes in the communities, making arrangements with the people to teach the classes, writing up materials for teaching a number of people that were truned down, keeping a record of the people that, the reason for being turned down and following up and seeing that we get some of the people relieved through the parole board that have been turned down because of some crime that they had committed. These are some of the things that we carried out in our VEP Project. By May 3, 1966, we had in the State of Alabama some 228,000 registered voters, by November 1966, we had in the State of Alabama close to 247,000 among the Negroes of Alabama.

From time to time when we go to meetings or visits counties, we still pass out materials to people and also pass out materials to people out of the Rural Advancement Office in Greensboro, related to registering to vote, and what we can do to promote the idea of teaching people the importance of registering in their community.

SURPLUS FOOD COMMODITY PROGRAM

Surplus Food Commodity Program became one of the greatest issues in the State of Alabama. It was one of the things that we initiated for the first time in the State of Alabama, that raised the question about the mal-nutrition and about the enadequacy of food that people have had in the State of Alabama

Do to the power structure keeping food from people in the black belts. The question was raised by us challengeing the judge in Hale County and also the judge in Perry County. We raised the question by asking the judges to help provide food for the people that was needed, the people of low income. This was further challenge by the judges after the judges refused to let the people have the food. We simply demostrated to the public to let the public know that food was being kept, not only the Negros from getting the food, but also keeping the poor White people from receiving food that the Federal Government was giving people in the State of Alabama. They have a scale set up that, if a person making less than $90.00 he is entitle to a certain amount of food to bring his economical status up or his living condition. A person with two people in the family is entitle to $110.00 income before they be above the surplus food level. They have a scale to follow according to their family income and the number of people in the family there above.

This question was first raised by the Rural Advancement Project Office and this has been carried from the local level to the State level and to the national level. We are still working in trying to provide food, not only for Hale and Perry Counties, but for all the counties throughout the blackbelts. We found that in questing this program and seeking into this, we have 67 counties in the State of Alabama. Out of the 67 counties, 37 counties still don't have food program and 30 have the food program. The 30 counties that have the food program are the 30 richest counties and the counties that don't have the food program are the 37 poorest counties.

This has been one of the most chellengeing problems to our work in this area for this year and one of the things that we need to do is continue to work to see if we can foster a program by which we can get the food for these people.

People that we have made contact in connection with this food program were; Clay Carthorn, Ken Berkhead, Neel Freeman, Jac Wasserman, Fay Bennett, Jerry Roden, Robert Valder, Dr. Gomillian, the office of Senator Sparkman, Jim Mays, out of the Regional Office of Economic Opportunity in Atlanta, Georgia, Mr. William Seabern, out of the Agriculture Department in Washington, D. C. Out of all of these people that we hav confornted, we have not been able to receive an adequate answer nor have we been able to receive the food for these people in the State of Alabama. One of the things that we did was to write up a proposal for OEO to finance the distribution of the food.

After the judge of Hale County and the judge of Perry County refused to distribute the food to these two counties, the proposal was turned over to OEO Office in Atlanta, Georgia. The White people of Hale and Perry Counties refused to work with us at first, After there was a threat made to finance these organization that were applied by Negroes to distribute the food, the White people said that they were willing to work with the Negroes in a distribution of the food program, but they mainly was interest in holding off the food program and pretend that they were interested in setting up a Community Action Program with the Negroes and Whites together. This food program could have been funded under a single purpose thing according to Section 7 of the CAP Guide. But after we proceeded to get started on the Community Action Program, we found that this was a thing to turn aside the idea of the food program. Consequently, we still don't have the food program.

The Judge of Hale County is saying that he doesn't have funds to finance this program. Mr. Seabern, of the Agriculture Department, told me that, if our organization would raise $12,000 dollars to sponsor the food program, he will see that we get the food in the next day. I talked with William Seabern and he advised me to raise the $12,000 dollars and give it to the judge; the person who at first and who always have said, he was trying to keep the food program away. However, the federal people claims that the judge has said that he was interested in the food program, but didn't have the money to finance the program. The whole thing is, ~~we intend to keep following up, or~~ the Rural Advancement Project, one of our jobs is to keep following up, on trying to get the food program to working in Hale and Perry Counties.

LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAM

Another one of my jobs has been to help set up a leadership training program. Being one of the persons affiliated with the field of education for 16 years, I realize the importance of education in any endeauvor that a person pursue and particularly is education important in places like the balck belts of Alabama. In the black belts of Alabama, you have anywhere from 60 to 80 percent illiteracy among the adults of the county therein. It is not that these people do not share the leadership ability, but they don't know how to do things and it has been exhibited in the last few years, that people have been striving to get their rights to registered to vote and participate in political affairs in their communities. This ~~is~~ has shown that people are ready now to start their leadership, but we realize one thing that in order to be a leader, people must have some technical training, must have some educational concepts and precepts in order to carry out the leadership of any body and in any area. We have proceeded to try to get a leadership training program started for the purpose of teaching these people who are vitally interested in helping their community grow. This leadership training program is tentative set up to be held at Miles College in Birmingham, Alabama.

The Miles Program is being sponsered by Southern Christian Leadership Cpnference, National Sharecroppers Fund, Southern Regional Council, Alabama Council on Human Relations, Alabama Farmers Council, and the applicant agency is Miles Memorial College, Dr. ~~Lucicus~~ Lucius Pitts, President.

We have been to several conferences discussing means by which this program can be initiated and the funding of this program is the OEO Program out of Washington, D. C. We met on several occassions and drew up proposals at the Miles College and we had several conferences with agencies of the AID, which is the Agency of International Development, repersented by Mr. Murten Peer, the Southern Rural Training Project, which was fostered by the National Sharecroppers Fund. We drew up a proposal and this proposal tas turned in to the training project of the OEO repersentative, Mr. Calab Sandiford.

Mr. Orzell Billingsly ~~said, as~~ was our attorney in connection with the program, was giving us legal council thereof. Mrs. Mu Li, a staff member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was responsiable for the ~~financial~~ final drawing up of the OEO proposal for this project. This project is to be directed in this manner: It is proposed that we have 10 or 12 counties involved, with representation of at least 12 people from each of these 10 counties. This would give a total of 120 participants in the program. Of these, 120 participants in the program will go to Miles College for not more than 8 weeks to study leadership training, to go back to their communities and work. 3 out of 12 of these people are to receive stipends and in these stipends, they will be under constance training through the college by which they will go to keep up with what new methods and trends are in connection with what they study. It is proposed that this leadership training will include things like voter registration, community organization, co-operative organization, credit union organization, operating small business and several more things that might go to help organize the community, to fill the gap that causes the lag of the progress of the total society in

which these people live.

One of the responsibalities of the Rural Advancement Project is to help recruite people for this program.

Another one of our responsibilities has been, that we have been making some suggestions as well as helping to survey to find facts to place in this proposal for application to the OEO program Co-operative. We have spent a ~~quit of~~ bit of our time trying to help organize co-operatives and educating people on the value of co-operatives. The reason we feel that this is so much of an importance to our people in the State of Alabama, we find that the people that we work with are people of small means, people with limited facilities to do their work and people that have very little or no credit rating. The farmers that we work with are the people who have low acreas and ~~the time~~ is of essential that we do something about it, because their case crops are fading out mainly, that of cotton.

In the early part of 1966, we got in touch with the co-operative League of the USA. This was recommended to us by Mr. Murten Peer, who works with AID in Washington, D. C. He recommended Mr. Jerry Vodius to me and we called him and asked for assistance in connection with organizing co-operatives throughout the South. It was not long before I got a chance to get in contact with them, when I did received some communications, I received it from Mr. Chuck Irving Felt, and also Mr. Curdey. Our first meeting with the co-operative League of the USA was a meeting that we had in Marion, Alabama in the spring. At this meeting Mr. Al Ulmer, from the Southern Regional Council, was there. Our next meeting. we had on co-operative, on a reasonable basic, was the one that we had at Edwards, Mississippi. Of these two meetings, it was concluded, in my mind, that the co-operative was the thing that we needed to bound together the farmers resources in order that one can be helped through the other one. This was the time that I realized so deeply, that our educational progress was one that we would need for management of this co-operative.

There is another thing that I got from this co-operative idea, and this was that the continuance training on technology as it relates to the type of vegetable to be grown in certain area, as it relates to the type of soil that you should have, mineral that you should have in the soil, the different pest that could destory the vegetables and the importance of the market for the vegetables that would pay a person something that could inable him to pay a decent salary.

Another thing that I got from these meetings was that; ~~have~~ the intensive idea of the co-operative is ~~one and another is~~ work from the ground up or from the grass root people up, to get exact representation that would be needed in order to carry on the functioning or the participant of the co-operative idea.

We have been having several meetings in the State of Alabama and we started mainly with 4 counties; Hale County, Greene County, Perry County, and Sumter County, now the idea has grown. We are now working on 10 counties and some more counties have become enthusiastic about the idea of setting up a co-operative.

We arranged, before I started to working for the Alabama Council on Human Relations, to start trying to organize a co-operative and Mr. Carl Jones was the president of the co-operative, and I was (I Lewis Black) was the vice-president, Mr. Charlie Cheaton was the secretary that was supposed to be set up for the black belt area. Now that Mr. Cheaton has gone to Florida and Mr. Carl Jones has gone to Washington, D. C. to be an inhabitant of that particular area at this time, the point looks different. We have continued to try to orga ize the co-operative and the copoperative idea has grown to the point that we will try to enclude Lowdnes County, Wilcox County, Perry County , Dallas County, Hale County, Marango County, Greene County, Sumter County, Chataw County, and Monroe County, in this co-operative idea.

There have been a series of meetings held and we are not too satified at the response that comes from these meetings, mainly because we haven't been able to get the people from the grass root level to be the one responsible for the planning of the meeting. We have held meetings in Hale County, Perry County, held meetings in Wilcox County and Dallas County. Most of the meetings were held in Dallas County.

We have had representatives here from the Co-operative League of the USA. Dr. T. T. Williams was one of the person came in December, to meet with us. James Mays, with the National Sharecroppers Fund, was here in December and also was here the first part of January, 1967, to meet with us. John Zipherman, who is with the Grand Maria Co-operative from Louisiana, was in one of our meetings, to share was a young lady, Carlyn, was from the Southern Consumer Co-operative of which Dr. T, T. Williams also has worked with from Louisiana. ~~In a meeting with us,~~ the idea of this meeting was that, one individual seemd to be working for the power and this person has little or no knowledge of the co-operative idea. This person happens to be Shirley Mesher, who is interested in, primerly in building up a temple for Sherley Mesher in this co-operative idea.

There have been people here from the Migrant Farmers Program to work with us, one of these persons, mainly was Bruce Cashman, who works with us on the co-operative idea. He seems to work more with the idea of having Shirley in charge of the co-operative, but it is a great task and ~~Sherley,~~ we don't feel that this is the responsibity of ony one person who has little or no knowledge about farming. She has only excepted few ideas from a few Negroes in Dallas County on the co-operative idea. I spent three days following Shirley around with Bruce Cashman and Dr. T. T. Williams in the latter part of December. I found that this meeting served as one thing that's not going to be of great success to our farmers unless we can inform our farmers of the things that they need to do and let them decide or make decisions as to how to operate co-operatives. Because ~~of~~ the co-operative idea is a thing that come from the people on the lower epsilon and go up. Not come from the top down.

Surely a co-operative should not be the idea of one individual and knowing the trend of though that is usually penetrated in there by one person, particularly a white person and this being a lady, it is not going to be the right trend as it relates to the problem that's going to be dealt with

from the standpoint of the rural farmers. So one of our task as the Rural Advancement Project Director, is to see that we can challenge this program into the hands of the rural farmers and particularly for the interest of low income people that they might be able to elevate his economical life and that he might be able to elevate his trend of farming to some educational degree.

Farming can become an occapation that will cause a person to live and inherit in the south with great prosperity and great initiative on his own, providing that he has thr right facilities in education, and the right machinery to work with through his economic structure and through the proper administration coming from the top down.

The other thing that we are faced with is trying to get a market for ~~people to~~ the farmers proform and sell their vegatables. This is one of the things that we are working with now, trying to find a market, trying to write up a proposal for these 10 counties that we above named in this marketing idea. That means that we will have truck crops being marketing in one lump sum as well as our loans will be made in one lump sum and each person will be participating with the co-operative.

CREDIT UNIONS

It goes without saying that unless people can find some way to save their money, borrow money and to controll their finance, these people will suffer. One of the main reasons that we find that our people suffers in the black belt, is that the poor of the community never handles or controll the finance. It is true that if people don't get a chance to handle any type of revenue, things that we consider high value or liquid assets, then this person does not have any purchasing power. This is one of the reasons that we have been striving since we have been working with the Alabama Council on Human Relations, the Rural Advancement Project to encourage as many people we can to set up their source of controlling the revenue that one or another one is making and has, that they can put together a s a source for property purpose to one another.

One of the things that we set out to do was to go into as many counties as we could and encourage the people about the credit union idea and teach them the value of one putting his dollars together and helping one another to come out of this thing by lifting one another or lifting themselves with their own boot strap.

It was in 1960 that I first had the experience of discussing the credit union idea. When I was teaching school in Hale County, we organized the Greenala Citizens Federal Credit Union. six months later we helped the people of Perry County to organize the Marionala Citizens Federal Credit Union of which Mr. James Carter is the Secretary-Treasurer thereof.

We have been enthuasiatic of the idea of the credit union. Knowing the value of it, these credit unions have; build houses, we have helped people to consolidated debts, we have helped people to go to college and we have helped people to buy land. We have also helped people to get themselves out of the troubles that people normally get into in everyday

life.

In spreading the credit union idea, when we started working with the Alabama Council we helped people to organize a credit union in Demopolis, Alabama. This credit union has grown to one hundred and twenty something members and has an assets above $900 dollars. Durning the year of 1966, it made loans to some of it's members and at this time it doesn't have any bad loans. We also helped to organize the York Citizens Federal Credit Union at York, Alabama, a credit union which made remarkable progress. It was organized on October 10, 1966 and it has above $1,000 in assets.

We have pending credit unions to be chartered in Wilcox County, Monroe County, Clarke County and Greene County. We had hoped that these credit unions would have been chartered in 1966. But we are still hopeing that they will be chartered during the first part of 1967.

A great degree of my work have been centered around helping these credit unions that have been chartered and educating the people about the credit union idea. In the areas where they have not been chartered, it takes a long period of time to teach people things like bookkeeping and about the different by-laws that is set up in the government as it relates to handleing finance. It takes a long time to get the people mind of shareing their responsibility to the credit union and what it means to their community to be men and women who will handle their financial obligations for their friends.

Another thing we have been discussing with the credit union idea is the idea of financial counseling with our members. This has taken quit of bit of my time. Another thing that I spent a lot of time with;at the end of each month, going back to these credit unions and helping them close out their books for the end of the month. We have also year end reports that has to be sent to Atlanta, Georgia, and we spent some of our time going, since 1967 to check with them and help them to get the year end reports out. We look forward to, in 1967, the credit unions being chartered in the other counties that we named. In counties where we alrdady have credit unions like Perry County, Hale County, Sumter County, and Monroe County, we hope that we can encourage each town to organize it's credit union so that they might have a source of credit for the people that live in and around that particular town. This is a great task. The only thing we don't have is, enough time to go around and work on this, particularly as much as we should to keep the credit union moving and progressing for the people.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

We feel that school desegregation is very important to the prosperity of any group of people in America. We now have close to 20 million Negroes. These 20 million people in the United States have been neglected from all walks of life because of the system or systems they have set up called Negro Education and White Education. Surley, by the White People controlling all the revenue, by the White People controll on the public tax money and public funds there is no question that the White People have invested in the for themselves and have neglected the education for the Negroes. Moreover, the education that the Negroes were getting did not teach them the type of

education to use the resources of the communities that were around them. This is the reason that Negroes don't have banks and the Negroes don't have hotels and that Negroes don't control other boards and Negroes don't build bridges and highways and the Negroes don't make electric bulbs and other things that is of technical calibers . Because of this, we feel that once we have one system of education, and cut out the duel system of education, the Negroes can stand up and go about their duty to this nation as a citizen and not as a black person.

We feel that the Negro has a right to participate in every category of our society. There is noway of participating in this category or society unless we have the same type of education that everybody else has.

The other thing, there is a social element to this education; the political element. The political element that's being taught in school. then there is the economic side of it that goes alone with it as well as the culture side; learning the fine arts and learning about the great heritage that this great country has offered all it's people. We spent quit of bit of our time encouraging and having conferences with parents and students about desegregating the schools.

We had the opportunity of talking with several superintendents in the black belt about the possibility of desegregation and their plans that they are using in desegregating the schools. However, several superintendents in the black belt of Alabama were very hostile because they didn't feel that we had the right to come in and ask them anything about the system of which they were going to operate in 1966 and 1967.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

I have spent a great deal of my time trying to write a proposal to meet the board of the Community Action Program of Hale County. We started to writing a proposal for Hale and Perry Counties group, originally. This was the Hale-Perry Co-Cordinate Committee For Economic Opportunity, It was set up, primarily, of a Negro board. Recently we have gotton another board together which composes of 40 people, 20 Negroes and 20 Whites. We have organized a Community Action Program, Bearing the name; Hale County Community Action Committee, Incorporated.

I am faced with the task of writing the proposal. One time I wrote the proposal and lost it, therefore, I had to go back and write the proposal again. I have almost completed this proposal. We had to go out and make surveys of the areas of the county and find out from the board members their responsibilities and duties in the county, and what have you. This was one thing that took up about 3 or 4 weeks of my work just concentrating on working on this proposal.

WELFARE AID

In all of the black belt areas we have welfare problems and most of our welfare problems are those of the Negroes. Some of our welfare problems are those that deals with husbands being sent off to prison and there is no support for the family.

Another problem might be that some of the people might have children out of wedlock. We had to help see that the welfare people treat these people right in trying to get welfare aid for them.

Another, we have been looking out for the welfare of people by giving them clothing. The National Sharecropper Fund has requested clothing from several sources to be given out to people that are needed in Alabama. We have given out cloths to several people in various counties in Alabama. Namely, Macon County, Lee County, Montgomery County, Wilcox County, Hale County, Perry County, Clarke County, Sumter County, Monroe County, Marango County, and Dallas County.

JUSTICE PROBLEM

We have worked with justice problems inconnection with jury suits, trials for school desegregation cases, keeping up with what happens doing the time of elections and report to the Justice Department, keeping up with the problems that Negro Children have in intergrated schools, and reporting it to the Justice Department.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT

We have worked on job practices. I know that we have an equal employment practice that is suppose to be handle through the Federal Government. We call it the fair employment practice. We have worked very hard in trying to help people get employment at stores and other places where Negroes work. We worked very little with people trying to organize unions to get the labors the right type of work.

SUMMARY

I spent quit of bit of my time going to meetings. We had meetings in Mississippi on two occasions. One of the occasions was that I attended the Edwards' meeting with the co-operative. On another occasion, I attended the USDA Meeting on Civil Rights Advisory Committee. Other meetings that I have attneded; school desegregation meetings in Birmingham, Alabama, several board meeting in Birmingham of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, board meetings held by the National Sharecroppers Fund at Atlanta, Georgia, the White House Conference that was held back in the spring.

I made several trips to places through the blackbelt and have had the opportunity of discussing several problems with people that we feel would be interested in the program or the progress of the program that is being initiated.

The hardest work now is trying to organize the co-operatives of which we didn't discuss very much. Now I would like to discuss it briefly: In 1967 we look forward to furthing our cause by first, working with co-operatives in setting up this co-operative so that the people can have the conversion from cotton to some other type of crop, mainly truck crops on a co-operative basic. In this co-operative, I look forward to it as a future where the farmers can buy all their fertilize together, buy all their seeds together and do their marketing together.

We can set up a plant where they can can their vegetables and where they can sort their vegetables. We would like for this co-operative to start from

the grount work and to go clear to the bargaining table so that they might get the right price for their products. Too long have poor farmers of Alabama lived in this particular rich soil and made the other man rich because they have gotten very little for their product. As a result, these farmers have had long hard days and short lives because they lived off what they barely could get by with.

In 1967 we look forward to a total desegragation of all schools in Alabama. Unless we can total desegregate every school in Alabama and set up one school system, we will not have made the progress in all these other areas that we have. In my opinion, and this is personally my opinion, education comes first in any endeauvor or any aspect a group of people lives.

We look forward to working hard with the ASCS Elections this year. Because more and more we develop these co-operatives the more these people become mindful of the advantages that they have and the more they are going to have to work and strive to become part of the structure that's existing in their community in the idea of this ASCS.

The ASCS Program has a strong holt that rest on the shoulders of the low income farmer or rest on the shoulder of the farmers in the State of Alabama.

We are planning this to set up as many credit unions as possible so that these credit unions will be an institution that these people can have a source of credit. There is an element of insurance in credit unions, the element of one saving for a purpose or the one borrowing for a purpose. The education element of the credit union is one that we are going to push forward for in 1967. We are contenuing to work also on the leadership training program for 1967.

We feel that the leadership training program is one that serves as an educational tool for the people in the community for the people who have not had the opportunity to go to these education institutions for higher learning or the people that don't know how to utilize the services of their community agency that foster through the government. We are going to strive hard that they might be able to attned leadership teaining programs at Miles College. We are going to devote all the time that we can to help in fostering this program.

We look forward to, in 1967, the food commodity program being one that we would look forward to seeing that low income people receiving commodity. Even if it has to be moved out of the USDA Branch of the Government by legislature. It would be a wouldful thing if the food commodity program could be moved out of USDA and put into the Department of Labor or the Department of Migrant or Seasonal Farmer Program so that the food can be gotten over to the people. As long as it is in the hands of the USDA, it's going to always be a problem of going thourgh the power structure and fighting down in order that people get the food program.

Several people suffers from the lack of food, even though they are in rich soil. They are poor because of the system. This thing has been so systematized that the White People, very few of them, control the county. They keep everything out of the hands of the Negroes and brain wash the

poor Whites and all the Negroes so that they will not be able to receive the benefit of things that are suppose to get.

Because of the importance of the political structure, in any county and because of the importance of the control of this structure in society, it is going to be very important that we spend some of our time in getting people educated on to voter education as to who represents them, why they represents them, and what they will actually do in the community, learning where they live and what precinct they live in. Therefore, much of my time will be spent on this as I see it . This is what I would record for 1967 which is much of the same thing we did in 1966, but we would like to carry on the program since we have gotten it started to get it off the ground and get it to the people that actually need the service thereof.

Subject: Summary report on an evaluation of the Voter Education Project's citizenship education grant to the Alabama Council on Human Relations for the 1966 Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) elections in Alabama.

## BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Contrary to established procedure the state ASC committee decided to hold Alabama's elections in August instead of the usual time of November or December. We did not learn of this decision until mid-June, so by the time we got "organized" and received the VEP grant valuable time had been lost. Thus results from this effort should not necessarily be used to reach conclusions about future citizenship education programs of this nature because we were unable to do much pre-election education and because the program was of necissity organized on a "crash" basis.

The original date for mailing back the ASCS ballots was August 16. However, is federal district court ordered an extension of this deadline to September 15 with ballots to be counted by the county ASC committees on September 20. On the 20th, due to a failure to follow important regulations, the Macon County election was invalidated. The re-election was begun two weeks later and it was completed on October 28, 1966. So this project, which was to be completed by about September 10 lasted almost two months longer than anticipated.

## GENERAL SUMMARY OF OVERALL OPERATION

We did not get started at the same time in each county we ended up working in, nor did we spend equal amounts of money and energy in each county. Our general approach was to put one person (the "county coordinator") from that particular county on subsistence of $15.00 a week and to also pay gas expense for him and any volunteers he had working for him. The counties we worked in were Choctaw, Clarke, Dallas, Greene, Hale, Lowndes, Macon, Marengo, Monroe, Perry, Sumter and Wilcox. However, VEP funds were spent only in Dallas, Greene, Hale, Lowndew, Macon, Marengo, Perry, Sumter and Wilcox Counties.

At first we had the full-time help of Mr. Mike Kenney of the National Sharecroppers Fund and then Mr. Lewis Black became the overall "coordinator" of this effort working out of both SCLC's office in Selma and his office in Greensboro. We had full-time "coordinators" in only Greene, Lowndes, Macon, and Wilcox Counties with part-time coordinators in the other five counties.

In addition to working in these counties a number of "staff meeting" were held in Selma--the staff being the persons working in the counties. The two main purposes of these meetings were to determine how the program was going in each county and to offer suggestions and receive ideas from each person present. At the last meeting Mr. John Vance, Southeastern Area Director of ASCS from the Washington Office, was present.

On September 20, the day ballots were counted, Mr. Black was in the Selma office to receive all complaints by telephone from the

observers we had stationed in each of the 12 counties (for the first time the public was entitled to have one person sit at the desk where ballots were counted and actually watch each ballot--in the past the public was only allowed to be in the same room). If he thought it appropriate he would forward these complaints immediately by phone to Mr. Vance who was in the state ASC office in Montgomery on that day. Mr. Vance would then contact the appropriate county office. This system resulted in Macon county's election invalidation that day and also proved to be useful in other counties.

In every case the activities of the county coordinator included the following: (1) obtaining a list of all the eligible ASCS voters in that county; (2) obtaining a list of all candidates on each ASCS community ballot; (3) obtaining the boundaries of each of the ASCS communities in each county; (4) organizing community meetings in each ASCS community to (a) explain in detail the importance and power of the county ASC committee and (b) carefully explain the election process and how to properly mark and mail the ballots and (c) endorse a slate of five candidates from among those on the ballot and (d) urge each person at the meeting to contact all voters not present to insure that everyone voted for the same persons and filled out the certification properly; (5) spending many days going door-to-door to as many voters as time permitted to make sure they had voted (if they had not voted they would attempt to persuade the voter to fill out his ballot voting for the same five persons, sign the certification properly and then the worker would either take the completed ballot with him or else the worker would make sure the voter understood that he had to mail it) and (6) personally observing the counting process on the day votes were counted and to keep a record of any violations and of the election results.

In most of these counties the county coordinator was able to get the names of the voters' own choices on the ballot by petition, but lack of time and of community contacts prevented this in Macon County and in some of the ASCS communities in other counties. And in every county leaflets were distributed throughout the communities and announcements were made in the churches to explain what was going on, to call meetings and to inform people of who to vote for and how to sign the certification.

STATISTICAL INFORMATION FOR EACH OF THE TWELVE COUNTIES*

| COUNTY | No. of eligible voters | No. of votes cast | No. of Negro close to regular positions | Approx. % of Negro voters reached | No. of Negroes winning positions 1965 | No. of Negroes w inning positions 1966 | Number of ASCS Communities | Number of Negroes on ballots | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CHOCtaw | 1,959 | 604 | 3(11) 4(22) | 50 | 1 (11) | 0(0) 7(0) | 12 | 51 | 39 |
| CLARKE | 2,709 | 724 | 4(7) 1(21) | 50 | 1 (11) | 4(0) 5(0) | 11 | 57 | 55 |
| DALLAS | 3,145 | 1,885 | 1(5) 1(5) | 85 | 0 (0) | 0(0) 1(1) | 6 | 93 | 67 |
| GREENE | 1,777 | 1,016 | 1(12) | 90+ | 0(1) | 1(1) 1(1) | 8 | 163 | 89 |
| HALE | 2,193 | 1,003 | | 40 | 0(0) | 0(0) 0(0) | 5 | 56 | 35 |
| LOWNDES | 1,800 | 1,097 | 1(21) 1(20 | 90+ | 3(8) | 3(3) 4(4) | 6 | 159 | 55 |
| MACON | 1,441 | 740 | 2(12) 1(22) | 75 | 0(10) | 3(1) 4(2) | 5 | 35 | 40 |
| MARENGO | 3,029 | 1,490 | 1(6) 2(23) | 50 | 0(16) | 0(0)16(2) | 10 | 63 | 68 |
| MONROE | 2,318 | 763 | 7(14)5(31) | 50 | 2(2) | 3(0)12(0) | 16 | 73 | 63 |
| PERRY | 2,003 | 1,134 | N.A. | 60 | 1(1) | 1(0) 1(0) | 6 | 59 | 62 |
| SUMTER | 1,948 | 1,107 | | 60 | 0(0) | 0(0) 0(0) | 6 | 100 | 54 |
| WILCOX | 2,161 | 1,387 | 1(5) 3(26) | 90+ | 3(9) | 7(6) 7(5) | 7 | 60 | 65 |

14 See page 15 for footnotes.

1. The figures not in parenthesis indicate the number of alternates who came close to w inning regular positions. The figures in parenthesis indicate how many additional votes the alternate who received the lowest number of votes needed to gain a regular committee position. In most cases where there is more than one alternate who come close to winning the other alternate(s) needed fewer votes than this to win regular positions.

2. These percentages are based in part on the number of votes Negro endorsees received plus a rough approximation based on attendance at meetings, interest and perhaps knowledge generated by word od mouth, notices distributed, knowledge of what kind of activities workers in the counties had going, etc.

3. The figure not in parenthesis indicates the number who won regular positions on community committees; the figure in parenthesis indicates the number who won alternate positions. For our purposes regular members are the important ones since they alone cast votes in the county convention.

4. The figures not in parenthesis represant persons winning regular and alternate positions respectively. The figure in parenthesis represent regular and alternate winners respectively who were placed on the ballot by petition, e.g., 4 (1) 10 (7) would mean there are four Negro regular members and one of them was placed on the ballot by petition and three were nominated to the ballot by the outgoing community committee and of the ten Negroe alternates seven were placed on the ballot by petition and three by nomination. In Macon County one of the three winning regular positions and two of the four winning alternate positions were write-in candidates.

5. By taking the number of communities in a county and multiplying by three (the three regular members from each ASCS community to to the county consevention to elect one ASC county committee members) one can determine how many more Negro regular community committee members would have been needed to have a majority of votes at the county convention and thus elect a Negro to the county ASC committee which is where the power is.

6. These figures are for 1965 respectively. By dividing the number of candidates on the ballots by the number of communities one can obtain a relatively acurate picture of how many Negroes were on each community committee ballot. This illustrates one of our major problems--so many Negroes on the ballots that the Negro vote is easily split.

NOTE: There are no figures avaible giving the number of votes invalidated for lack of proper certification signature for either year. We believe most invalidated votes are Negro votes. If they are then the outcome in some elections would have almost certainly been different if all envelopes had been properly certified. We beleive, however, that more envelopes were properly signed due to this project.

## SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES

The chart below indicates the amount of money from the Voter Education Project grant spent in each county with an account of what it was spend for.

| COUNTY | SUBSISTENCE | GAS | SUPPLIES | TELEPHONE | SECRETARIAL | TOTAL BY COUNTY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dallas | | $ 3.55 | | | | $ 3.55 |
| Greene | $ 75.00 | 131.53 | $15.10 | | | 221.63 |
| Hale | | 13.50 | | | | 13.50 |
| Lowndes | 45.00 | 100.30 | | | | 145.30 |
| Macon* | 292.00 | 388.32 | 33.03 | | | 713.35 |
| Marengo | 15.00 | 6.97 | 6.67 | | | 28.64 |
| Perry | | 50.00 | 6.00 | $10.00 | | 66.00 |
| Sumter | 55.00 | 72.00 | | 10.00 | | 137.00 |
| Wilcox | 60.00 | 185.34 | 1.00 | 2.50 | | 248.84 |
| General Expenses | | | | 50.00 | $15.00 | 65.00 |
| TOTAL BY CATEGORY | $542.00 | $951.51 | $61.80 | $72.50 | $15.00 | $1,642.81** |

*Macon County's are much gigher than elsewhere because we had three persons on subsistence and working full-time for an additional three weeks.

**A check for $7.19 (the unused portion of the grant) is enclosed.

## SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

In general everyone was very disappointed and somewhat surprised at the poor showing in this year's ASCS elections in Alabama, particularly in the Black Belt.

The results were somewhat better than last year and we had a late start and did not have adequate financial and human resources and the presence of civil rights organizations has diminished greatly in the past year. We also found that in general most eligible voters who were listed as such had very little knowledge of the importance of ASCS and of the election process. This was also true for the ASCS workers. By the time people began to understand it even a little the election was upon us and finished. Voters had almost no knowledge of how to use the election process to their own advantage, e.g., getting "good" candidates on the ballot by petition, publicly supporting those candidates only, supporting Negro candidates in all cases regardless of how "good" White candidates might be, ect. And everywhere we encountered resistance by many Negro voters to supporting an all-Negro slate.

ASCS regulations also helped contribute to the election results because as a result of these regulations there were many more than five Negroes on every ballot. In most cases there were five or less White persons on the ballot so an al-white vote for the white candidates and a Negro split added to the total votes received by Negro candidates and also subtracted from the total votes received by Negro candidates.

So in view of these facts perhaps we were expecting too much. But even the above facts do not in themselves explain why this effort had such a suprisingly poor result. We were hoping to elect enough Negroes in at some of the counties to have a majority in those county conventions. Obiously we did not come close to accomplishing this anywhere. Wilcox, which needed four more winners, was closest.

On the positive side however, are these observations; (1) as a result of this effort many more persons are aware of the importance and understand the workings of ASCS, essecially the election process and are hopefully looking forward to next year's elections; (2) many persons were trainedd this year in how to conduct a county-wide effort for next year; (3) gains, even if not nearly enough, were made in most of the counties; (4) a similar project next year, started weeks if not months before the election, with more money and more and better informed workers should have much better results. We think that the major benefit of this year's program if indeed there were any major benefits, was that a few thousand persons were educated to the facts of ASCS. Perhaps a few comments about Macon County's elections will substantiate this last observation.

The fact that Macon County had, in effect, two elections this year illustrates what might happen there next year. We started working there after the deadline for placing persons on the ballot by petition had passed so we were "stuck with" those Negroes already on the ballot. In one community of the three we worked in a white candidate was endorsed during the first election, in another five Negroes were endorsed and in the third

the people were so dissatisfied with the Negro candidates that they decided to write-in three Negroes and vote for two already nominated. Much work had already been done in the nature of calling community meetings to explain things and in using the month's extension from the federal court to canvass the county talking to and getting the completed ballots from persons who had not yet been contacted. In this extra month we had time to explain things to many persons.

Then on the day ballots were counted, September 20, our observers reported to Mr. Vance that the ASCS ballot boxes were neither sealed nor locked as required by ASCS regulations. So the election was invalidated. (It might be noted in passing that as a result of this the County Office Manager-- a "bad" fellow--was suspended). However, they invalidated only that part of the election having to do with the improper handling of mailed ballots so we were not able to place other candidates on the ballots. So, perhaps unwisely, the communities (with our advice and consent) decided to try a write-in campaign, while endorsing those few "good" Negro candidates already on the ballot. Although the write-in effort, considered in its entirety, failed we believe that the results show that next year when we will be able to place the votors' own candidates on the ballot by petition we will win in each community.

All Negroes who won were those endorsed by the communities. In one community four out of the five winners were Negroes; the chairman of this committee is Negro (he received the most votes and was already on the ballot) and the other three who won were write-in candidates. In the second community one Negro won and only as a second alternate--he was already on the ballot. In the third community two Negroes already on the ballot came in third and fourth. Altogether we supported ten write-in candidates and only three of them won. But if only a few more voters (10 in one community and 15 in the other) had voted for the write-in candidates instead of for for the candidates who did win all the write-in candidates would have won.

So perhaps this narration of what happened in Macon County, with the realization that a write-in is very difficult, plus the rest of this section of the report shows that this type of citizenship education effort can be very valuable but that for it to realize the objective hoped for a good deal of time is needed to educate people. And equally important is the fact that to have any impact on twelve or more counties much more money and many more people are needed.

And of course one can not discount the importance of the "Southern Way of Life" because of which some Negroes feel beholden (whether this is true in reality or not) to white persons and therefore, refuse to vote for Negroes or at least for an all-Negro slate. And this problem is compounded by the fact that some Negroes who do not feel beholden have philosophic reasons for refusing to support an all-Negro slate of candidates.

CAP Report

Report of some of February 2, work

We met at the Jefferson Davis Hotel the first weekend 4-5. Since that time I have been working every day of the week trying to get some programs started.

February 6, I met with a church group to discuss how we could better improve Greensboro, with the aid of the Federal Government.

February 7-9 I was meeting with people in Sumter, Hale, and Greene Counties discussing how we can get started with the community Action and Credit Union Movement started. We had a four county group (Greene, Hale, Perry and Sumter) meeting on February 8, and a copy of the minutes is inclosed.

February 10-11 I went to Huntsville, Alabama. I spent a little time in the home office. Mr. Valder and I had chance to meet with chapter members, and learn somethings about their work. Mr. Valder took some time to explain my work with the Alabama Council. February 12, I went to Birmingham to a meeting that was held by SCLC. February 13, I went to a church and talked about voting in Greensboro.

February 14-18, our office was busy getting out materials on political and voter education. The material was to be passed out to the people in the different communities. I made trips to Perry, Greene and Sumter Counties talking about different programs.

February 17-18 was spent in Atlanta with Mr. Valder who showed me around the two days I was there. We met a number of people that were of great help to us, in the programs we were trying to get started. February 19, I went to Montgomery to a state people meeting, to discuss some ways we can help farms. February 20k 1966 we met in a church in Newbern, Alabama and organized a group to work on voter registration for Hale County, Alabama.

February 21, a committee met with me to draw the proposals. We met that night and approved proposals before the body. We mailed the proposal February 23, 1966.

February 22, I met with a group in Greene County to discuss a proposal with them. We also met with a group in Sumter County to set up a Credit Union, and made proposal. February 23, I went to Wilcox County, Alabama to help them out in some programs, voter education and Credit Union. February 24, I spent some time getting ready for some Credit Union Programs. February 25, we completed the the work, and I went to Wilcox County for a meeting and from there to Monroe County to talk with some of the leaders, as to what can be done to help their problems. February 26, we had our Credit Union Annual meeting, and I went to Selma Alabama to a meeting of SCLC. February 27, we went to

a number of Negro churches encouraging Negroes to get registered. February 28, I went to Selma, Alabama to meet some of the people who were having problems in getting qualified, and were able to help many of them.

Since I have been working, I have made trips to Camden, Reed's Bend, Beatrice, Montgomery, Birmingham, Huntsville, Atlanta, Eutaw, Fankland, Marion, Tuscaloosa, Demopolis, and York.

Sincerely,

Charles Gibson

Eutaw, Alabama
February 8, 1966

Meeting of the following 4 counties: Hale, Greene, Perry and Sumter Counties.

A motion was made by a representative of Greene County that all 4 counties should work together. These four counties agreed.

Questions and suggestions by the leader, Mr. Lewis Black:

1. Should there be two persons from each county to serve as leaders?

2. Should we work according to the number of precincts or beats?

3. Each county representation should be selected by each individual county.

4. What name should be given to the organization?

5. Each community should find a location for a possible headquater in order to hold meetings and let this be decided in the next meeting.

6. Request for each member to report on what organization of proverty program he is affiliated with.

7. Should there be a president from all 4 counties when they meet together?

Responce from the group:

The group motioned and passed that all four counties will work together. Rev. Gulley of Greene County agreed to work with the organization.

Mrs. Lee stated that each member of the power structure should be represented as well as representation of individuals of the proverty catgory. That is those who earn $1,500 per year, $1,200 and $3,000 respectively. Those individuals should have the privelige of selecting individuals to serve on this program. Mrs. Lee also stated this program is against proverty and not the poor. Mr. Black stated that the most of our people fall within the catagor of $3,000 per year.

The group proposed that each county should elect members of his board, 5, 7, 9, 11, etc. and let each community get together and select persons to serve from precinct or beat. These person duty will be to keep the people informed as to what is going on in their respective counties. Mr. Frank Miller, of Epes, Ala, responced to this and the audience agreed.

The group agreed that each county elect two person to serve as representative.

A name for the organization was suggested as followed: Greene, Hale, Perry and Sumtercoordinating Anti-Proverty Program.

Rev. Nixon suggested that we should be thinking of how many coordinators or assistant coordinators we should have. Mrs. Lee suggested that it should be decided as to how many members will serve on sub-boards in a given county. She also stated that each county should organize a steering community.

It was ruled that each county will have a co-chairman to be responsible to the area or 4-counties chairman.

Mrs Lee. stated that Mr. May of Atlanta could not be with us tonight due to the illness of his wife. Suggested that Mr. May could meet with this group at some other convnient time, his wife's condition pending. She stated that an O. E. O. represnetative will be in Wilcox County (Camdan) monday morning to converse with families who have been evicted due to their having taken part in Civil Rights Programs. This meeting will be at Antioch Baptist Church, Camdan, Ala.

Mr. Lucis Black of Sumter County stated that this organization should be commended and could serve to combat evils that have been done to us over the years.

RA P Reports

ALA. R.A.P.

MY REPORT FROM MARCH1-11, 1966

Tuesday March 1, 1966

I had a long talk with the supertendent of Education of Hale Hale County. I talk with Mr. Doar about the negroes getting registrated to vote and run for political office. I went to Canceah County and discuss the voting problems the negroes there, got started on a V.E.P. Grant. After leaving I headed for Beatrice, Alabame in Monore County and met with some people discussed and a VE.P. porposal, but had no luck in trying to get the grant, while being there I met with some people from the Justices Department.

Wednesday March 2, 1966

I spent the day plaining for the Wednesday night meeting in Eutaw, for four counties Perry, Hale, Greensboro, and Sumter. We had Mr. Ken Valdis as our guest speaker at the meeting.

THURSDAY MARCH 3, 1966

I worked in the office all day. Thursday night I went to Tuscaloosa, and made a talk in a meeting on the R.A.P. Programs. Friday I went to Camden, Beatrice, Monroeville, Jackson, and discussed with some of the leaders some V. E. P. and Credit Union Programs. I came to Greensboro Friday night to discuss with some of the leaders from Perry, Hale Greene, and Sumter Counties an housing program.

SATURDAY MARCH 5, 1966

I spent the same time in the office talking with some people about some programs. I spent from 1:00 p.m.-4:00 talking with some of the Justices Department men about the problems of the people of Hale, and voting, registration, and election laws, of the United States. We spent a deal of time talking about our Jury Trail which will come up soon. I left and went to Selma for a meeting with some of SCLC Leaders, I came home and had a meeting with some Credit Union office of Greenala.

SUNDAY MARCH6, 1966

We went to Wilcox County to talk about Credit Unions, and from there to Clark County to talk about V.E.P. Programs.

MONDAY MARCH 7, 1966

I went to Moundville, and had a long talk with Victor Poole; who is the banker up there we talked about the O.E.O programs, voting, and loaning low income people money for farming, this lasted about two hours, or longer. Monday night , I attended a meeting in Tuscaloosa, with a Chapter of Credit Unions.

Tuesday I went to pratville, Alabama and met with some of the negro leaders, and we discussed some of there problems, I also went with them to meet one of the white leadess in the town. I left Pratville, and went to Montgomery, and met with some of the SCLC and NAACP leaders on voting. I came back to Greensboro and went to Akron, and spoke at a meeting on some programs.

Wednesday I spent the day resting, which was March 9, 1966

THURSDAY MARCH10, 1966

I met with some Credit Union people in Tuscaloosa and worked in the office at Greensboro.

FRIDAY MARCH11, 1966

I spent some-time getting ready for a meeting to be held at the church in Greensboro, and met with a group Friday night on a housing program.

Sign Lewis Black

RAP Reports

First Baptist Church
Eutaw, Alabama
March 2, 1966

Meeting of the Hale, Perry, Greene, and Sumter Counties.

Title: Self-Help Housing Program

Presiding: Mr. Lewis Black

Devotion: Conducted by Rev. R. T. Johnson-Marion, Alabama

Song: "I Heard A Voice"

Prayer: Rev. Longford

Song: "Leaning On The Everlasting Arm"

Scripture: 133rd division of Psalm

Agenda:

Mr. Lewis Black recognized representativies from the counties of

(1) Hale
(2) Sumter
(3) Greene
(4) Perry

The guest contributor, Mr. Ken Valdis, from the Office Economic Opportunity with emphasis upon season workers-covering specificies as:

a. Sanitation
b. Housing
c. Education
d. Day Care

Mr. Ken Valdis introduced the following possibilities-through such program as-

1. Self-help housing-A difficult process and may be relatively slow.

2. Adult schooling-With a financial allowence training program.

Groups Served:

1. Low income families
2. No income families
3. Interested in families who have the possibility of benefiting from the various programs of the O.E.O.
4. The grant-aid is 100% provided by the O.E.O.

5. The grant must be a community-action-effort.
6. Ownership should go to the individual or to the co-operation having owernership.
7. In self-help housing program the person only furnish the labor.

After Mr. Valdis presentation, Mr. Black encouraged representativies from the various counties of Perry, Hale, Greene, and Sumter to put foutth immediate efforts in getting the program started.

Committee appointments:

Perry County-

1. Mr. L. S. Johnson-Marion, Alabama
2. Mr. Reese Bellingsley-Chairman
3. Rev. L. Longford-Marion, Alabama
4. Mr. Albert Turner-Marion, Alabama
5. Mr. Spencer Hague-Marion, Alabama

Hale County-

1. Mr. Lewis Black-Greensboro, Alabama
2. Mr. Eddie Long Jr.-Greensboro, Alabama
3. Rev. L. A. Lee-Havana, Alabama
4. Mr. Authur Kelly-Newbern, Alabama
5. Mr. T. B. Hicks-Newbern, Alabama

H.J. Beans Jr.-acting secretary
Mr. Lewis Black-Chairman

Ala- RAP

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

March 21, 1966

REPLY TO
REGIONAL OFFICE
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303
TEL 404/522-3697

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JAC WASSERMAN *field director*
OCIE LEE SMITH *Louisiana-Arkansas representative*
JAMES N. MAYS *Mississippi representative*
L. S. JAMES *South Carolina representative*
ART EMERY *Tennessee representative*
JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
*administrative assistants*

Mr. Lewis Black
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Thank you for sending me the list of people who registered at the conference at Alabama State College. Is this the complete list of registrants? I know that we had cards for 335 persons who registered on Friday and that there were additional people who registered on Saturday. I would appreciate receiving three (3) additional copies of the mimeographed list.

Bob Valder probably informed you that Ed Stanfield would like to receive a copy of your weekly reports. As I also have to send a copy to Fay Bennett in New York, it would save time if you would mail her a copy directly at the same time that you send a copy to me and Ed Stanfield.

As I have not heard from you in answer to my letter of March 9, 1966 I assume that you will meet me in Montgomery on Monday, March 28th at 11:57 a.m. (Eastern Flight 571). If you have arranged an itinerary for the week I will be with you, it will be helpful if you will send me a copy. If possible, please also inform me where I will be staying each night.

I believe that Bob spoke to you about being a bit more precise in your reports. The kind of information we want would include: (a) purpose of trip, (b) whom you saw, (c) what was discussed, (d) what decisions, if any, were arrived at, (e) your evaluation of the problems and what you are doing or plan to do about them.

Your reports need not be written in that exact order but you should give us enough information so that we can understand the problems in the particular county and community, know something about the groups and individuals with whom you are working, and what projects you are working on with local groups or individuals. I will have the opportunity of discussing this with you at greater length when I see you next week.

Sincerely,

Jac Wasserman
Field Director

cc: Robert Valder
Ed Stanfield ✓

252

Ala - RAP

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
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ART EMERY *Tennessee representative*
JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER *administrative assistants*

March 22, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your call yesterday.

I would be interested in hearing more of your adventures with Lewis, as well as your evaluation of how he is doing during this initial period. Is he getting to focus on specific projects in the various counties? I am very much afraid that unless he learns to concentrate his efforts in the counties which show the greatest promise, he will dissipate his time and energy with little to show in the way of concrete achievements at the end of the year.

Look forward to seeing you at the State Directors meeting in Atlanta.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Jac Wasserman
Field Director

JW:ja

b.c.c.: Ed Stanfield ✓

The Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Alabama Council on Human Relations met on April 2, 1966 in Birmingham with Dr. C. G. Gomillion presiding.

In the Assistant Director's report, Bob Valder explained the expanded grant-in-aid fund of $9,000. This fund is to be used for staff and our membership increase and fund raising will determine whether or not we receive it again another year.

After reading the financial report it was decided that a memorandum be sent each chapter suggesting that replacements be found for those who fomerly contributed $24 but have not again.

Mr. Louis Black of R.A.P. gave a report of a very busy month.

The executive committee authorized a "bonus" to Mrs. Bennie Rogers for her outstanding work in the state office. A check will be given her immediately for $225 and then $37.50 for each of 4 pay periods, totaling $375.

It was announced that Former Director of S.R.C., Dr. Leslie Dunbar, contributed $150 of an honorarium; it will be credited to the East Alabama Council Chapter.

Itwas suggested that a nominal fee be paid to Attorneys Smith & Vann for their services.

The following were suggested for consideration on the September agenda: (1) development of an official file to begin a historical record,

(2) reaffirming the time of chapters' elections of officers prior to the Annual Meeting in order to send memorandums to each chapter,

(3) discussion of a training session for membership campaign chairmen,

(4) election of a board member to S.R.C. in addition to the president,

(5) discussion of amount to be refunded to local chapters on their memberships.

It was proposed that another meeting of the executive committee meet in June. The following were the topics postponed to that meeting:

(1) addition of another member to executive board in place of treasurer,

(2) process of the membership drive,

(3) name of speaker for Annual Meeting,

(4) special fund to chapter with largest membership in state.

June 1 was set as date for meeting our membership quota.

The executive committee agreed to a "recommendation of the Southern Courier" in the forthcoming newsletter.

_____, secretary

Ala - RAP

# NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

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Reply to
REGIONAL OFFICE
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Tel. 404 522-3697

April 4, 1966

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*South Carolina representative*

ART EMERY
*Tennessee representative*

JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
*administrative assistants*

Mr. Lewis Black
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Everything worked out fine. My wife was only sent to the hospital for some additional tests and they all proved negative. She was given some medication which cleared up her ailment and she seems fine now.

I am very sorry that I had to cut my trip short as I would have liked to meet with some of the other groups and to have had more time to talk to you about our work. I hope that we will have that opportunity when you come here for the meeting of the State Directors. If possible, come a day or so earlier, as you planned, to meet with some of the federal agencies. This will permit us to have some time together prior to our staff meeting.

One of the matters I didn't have the time to discuss with you is the kind of information we would like to see you cover in your reports. It would be extremely helpful to me and the other recipients of your reports if you would try to provide us with the following information, to the extent that you are able to do so.

1. Some background information on the county: number of people; Negro and white; industry, to what extent are Negroes employed in industry, retail trade, county and community government; problems of farmers, tenants and sharecroppers; housing, etc.

2. What organized groups are working in the parish (please provide name of group and names and addresses of officers) and what activities are they engaged in? Also give us your evaluation of the leadership in each county.

3. How have you been able to relate to these groups in their program and projects?

4. What new projects have you been able to (or are planning to) initiate and what have you been able to accomplish to date?

5. What are your plans with regard to your work in each county for the immediate future?

It would also help us to follow developments in each county if you would use a separate sheet for your work in each county. We can then file your reports by county, and be in a better position to follow developments in those counties.

Once we have all the basic background information regarding each of the counties where you are working, your weekly reports will then help us to follow ~~the~~ your progress and to make any suggestions we may have for new projects and increasing your effectiveness and service to the groups with which you are working.

From our conversation with Mr. Sidney Logan of Gardenville (Route 1, Box 140), it appears that many farmers' applications for loans from FHA have not been acted on for three months or more. I believe it would be a good idea for you to find out if this situation is typical in the other counties as well. Once you have compiled this data, including the names of the farmers and when their loan applications were submitted, you should arrange to meet with Mr. Bamberg to see if he is willing to do anything about speeding up action on these applications. Since these are low-income farmers, a delay of several months can cripple their entire farm operation. If Mr. Bamberg is not cooperative and will not do anything about processing these loans in a more reasonable period of time (2 weeks is sufficient time, but no longer than one month if the county office is swamped with loan applications), I will take the matter up with the FHA administrator in Washington. But I must have the facts before I can do so. You will have to furnish me with a list of the farmers in each county who have not had their applications acted on, type of loan requested and when their applications were submitted.

We never did get around to discussing either a state-wide meeting or several multi-county meetings at which we would have Ken Vallis or someone else from his office discuss projects possible under Title 3-B. This would include self-help housing, basic education, day care centers, etc. What is your thinking on this? If we have several multi-county meetings, could they be arranged on successive days so that we can have him cover most of the Black Belt counties in one trip? Please telephone if you want to talk to me about this, if you want to set these meetings up before we meet in Atlanta at the end of the month. We can arrange to meet with Tom Karter while we are in Washington for the CCAP meeting and make all the necessary arrangements for these meetings. Tom Karter is Ken Vallis' boss.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Jac

Jac Wasserman
Field Director

JW:ja

Ala RAP

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
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5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
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Tel. 404/522-3697

April 19, 1966

Ph. 624-7118

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*administrative assistants*

Mr. Lewis Black
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

I was very disappointed that you did not get to Selma either on Sunday or Monday. This is a critical situation and the people there need all the help they can get. It would also have given you the opportunity of meeting with Mays and learning more about ASCS programs, particularly how the cotton diversion program is supposed to operate, and about the rights of tenants and sharecroppers to share in the payments. The people there still need help and guidance in a great many areas and I hope that you will arrange to visit with them at your earliest convenience.

We have also not received any reports from you since March 25th, nor have you answered my letter of April 4th. I am unable to fulfill my responsibilities in providing RAP representatives with information and guidance unless reports are received when due. I hope that this was a temporary lapse and that we may expect to receive your reports regularly hereafter.

I would like you to prepare a report and to talk on credit unions at our staff meeting in Atlanta. You have probably had more experience in this field than any of our other field representatives and it would be extremely helpful if you would tell them what a credit union is, the different types of credit unions, what services it can provide, prerequisitives for organizing a rural credit union, how to get a credit union established, where to get help, etc. Also cite some examples of how some credit unions were established, their grown and service to their members.

The above suggestions are not intended to limit your presentation in any way, but are merely ideas of what you might include. Any other information which will help our field representatives know how to go about forming a credit union

will be most welcome. If possible, please also bring about 20 copies each of any printed literature on credit unions you may have (or can get) which you think the men should have.

I will look forward to seeing you next week.

Sincerely,

Jac Wasserman
Field Director

c.c. Bob Valder
Ed Stanfield

Ala. RAP

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*administrative assistants*

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I received a call from Rev. Walter on April 8th after he spoke to Fay Bennett re. the situation described in the enclosed correspondence. Rev. Walter said that the people involved were desperately in need of help and requested me either to come to Selma immediately or to send someone who could give these people some guidance. As I could not go, I promised to telephone James Mays, our Mississippi field representative as he has had considerable experience in ASCS matters, and ask him to go to Selma at the earliest opportunity. Mays agreed to contact SCLC and to go there on Saturday or Sunday. I also asked Mays to notify Black when he planned to be in Selma so that Black could be in on the meetings, learn something about the problems and how to handle them, and he would then be in a position to follow up on whatever action was decided on. Black phoned me on Monday, April 11th about the meeting that was originally planned for Washington and I asked him whether he met with Mays. (I hadn't heard from Mays at that time). He told me that he was too tired to go. I then suggested that he telephone Mays in Selma and arrange to meet with him that day (Mays was still there). He promised to do so. I learned subsequently that he did not call again, nor did he go to Selma. I spoke to Shirley Mesher of SCLC yesterday and she said she still had not heard from him. I just cannot understand his lack of cooperation in this very critical matter, particularly since it would have given him the opportunity to learn something about ASCS operations which would have been of value to him in his work with farmers.

Black has also not submitted a report since March 25th nor answered my letter to him dated April 4th. I have no idea

what he is doing but hope that you do and approve.

I'll be seeing you next week when we can discuss his work at greater length.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Jac Wasserman
Field Director

cc. Ed Stanfield

JW:ja

Ala - RAP.

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May 4, 1966

Mr. Lewis Black
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

I am enclosing a letter received from ASCS with reference to your complaint. Have you heard anything directly from ASCS? I do not know what they mean when they say that the necessary number of "eligible and authenticated signatures were not on Mr. Black's petition." Were any of the signatures on your ballot challenged as not being "eligible and authenticated" and proven to be so? If you still feel that the signatures on your petition were authentic and that the signers were eligible, I believe that we should demand to know why they were not accepted. You may wish to write ASCS yourself and request them to tell you which of the signers to your petition they found ineligible and for what reason. If you would like to have me pursue the matter further, please furnish me with whatever information I may need to follow up.

Your summary report of February 1-April 26 lists four counties (Wilcox, Marengo, Sumter and Monroe) where you have helped to get credit unions started. Aside from Marengo County which has had its charter approved, have any of the other counties' charters been approved? Please keep us informed as soon as their charters are approved. Also let us know if you are assisting other counties in developing credit unions. You have made a great beginning in helping to establish credit unions in the four counties already mentioned. None of our other field representatives have been able to do so much in so little time and you are to be congratulated on your success.

Your report also mentions that you worked with farmers in getting a farm cooperative started, but you do not mention either the group with whom you have been working or the county.

Also, what kind of cooperative are they trying to start: is it a purchasing or marketing cooperative? If it is a marketing cooperative, what products do they hope to market? Is this group also obtaining assistance from any of the federal or state agencies? If you will send me a detailed report on the efforts of this group to form a cooperative, I may be in a position to be of some assistance.

You refer to "great problems with the Farmers Home Administration" but you do not send any details. It would be helpful if you would provide us with specific information on the problems encountered, and the names and addresses of the people concerned if we are expected to be of assistance in such situations. If you have taken steps to deal with the problem, let us know what you have done so that we can do whatever else may be necessary to back you up.

You also mention a cooperative in Greensboro with which you are working to secure a market for their products. What is the name of the cooperative and what kind of a co-op is it? Are you referring to the co-op store or is it a farmers co-op? Here also you do not provide us with enough information to understand the problems referred to. One of my duties is to try to be helpful to you with the particular problems that you encounter in the state, but I am unable to fulfill this function unless you provide us with more detailed reports of "who, what, where, when and why -- and sometimes how," referred to in Ed Stanfield's letter to you of April 29th.

In my letter to you of April 4th, I requested that you investigate the charges that Mr. Logan and other farmers' applications for FHA loans are being held up for three or more months. Please refer to my letter and see if you can compile the information requested so that I can take the matter up with the FHA Administrator in Washington.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Jac Wasserman
Field Director

JW: ja

Enclosure

cc: Bob Valder, Ed Stanfield, Fay Bennett

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May 4, 1966

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Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

The enclosed letter to Lewis is self-explanatory. If you would prefer that I write to you in response to Black's reports, I shall be happy to do so in the future.

There are several other matters pertaining to his report that I would like to discuss with you.

1. I will leave it to you to do what you can regarding the spelling and grammatical structure of his reports. I think that Mrs. Black can probably be helpful in the final editing of his reports if you can find a tactful way of broaching the matter to her. His reports can undoubtedly be greatly improved if someone works with him on it. It might also be a good idea for him to first send his reports to you so that you can fill in whatever gaps there are (after discussion with him) and then have your secretary type the final report which comes to me, Ed Stanfield and Fay Bennett, to your officers and into your files. One important thing that Lewis should be taught is to be extremely careful about the correct spelling of names and addresses. You will have noted that Dan Harrell is referred to as "Harrial Daniel", Anne Braxton and "Broxton". It would also be helpful if he provided the addresses of the organizations and individuals referred to in his reports so that we can add their names to our files if it serves our purposes. It will also permit us to write to them directly if we have reason to do so.

2. I am not properly informed, nor do I imagine you are, by such vague statements as: "I have helped people with problems confronted (sic) them in the welfare department, social security office and FHA." I think we both would like to know what some of the problems are, where they are encountered, whether the problems are peculiar to one area or locality or whether they are typical throughout the state. He should also

indicate what he has done or is planning to do regarding these problems and what success he has had. It is difficult for us to evaluate his work, offer him guidance and support unless he takes the trouble to give us a more adequate account of what he is doing.

3. Through no fault of his own, Lewis has begun to work without what I would consider adequate training. I do not know how well he understands the programs he is expected to deal with, how well he interprets them to others, or how he is using what knowledge he has in implementing the programs with the groups with whom he is working. He makes no mention of the groups with whom he is working in the various counties, or in what way he is relating to them. I would expect that by this time he would have a pretty good idea of the counties and particular projects on which he is planning to concentrate his activities (in addition to credit unions). It would also help us if he gave us some background information on the particular problems in each gounty, the organized groups working in each county and something about their programs. This kind of information will enable us to spot and remedy whatever gaps there are in his knowledge of particular programs. We hope to improve the effectiveness of RAP and NSF representatives through more frequent staff meetings with resource people from the various agencies who can help to interpret their programs and provide guidelines for their implementation. I also expect to spend more time in the field with each of the RAP representatives as soon as I am able to get some assistance in the office, for which funds have now been budgeted.

4. Nothing has been said about the recently formed Alabama Farmers and Rural Council (AFRC). Has the Council met since our Alabama Conference?

I have great confidence in Lewis and feel that if we can give him close supervision and guidance for the next few months, he will be able to do an outstanding job in Alabama. Most of the matters referred to above and in my letters to him are matters of experience and training. He will have to analyze the problems in each of the counties, choose projects to work on which are best suited and most needed, and set himself definite goals and objectives so that he does not dissipate his energies. I think it is our responsibility to get him to think and plan along these

lines and you can count on me to do everything that I can to give him whatever assistance I can.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Jac Wasserman
Field Director

P. S. Did you have an opportunity to meet with Shirley Mesher of SCLC in Dallas to see what you and Lewis could do to be helpful to them? Lewis can learn a lot about dealing with some of the problems of low-income farmers by seeing how they are coping with the situation in Dallas County.

JW:ja

cc: Fay Bennett
Ed Stanfield

Ala. - RAP

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June 16, 1966

Mr. Lewis Black
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

We would like to have you outline a step-by-step procedure for organizing a credit union at our staff meeting on June 21-23. You will probably be called on to speak for about 20 minutes on either the evening of the 22nd or the morning of the 23rd. While most of the other field representatives understand the basic principles and philospphy of credit unions, they probably do not have a thorough grasp of all the elements that go into building a successful credit union. I would like you to emphasize the kind of educational program that is needed to "sell" the credit union idea to the local community, how to win community support for the idea, and how to go about getting a state or federal charter. I assume that you will also stress the importance of good management. LaVert Taylor informs me that there are two credit unions in Northern Florida that are disintegrating because they have not been able to get adequate community support. I suspect that their problem is that they did not do a good educational job before the credit union was formed and do not have the kind of dedicated and competent management that is needed.

We have not had any report from you since April 25th and I, at least, am completely in the dark as to your activities since that date. You have also not replied to my letter of May 4th in which I commented on your report and requested you to elaborate on some of the activities that you mentioned. I hope that you will send us a report of your activities since April 25th before our staff meeting on the 21st, and that you will also reply to my letter of May 4th so that we will have a better understanding of what you are doing.

Sincerely,

Jac Wasserman
Field Director

cc: Bob Valder
Fay Bennett
Ed Stanfield

Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

JERRY RODEN, JR., Executive Director

LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project BOB VALDER, Associate Director

July 23, 1966

RECEIVED

JUL 25 1966

Mr. Vernon Jordan, Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon:

Enclosed is a proposal for a grant from the Voter Education Project for a citizenship education program relative to the 1966 Alabama Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections.

As is stated in the proposal the election will be over on August 16, 1966. But the ballots will be mailed to eligible voters on August 6. So there is an urgency about this proposal if we are to conduct a significant campaign. We didn't know until recently, however, that the State ASC Committee had decided to set the date for the election up to August.

If any aspects of the proposal are unclear please call me at 624-8121 or 624-7118 in Greensboro.

Thank you for your consideration of this proposal.

Sincerely,

Lewis Black

Lewis Black, Director
Rural Advancement Project

Ala. - RAP

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
"RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT"
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

REPORT
July 10-July 23, 1966

FOOD PROGRAM FOR HALE AND PERRY COUNTIES
The food program has become a major problem in Hale and Perry Counties. The situation became of such that Mr. Roden and I went to Washington to meet with USDA July 10, 1966.

The Problem
HALE-PERRY AREA COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, INC. made a proposal to the OEO to fund our group. The funds were to pay for the distribution of food to these two counties. This was done because; (1) the power structure had told us that they were interested in giving the people of these two counties food, (2) the power structure said that they didn't have the money to pay for the food program, and (3) the white community said that they were not going to work with the Negro community.

Discussions
Of the USDA, we talked with Mr. Birkhead, Mr. Nell Freeman, and Mr. Bill Seaborn. Of the OEO we talked with Mr. Bowen.
The OEO agreed to fund our group, if we can get the USDA to give us the food. The USDA agreed to give the food to the two counties even if the power structure didn't agree to the food program coming in the county, (pending a conference with the county officials).

SPEECHES THAT WERE MADE THE LAST TWO WEEKS.
I met with a group in Huntsville, July 11. We discussed credit unions. This group composed of; the Huntsville Chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, the Rural Farmers of Madison County, some of the pastors of local churches, and the CAP group for Madison County. Speaking at the meeting were; Mrs. Lewis Black, Mr. Al Ulmer and I. This was thier first meeting to discuss the credit union movement. It seems to be a great interest for a credit union. There are some local problems, such as; (1) learning more about credit union, (2) who will be the group to sponsor the credit union? and (3) how broad the credit union membership should be in the community?
I spoke to the Huntsville Chapter on Human Relations in the evening, on the problems of the Black-Belt, and how they relate to the rest of the world.
On July 13, I made a speech to a group in Selma, Alabama on some of the USDA programs.
I addressed two graduate classes at the Alabama State College, in Montgomery, July 15. We discussed the; social, political, and economical movement of the Negro in the world today.
I addressed two groups in Hale County. One the Hale-Perry Area

Coordinating Committee For Economic Opportunity, Inc.
The other, were farmers interested in ASCS programs.

ASCS PROGRAM IN ALABAMA

Due to the fact the Negro farmer of the State of Alabama have been deprived the right to participate in the ASCS programs, as well as many other programs. We felt it was wise for us to start helping these farmers learn more about these programs.
We set a meeting to be held at the Jefferson Davis Hotel, July 16. It was at this meeting that we started to working toward an education program, to help these 22,090 Negro farmers, in 26 counties of Ala. learn more about the ASCS programs.

MEETING IN MONTGOMERY

This meeting pointed up the following; (1) the farmers of Alabama had no real help from state, federal people in educating them about the ASCS programs, (2) the Alabama ASCS officials were rushing the election to keep the Negroes out of office, (3) there are twelve (12) counties where non-white farmers out number white, and(4) there are 26 counties where we could win, with the help of some people. I have been spending most of my time working with the people in these counties, trying to get them organized.

TRIP TO AUBURN, ALABAMA

I went to Auburn the weekend, Mr. Valder and I wrote up a proposal to be presented to Southern Regional Council, for a grant of $4,000. to aid us in financing an education program for farmers about the ASCS, of USDA.

Sig. Lewis Black/RM

Ala RAP


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EMANUEL MURAVCHIK
PAULI MURRAY
ARTHUR RAPER
IRA DeA. REID
VERA RONY
LEON SCHACHTER
CLARENCE SENIOR
PATRICIA CAYO SEXTON
NORMAN THOMAS
ROWLAND WATTS
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

FAY BENNETT
*executive secretary*

LOUIS ARONICA
*program secretary*

JAC WASSERMAN
*field director*

HUBERT THOMAS
*Georgia representative*

OCIE LEE SMITH
*Louisiana-Arkansas representative*

JAMES N. MAYS
*Mississippi representative*

EUGENE W. HAGANS
*South Carolina representative*

ART EMERY
*Tennessee representative*

JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
*administrative assistants*


July 24, 1966

Mr. LaVert Taylor
Box 1874
Tallahassee, Florida 32304

Dear LaVert:

I have been in Alabama and South Carolina and so did not have the opportunity to write you sooner to acknowledge your report for June 24-July 5th. I am very pleased that you are digging-in and making yourself known in the North Florida counties, as well as familiarizing yourself with the problems of the people in those counties.

I think your idea for a multi-county organization of rural people is an excellent way to get the leaders of those counties together to discuss their mutual problems and to plan action programs to meet their needs. Have you set a date for the ASCS meeting that you planned to hold during the first week in August? I hope that it is not on the 6th as I have a meeting to attend in South Carolina on that date. If it is on the 6th, I'll try to get Mike Kenney or James Mays to meet with you. I met John Due in South Carolina last week and he mentioned something about a meeting on July 30th. I tried to reach both you and Due on the telephone over the week-end and today, but without success. Will you check with him about the meeting he is planning to be sure that there is no conflict. I would appreciate your advising me as soon as you have a definite time and place for your meeting.

I was interested in what you said about the FHA office in Jefferson county. Do you know if Negro farmers have applied for other types of loans and the reasons they were given for being refused regular loans? The. U. S. Commission on Civil Rights is very much interested in receiving information on discriminatory practices by the State Extension Services as well as by other USDA agencies. Do you think that you can get the Assistant County agent who was formerly in Jefferson county to file a complaint with the Commission?

What is the present status of the plans for forming a cooperative to purchase peanut drying equipment as well as other farm supplies? What is the name of the cooperative and are they already chartered? Please also let me have the names and addresses of the officers of the cooperative. As you work in each of the counties, please send us the names and addresses of the key leaders who you feel should be placed on our mailing list (in N. Y. and Atlanta). Also their organizational affiliation, if any.

Keep up the good work and best regards.

Sincerely,

Jac Wasserman
Field Director

JW:hjo

cc: August VandenBosche
Ed Stanfield
Fay Bennett

August 5, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Valder:

The Voter Education Project has carefully considered the request of the Rural Advancement Project of Alabama Council on Human Relations to conduct a citizenship education program relative to the 1966 Alabama Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections for the period of August 6, to September 6, 1966. We are pleased to inform you that we have approved your program in the amount of $1,650.00 for a one month program.

The amount granted is to cover the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| Subsistance | |
| (10) People @ $15. per week | $600.00 |
| Secretary @ $25. per week | 100.00 |
| Transportation | 750.00 |
| Office Supplies | 125.00 |
| Telephone | 125.00 |
| | $1,650.00 |

Our check in the amount of $1,650.00 is enclosed. Please sign and return the enclosed receipt carbon immediately.

These funds may not be used to support partisan politics in any manner whatsoever, nor to influence legislation of any kind, nor in behalf of or against any political candidate. You should urge and welcome non-partisan support of your voter registration activities.

Our Research Director, Mr. Marvin Wall, will write you regarding further special reporting requirements.

If you have any questions, please let us hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

VEJ/pf
Enclosure

cc: Mr. Lewis Black
Mr. Edwin Stanfield

---

Check in the amount of $1,650.00 received from VEP on this 9th day of August, 1966

Signed: Robert Valder
(Mrs.) Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Ala. - RAP
~~165~~

THE ALABAMA FARMERS AND RURAL AREAS COUNCIL
INVITES YOU TO ATTEND A STATE WIDE-MEETING
TO HELP ORGANIZE YOUR COMMUNITY FOR PARTICIPATION IN
THE 1966 ASCS ELECTIONS TO BE HELD ON AUGUST 16th

**********

Eleven Negro citizens were elected as regular members to ASCS Community Committees in Alabama last year. This is a 100 per cent improvement over the past. But we can do better. There are more than 25 counties where the number of Negro farm operators make it possible to elect Negro representatives to ASCS Community Committees. The purpose of this meeting is to see that each community not only has Negro candidates on the ballot, but that the candidates selected are chosen by the Negro community and not the power structure.

Alabama ASCS election is the first state election to be held in the South this year. We must make this election an example for all other states to follow.

*If you want to have a candidate of your choice on the ballot...

*If you want to know about the new regulations governing this election...

*If you want help in organizing your community...

COME TO THE MEETING:

Saturday, July 16, at 10:00 a.m.

At the Civic Room, Jefferson Davis Hotel, Montgomery Alabama.

Registration $1.00, which will include the cost of your lunch.

We'll be expecting you.

Very truly yours,

Lewis Black

Lewis Black, President
AF Rural Areas Council

p.s. In view of the fact the election will be on August 16, 1966; the petitions to get farmers on the ballot, will have to be mailed to your ASCS Office of your county not later than July 21, 1966. Please start working on your petition for the people you plan to run for committeeman.

August 17, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama Re: VEP 6-88

Dear Mr. Valder:

One research report for the Voter Education Project will cover our needs. This report should describe your education program in detail. It should describe the number of people reached, the means used to reach these people, the type of instruction provided, and your evaluation of the results. A full and frank report will be of considerable value to us in planning citizenship education programs in the future.

This report should be filed on or about September 10, after your program has been completed. We look forward to hearing from you, and we wish you every success in your program.

Sincerely,

Marvin Wall
Director of Research
Voter Education Project

MW/pf

Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

JERRY RODEN, JR., Executive Director

LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project BOB VALDER, Associate Director

August 19, 1966

Project

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon:

Thank you for the grant of $1,650.00 for our ASCS efforts.

As you know, the grant is for August 6 to September 6. In view of the fact that a federal court has set back the deadline for mailing ballots from August 16 to September 15, we would like to have the grant period extended to September 22. This will enable us to continue our efforts through the mailing period and will also enable us to do some post-election work, especially in the area of investigating reprisals, irregularities, etc. Would this be possible?

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

cc: Lewis Black

BV:mee

Ala - R.A.P.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
"RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT"
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

REPORT
July 24-September 3, 1966

Credit Union
I have been working with the Credit Union Development in Monroe, Sumter, Wilcox, Marango, Hale, Clarke, and Tuscaloosa Counties.

The Tuscaloosa Citizens For Action Committee had me to come up there to discuss the credit union idea with them. The group seemed to be interested in having a credit union set up in their organization, but seems that this group, led by Rev. T. Y. Rogers, is tired up with so many other things that they are not ready for organization.

The Clarke County group met in Jackson, Alabama. Mr. Jackson and Mr. Frank Deans were the men who helped to get the interest going among these people. We have a good chance of having an organization that will move off and advance.

They have had three meetings and are in the process of electing some people they can trust to carry out the work. I don't think they will have any problem of finding people who will work on this movement.

Hale County, as you know, has the Greenala Citizens Federal Credit Union. For the last two months the credit union has made some progress in it's assets. Greenala Citizens Federal Credit Union received a Thrift Honor Award from the Brueau of Federal Credit Unions; this was due, enlarge to our working so hard last year to make Greenala the fastest growing credit union in the U. S. of its size.

Marango County has a credit union that we need to put in a little time with to get people moving, in saving, and loaning money to one another. They have more than a hundred members and have made only one loan in four-months.

Wilcox County, is having a time in trying to get charatered. The problem is in the Alabama State League Representative. He is leaving after this month, and suppose things eill be better. He has held up the chartering of credit unions in Monroe and Wilcox Counties.

I think these two counties have good organizations, the problem is getting the credit union chartered.

Food Program For Hale-Perry Counties
Hale and Perry Counties are still having problems with the USDA and OEO, in trying to get the foods going. I have had a number of discussions with the power-structure, USDA and OEO since my last report, but we haven't got any food for the people.

After a deal about Lowdnes and Wilcox Counties and OEO Grant that Governor Wallace held up. Wallace also sent one of his men to Hale and Perry Counties, and got the food program held up from coming to the two counties.

In the meeting in Mississippi tow weeks ago, we were told that the food program would be here by September 1, 1966. Today is September the 3, and the food has not been seen.

The USDA blames OEO and the white power-structure. The OEO blames the USDA and white folks. And Negroes are dying for the lack of food.

Co-Op
I have been working in with a group in Perry County, which shows great promises for co-ops. James Carter is the man who has done more to try and put the peices together for this co-op. Mike Kenney and I went out and Mike wrote up a report on the co-op.

I have had three meeting with the group since that time, and have shown pictures of, how the co-ops idea can work.

Akron, Alabama is a community in Hale County that has shown some interest in co-ops. They seem to need some leadership on managing the business.

The people in Marango County had me to meet with them on the co-op idea. They are only in the talking stage of the co-ops.

Training Program
We had a meeting in Birmingham, Alabama, to continue to make plans for this leadership training program to be held at Miles College. It seems that it will be sometimes in the late fall before we will be able to set up the program in full, provided we are funded. I am not to swear where we stand on this, but we are still working for a ten county training program.

Head Start
We have begin to try and get a Heard-Start Program for Hale County for a 12 month period. We have done very little work on this project.

ASCS Elections

The most of my time has been spent on the ASCS Elections. We have some counties in fairly good shape. We have chances of winning some elections in 11 counties.

The Negroes on the ballot in these counties out number the white.

The election was set to come off on August 16, 1966 and we filed a suite in Washington and we postspond the election until September.

The ballots are to be in September 15, and counted September 20, and the County Convention will be September 29, 1966. We have insisted on all farmers to vote for the farmer of their choice in this election. We have had meetings with these farmers in most of these counties.

The USDA has told us that they will work with us in helping to see that these elections are carried out right this time.

I have personally visited most of these counties, and assisted people in getting out information to the farmers. I have been to meetings, been making house canvassing some areas of the counties.

We have two more weeks of hard work in this effort. Mr. Peter Agee was the only person I know of, had to leave on the account of taking part in the ASCS Election efforts. We are trying to get him to come back home. He has been in Memphis, Tennessee for three weeks. We are in touch with him.

Sign_____

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

*Wiley A. Branton, Project Director*

**BUDGET REVISION: RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN REALTIONS**

**VEP 66-88 Report due Wednesday of each week**

**4 Week Program August 6, to September 6, 1966** 1 month

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Subsistance** | | |
| **(10) People @ $15. per week** | **$600.00** | |
| **Secretary @ $25. per week** | **100.00** | |
| **Transportation** | **750.00** | |
| **Office Supplies** | **125.00** | |
| **Telephone** | **125.00** | |
| | | **$1,650.00** |

# Local Farmer Committeemen Voting Is Ruled Invalid In Macon County

10-21-66 MA AC

The state Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committee declared invalid the election of community-level committeemen in Macon County Tuesday, and said the balloting would have to be redone in that county.

B. L. Collins, the state ASCS executive director, said however, that the invalidation of the Macon County returns was the only problem encountered, in statewide counting of ballots for community committees Tuesday.

Collins said late Tuesday afternoon that an observer for the Alabama Council on Human Relations called attention to the fact that the ballots in Macon County had not been kept in a locked box, as required by ASCS rules. After talking to the service's main offices in Washington, Collins said, it was decided to rerun the election in Macon. No date has been set for the new election.

A federal district court in Washington ordered a one-month delay in the ASCS balloting deadline in Alabama, after several Alabama farmers and civil rights groups asked for additional time, claiming that more time was needed to familiarize Negro farmers with balloting procedures.

The court, in an Aug. 10 ruling, moved the deadline for mail-

(Please See FARM VOTE, P 2)

## Farm Vote

(Continued From Page 1)

ing in ballots in the community elections from Aug. 16 to Sept. 16.

The community committeemen, who have little power themselves, will select county committee members — one in each county—from among their numbers. Collins said the county committees have "quite a bit of power"—though closely regulated by the state committee—over allotment and support programs.

Lowndes County, unlike the others in the state, is electing all three county committeemen this year, after a long squabble over last year's election culminated in a decision to scrap the whole election and try again this year. Collins said Lowndes was one of four counties in which allegations of irregularities were made last year, but was the only one in which any action was taken.

He said that returns in this year's community elections would probably not all be reported to his office until Friday.

In the past, all three county county committeemen were elected each year, but Collins said those chosen last year were elected to staggered terms, so that only one seat on the county committee comes up for election each year.

The state ASCS director said that several Negro community committeemen were elected in the state last year, and "quite a few" are running in this year's election. He said, however, that no Negro has ever been elected to a county committee.

Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

JERRY RODEN, JR., Executive Director

LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project BOB VALDER, Associate Director

BK
TO

September 25, 1966

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon:

As you may know the Macon County ASCS election has been invalidated. The enclosed newsclipping from the Montgomery Advertiser explains the matter in sufficent manner. I should have talked to you while at SRC last week, but it never entered my mind to do so.

Lewis Black and I have talked this over and have decided to apply for one more extension of the VEP grant period. As you know we have already received one extension due to the extension of the Alabama ASCS voting deadline. Now, because of the Macon County invalidation we can go to work again on trying to get Negro representation on the County ASCS Committee. However, we will need money to do so.

You may be interested to know that before the vote was invalidated we had counted 5 of the 10 beats and a Negro had won in one of the communities and every indication was that five (5) more were going to win in the community that was being counted when they stopped counting due to the decision to invalidate. And we are quite confident that we can get enough Negroes voted into the community committees ("good" Negroes too- our own choices and those of the community and not of the ASCS committee) to control the county convention and thus insure the election of a "good" Negro to the County Committee.

And since the rest of the elections are done now we are almost positive that we can bring in two or three of our best workers from other counties to work full-time on Macon's election.

It has not yet been announced when the next election will be held. We have been told that it should be announced sometime this week. So we can not ask for a definite extension at this time. In general, what would be best for us would be an extension until the county convention is held. It is our understanding, however, that the election will be held soon--probably in 30-45 days.

And we still have about $650 of the VEP grant left so an extension would provide us with enough money to do a really good, intensive job, especially in view of the fact that the farmers know what's going on now, interest is high, we have access to more experienced workers and we know the county much better now than before. I might add that, although we don't know all of the returns from all of the counties yet things don't look good. It is commonly agreed that Macon County now has the best chance of getting a

Negro on the county committee.

Could you let us know about this soon? We need to get organized for this campaign and will have to know how much money we can depend upon in order to organize it.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

Ed Hanfield

Ala. - R.A.P.

REPLY TO
REGIONAL OFFICE
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303
TEL. 404/522-3697

# NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

Confidential

October 26, 1966

national board
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A. PHILIP RANDOLPH *vice-chairman*
ELIOT D. PRATT *secretary-treasurer*
ANGELA BAMBACE
BETH BIDERMAN
ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE
MAX DELSON
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MANET FOWLER
MARTIN GERBER
I. CYRUS GORDON
SIDNEY HERTZBERG
ROBERT W. HUDGENS
GARDNER JACKSON
ROBERT B. JOHNSON
LEWIS W. JONES
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L. S. JAMES *South Carolina representative*
ART EMERY *Tennessee representative*
JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
*administrative assistants*

**MEMO**

**To:** Fay Bennett

**From:** Jac Wasserman

**Subject:** Alabama trip, October 19-22, 1966

I drove directly to Greensboro from Atlanta to meet with Lewis Black. My discussion with him confirmed what I already knew -- that he had no organized plan of work and merely reacted to situations as they occured. He is still not able to analyze and evaluate the problems in the various Black Belt counties and to decide on priorities. It was also evident that the main thrust of his activities revolve around the problems in his own county (Hale), and that more than half his time has been spent working in that county. I discovered that he was not too informed about the problems and activities in the other counties. Lewis Black has not established a good working relationship with the leadership of those counties, and has played a very minor role in helping them to develop meaningful programs. He does have a very good personal relationship with the leadership in many counties, but he is looked upon as the "leader" of Hale County, rather than as a state-wide representative of RAP to whom they can turn for assistance and guidance.

You may recall that the people of Alabama formed an Alabama Farmers and Rural Areas Council. Aside from the founding meeting which took place at our conference at Alabama A & M in Montgomery, only one other meeting was held -- to discuss the ASCS elections. When I inquired whether he had any other meetings, plans, or activities scheduled for the Council, he replied that he hadn't thought about it! This was to be the coordinating agency through which we hopefully thought that we would be able to receive and provide information to groups throughout the state, initiate action programs, press for needed legislation, etc.

I was very unhappy about the composition of the Board of the Rural Areas Council as the Board members were not democratically elected by the county groups, but selected by a steering committee which was largely composed of urban middle-class people who were not actively involved in working with farm and rural people. I recommended to Balck and others that the Board be reconstituted with representatives chosen by the local groups in each of the counties, but nothing was done about my recommendation. It goes without saying that no one man can effectively service an entire state and it is therefore necessary to have some such state-wide organization, through which information can be received and disseminated and to pinpoint areas which require the assistance of the RAP representative and/or other outside resources.

There are two projects which at present seem to take up practically all of Mr. Black's time and they are both related to Hale County. The first is his attempt to get surplus food distribution for the county. The second, is the new CAP board recently formed, but not yet funded. The CAA Board is composed of 15 white and 15 Negro members, each chosen by the respective groups. Of the Negroes chosen, I am told that at least five are "toms" so that effective control will always rest with the white group. As a matter of fact, Black lost out being elected Chairman by one vote (of a Negro). He is now vice-chairman of the CAA, and they are working on a proposal for program and development funds in order to set up an office and hire staff. I suggested to him that he should try to get the CAA Board to approve the formation of an advisory committee to be made up of elected representatives of the target areas -- in proportion to their ratio in the population, and that this committee be vested with the authority to approve, reject, modify all proposals of the CAA Board, and to suggest new programs for the consideration of the Board. This would be in line with the OEO legislation and their directives calling for the maximum participation of the poor. This is an issue that the CAA Board will probably not readily accept and which should then be fought out with OEO -- and publicly. I cannot see very much good coming out of the Hale County program otherwise with the present setup.

With regard to the food distribution program, I believe that Black went off half-cocked, without adequate knowledge of how these programs operate and without competent counsel on how to proceed. It was only after Black and Jerry Roden went to Washington that I was consulted. I told Black that he was going about it in the wrong way and that OEO would not even consider financing a food distribution program until they had a definite commitment from the county officials that they would sponsor the program -- or failing that, a commitment from USDA that they would furnish the food to an independent agency. I won't go into all the

ramifications of the maneuvering on this project. The present situation is that Bill Seabron, on behalf of the Department, told Black that they would furnish the food if Black would provide $12,000 to cover the costs of distribution.

This didn't sound right, so I asked Black to telephone Seabron in my presence to say that they would agree to raise the $12,000, but that they wanted a letter of intent from USDA stipulating what they were prepared to do. Seabron asked Black whether he was willing to turn the $12,000 over to the Probate Judge (the highest County official). This was a new twist that was not previously mentioned to Black. The Probate Judge doesn't want to have anything to do with the program, is opposed to it, and even if he agreed to run it the Negro community would be in the position of raising the funds which he would then use as he saw fit (in true Alabama segregationist fashion).

Black phoned me yesterday to ask whether, in view of all the complications and difficulties, they shouldn't now try to get the food stamp program in the county instead. I suggested that he wait for Seabron's letter before deciding, as the food distribution program would be preferable since it would reach more people, but if that were out they could then try for the food stamps. I mention these incidents only to show that Black has been wasting considerable time and effort in trying to initiate worthwhile programs, but without adequate knowledge of the complexities of the programs, and without consultation with people who know more than he does and who could be helpful in providing him with advice and guidance.

I decided that it would be best if I went around alone to a few of the counties in the Black Belt to talk to some of the leaders, and to find out more about their problems and to see in what way Black was relating to them (without the possibility of embarrasing them if he were present). Briefly, this is what I found.

He has been instrumental in getting a few credit unions started, but they are floundering because there has been no follow-up and support from him, and there are no other resource people that they know to call on. He also interested other groups in credit unions, but has neglected to put in the necessary time that it takes to get them off the ground. It is true that he has recently been busy with ASCS and with other matters, but I feel that he does not know how to organize his work and establish priorities and that he could have given these groups additional help. He told me that he didn't have time to follow-up with some of these groups, and I inquired why Mrs. Black wasn't used for this purpose as she is supposed to know as much as he does and is considered very reliable. Al Ulmer, through SRC, has been using her as a consultant and may be willing to have her continue helping groups that need her services.

I spoke to the leaders of the new cooperatives in Wilcox, Perry and Dallas counties and discovered that they desperately need help. They have gone through the motions of forming a cooperative, but don't know what to do now, or where they are going. Black does not know enough about cooperatives to be very helpful, but he could have called on us to assist those groups -- which he didn't do. I attended a meeting of the Dallas County group with Shirley Mesher and they pleaded with me for assistance and I promised them that I would be out again shortly, and would also bring in some other people who could help. I plan this for some time next month.

The Wilcox cooperative is dormant now, after experimenting with cucumbers early this year, and they also need help. Ditto for Perry County. All these groups urgently need education in crop diversification, in determining what crops to plant, and in finding a market for their produce -- as well as an educational program for their members. I plan to concentrate on this during the next few months so that they will be in a position to get started when Spring planting time comes. More about my plans in this respect later.

I have a much better idea now of what some of the problems and deficiencies are and I will attempt to work them out with Black over the next few months. I will need to talk to Bob Valder and Jerry Roden to get their support and I plan to do this early next month. I discussed the problem with Ed Stanfield who is in general agreement with my evaluation and will also talk to Valder, Roden, as well as Black. I am planning to spend a week in Alabama every four or five weeks to see if working more closely with Black will help him to learn more about the programs and their implementation so that he can be more effective.

The ASCS evaluation session at Don Jelinek's office proved helpful as we learned about the difficulties experienced and came up with a number of recommendations which I will report on in greater detail when I get the secretary's notes.

Ala - R.A.P.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Washington, D. C.

October 26, 1966

Mr. Lewis Black, Vice Chairman
Hale County Community Action Committee, Inc.
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama 36744

Dear Mr. Black:

This is in response to your request for an explanation of this Department's position with respect to donated foods for Hale County, Alabama. You explained that it is quite likely that the Hale County Community Action Committee, Inc., could secure funds to defray the local costs of distribution if USDA donations were available.

The United States Department of Agriculture has an agreement with the Alabama Department of Pensions and Security to donate from the quantities of foods available to us, those quantities that can be distributed to low-income families in Alabama. The Alabama Department of Pensions and Security has regularly offered to provide these foods to any county that will make arrangements to distribute them. This local option provision is necessary since there are local costs of distribution that must be met at the county level. The source of funds then, is not important to us or, we think, to the State of Alabama because it in no way relates to the position of the state or USDA.

We understand that the Board of Commissioners of Hale County has offered to accept funds from the Hale County Community Action Committee, Inc., to start a distribution program. We don't think the source of funds you offer is important to the Board of Commissioners either, so long as there are no requirements made on the Board that would be unusual to a grant like the one they discussed from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

We suggest that you discuss this informally with Judge Harold Knight if you need further assurance of the County Board's position before applying for funds. If he thinks formal Board action is necessary and appropriate, we are sure he will take care of this for you.

Please be assured we are vitally interested in seeing a food donation program for the people of Hale County started and are ready and willing to provide extra quantities of the foods now going to the State of Alabama when arrangements have been made with the county to distribute them.

Ala - RAP


FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

# NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

Reply to
REGIONAL OFFICE
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Tel. 404/522-3697



national board

FRANK P. GRAHAM
*chairman*

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
*vice-chairman*

ELIOT D. PRATT
*secretary-treasurer*

ANGELA BAMBACE
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I. CYRUS GORDON
SHIRLEY E. GREENE
ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON
SIDNEY HERTZBERG
ROBERT W. HUDGENS
ROBERT B. JOHNSON
LEWIS W. JONES
JAMES LIPSIG
FRANK McCALLISTER
EMANUEL MURAVCHIK
PAULI MURRAY
ARTHUR RAPER
IRA DeA. REID
VERA RONY
LEON SCHACHTER
CLARENCE SENIOR
PATRICIA CAYO SEXTON
NORMAN THOMAS
ROWLAND WATTS
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

FAY BENNETT
*executive secretary*

LOUIS ARONICA
*program secretary*

JAC WASSERMAN
*field director*

HUBERT THOMAS
*Georgia representative*

OCIE LEE SMITH
*Louisiana-Arkansas representative*

JAMES N. MAYS
*Mississippi representative*

EUGENE W. HAGANS
*South Carolina representative*

ART EMERY
*Tennessee representative*

JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
*administrative assistants*


November 3, 1966

MEMO

To: Lewis Black

From: Jac Wasserman

I have just received a compilation of the total number of applications received for various types of FHA loans during the year 1965. It also includes the total number of loans made during this same period.

I find the statistics almost unbelievable for the sixteen southern states reported on.

The following figures are given for the state of Alabama:

| Applications received from Negroes | | granted |
|---|---|---|
| Operating loans..... | 907 | 638 |
| Farm Ownership loans.... | 93 | 20 |
| Soil and water loans.... | 3 | 3 |
| Rural housing loans..... | 196 | 46 |
| EO loans..... | 225 | 86 |
| Emergency loans..... | 0 | 0 |

There were a total of 20,941 Negro farm operators in Alabama in 1964, of which 10,898 were full and part owners, and 10,043 were tenants. The statistics do not reveal how many of the tenants were sharecroppers. Knowing what we do about the economic plight of most Negro farmers, it is incomprehensible to me that there were so few Negro farmers in Alabama that made applications for the various types of FHA loans.

Two explanations occur to me.

1. Many farmers who inquired about loans were turned away by the FHA County Supervisor without making formal application. We have previously run into this situation, but FHA has issued instructions to its offices that all farmers who apply for a loan should be requested to fill out an application, regardless of whether "there are no funds available at present," or whether the County Supervisor believes "that they are not eligible." It is quite possible that many farmers were discouraged from filing formal application for loans for the above reasons. Naturally, if so few farmers filed applications, and those that did file were screened for eligibility -- that would account for the high percentage of loans granted Negro farmers who filed applications.

2. The other explanation is that there are still a great many Negro farmers who use conventional banking facilities for their operating and other loans, rather than FHA. Or is it that their previous experiences with FHA have discouraged them from applying?

In any case, it would appear to me that it is necessary for us to find out the reason for the small number of applications filed and to intensify our efforts to have Negro farmers apply and file applications to FHA for whatever assistance they require.

If you have any facts or theories to explain this phenomenon, please share them with me.

November 28, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
P.O. Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Bob:

Thank you for the report from you and Lewis Black. It was through and most interesting and informative. I look forward to seeing you again soon.

Sincerely,

Mathew Wadlive
Director of Research
Voter Education Project

MW/pf

As Director of the Rural Advancement Project of the Alabama Council on Human Relations I wish to apply for a Voter Education Project grant from the Southern Regional Council in order to continue and expand the work of various organizations concerning the approaching Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) elections in Alabama. It is our belief that such a grant would be possible under the "citizenship education" aspect of the Voter Education Project.

## THE PROBLEM[1]

"The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) is one of the most important agencies of the Department of Agriculture for those farmers in the South who are concentrated in the allotted crops--cotton, tobacco, and peanuts. This service, with offices in 3,000 counties, administers the crop allotment and price support programs and grants funds to farmers on a cost-share basis for the adoption of agricultural conservation practices. The funds dispersed from these offices are so large that a distinguised commentator has noted 'in many areas county government operations are dwarfed by ASCS programs as measured in dollar expenditures or impact on residents or both.'"(89)

"The virtual exclusion of Negroes from the ASCS structure poses one of the most serious problems with which the Department of Agriculture should be concerned, particularly since this exclusion is compounded by the discriminatory operation of the county committee elections." (96)

"The Commission's study has indicated that the most serious problems of equal protection of the laws in the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service programs are the exclusion of Negroes from the decision making of State and county committees and from employment in county offices. This is particularly notable since the main crops of the South for which allotments are established--cotton, tobacco, and peanuts--are much more important in the economic life of Negro farmers than of white farmers." (90)

"The real power in the ASCS program...is in the hands of county committees. These committees are usually elected indirectly by the vote of community committeemen who are directly elected in their communities. The ASCS elections for community and county committeemen are entirely under the jurisdiction of the ASCS, are supervised by the State committee, and are conducted in accordance with detailed procedures." (91)

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1. The Problem is outlined in excerpts from Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs A report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights--1965. Page numbers follow the excerpts in parentheses.

"(In 1964) out of 37,000 community committeemen and alternates elected to 7,400 community committees in the Deep South States, only about 75 were Negroes. Some of the reasons for the overwhelming disproportion in representation may be gathered from the circumstances surrounding the 1964 committee elections in Mississippi. There for the first time Negroes were elected to community committees in six counties. Prior to this time the only Negro community committeemen elected in Mississippi came from one all-Negro community. The nomination of Negroes in this State came as a result of intensive activity by the Mississippi Summer Project of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) which succeeded in having Negroes nominated in nine counties...On the day elections were held, COFO workers who attempted to act as poll-watchers and to observe the counting of ballots were arrested in a few instances and some were assaulted."2 (92)

As a result of these election campaigns in nine counties in Mississippi, in 1965 for the first time Negroes were put on the ballot in all Southern counties by the local (white dominated) committees. But these elections were characterized by systematic fraud and intimidation, as well as by a widespread lack of understanding of the election process by the Negroes newly participating in these elections. The United States Department of Agriculture did not make effective or determined efforts to supervise the elections or to effectively recruit the Negro farmers into the election process by allaying their fears built up over generations of violence and intimidation used to keep them out of "the white man's preserves."

It is significant that there were no Negro County Committeemen elected in the entire South and there were only 54 Negroes elected to the community committees as regular members.

Scores of complaints arising out of the 1965 ASCS elections were made to the Department of Agriculture. Investigations by the Inspector General's office of the USDA generally were whitewash jobs which avoided facing the acts of widespread, systematic, and blatant election irregularities. In the case of Lowndes County, Alabama, the elections were ordered run again because of election irregularities. In order to avoid compliance the Alabama state ASCS committee has advanced the 1965 election date by approximately 4 months. The election in Alabama will be held in mid-August, approximately 2-3 months before the elections in most other Southern states.

## THE PROPOSAL

The early elections in Alabama offer an un-paralleled opportunity to train Southern community leaders and field organizers in ASCS election procedures <u>before</u> ASCS elections in their own states.

The PURPOSES of this campaign will be:

1. To win elections.
2. To help the small and less affluent farmers participate in the democratic process at the community level. These elections are open to sharecroppers and tenant farmers as well as landowners. Many white sharecroppers and tenant farmers do not participate in these elections and might be brought in. Negro farmers must be brought in if they are to have any say at all in the economic forces which shape their lives.

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2. This paragraph ends the excerpts from the Commission's Report.

3. To aid Negro farmers in putting their own candidates on the ballots by petition instead of having all Negro candidates placed on the ballots by the white committees, thus ensuring competent Negro representation if any Negroes are elected.

4. To offer training and experience to field workers from other states in order that they may return to their states and conduct winning campaigns.

5. To be a pilot program for 1966 which will lay the groundwork for a more comprehensive and effective Regional compaign in 1967.

6. To gather evidence of (1) the systematic fraud and intimidation in the elections, and (2) the ineffectiveness of the USDA's methods for insuring free and equal participation by Negroes in the ASCS elections. This evidence will be used either to build a law suit to force the Department of Agriculture to guarantee equal participation to all groups or to conduct public hearings into the operations of the ASCS which would be designed to force the USDA to administer this program fairly (or in some other way publically focus nationwide attention on the mal-functioning of the ASCS program as it concerns Negro farmers in the South).

ASCS ACTIVITIES TO DATE

On July 16, 1966 thirty-five persons met in Montgomery, Alabama at a meeting sponsored by the Rural Advancement Project of the Alabama Council on Human Relations to discuss the ASCS election in Alabama for the current year. This election is to be held on August 16, 1966. At this meeting we decided to: (1) start organizing people to work on getting eligible voters in the ASCS communities to nominate by petition community committeemen of their choosing; (2) cooperate with the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee in the suit which they are preparing for Federal court (this suit will attempt to defer the ASCS elections until December, 1966--as a result of the Montgomery meeting retainers from 12 counties have already been secured for this suit); (3) begin an education program in selected ASCS communities in order to teach voters and other rural people about ASCS programs, benefits and the election process.

Other organizations who were represented at this meeting and who are working together on the ASCS Election Campaign include the Alabama Farmers and Rural Area Council, the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Since July 16 we have held meetings in eleven counties and have been responsible for getting 212 petitions signed for community committeemen (see attached Map Number 1).

Contacts have also been made in Barbour, Butler, Clarke, Lee, Macon, Montgomery and Russell counties. Indications are that with adequate resources significant progress could be made in informing persons about the ASCS election process and its benefits and programs.

Counties with 30% or more non-white farm operators would also show promise with adequate resources and personnel. These counties are Autauga, Chambers, Conecuh, Elmore, Henry, Pickens, Talladega and Tallapoosa (see attached Map Number 2).

The attached Map Number 3 shows the present status of our ASCS Election Campaign.

Attachments 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 are instructional material which has been passed out in quantities in those counties indicated in Map Number 1.

## DETAILS OF PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION

The proposed funds will be deposited in the Auburn National Bank by the Alabama Council on Human Relations and they will be responsible to the Southern Regional Council for the handling of the funds. The distribution of the funds will be authorized by the Rural Advancement Project Director and all receipts and expense vouchers will be sent to and retained by the Alabama Council on Human Relations. A separate account will be opened in the name of the ACHR Voter Education Project. It is understood that all cancelled checks will be sent by the bank to the Southern Regional Council.

The Director of the Rural Advancement Project will be the Director of the ACHR Voter Education Project. He will act as coordinator and supervisor of the entire ASCS Election Campaign program. Working under him will be two persons, both experienced in ASCS election work. One of these persons will devote full-time through most of August and the other will devote most of his time through most of August.

The proposal also calls for 15 full time persons who will both organize the local communities and instruct persons relative to the ASCS election. These persons will be indigenous to the community and will work with the program for four weeks.

Each cooperating organization will be assigned to certain counties and will be responsible for those counties. Each organization's workers will report regularly to the Rural Advancement Project Director. These reports will in turn be compiled and a copy of that report will be forwarded to all concerned organizations. None of the proposed grant will be used for salary, travel or maintenance expenses of staff members of the cooperating organizations.

The National Sharecroppers Fund has indicated that they will contribute $25 a week toward secretarial assistance and will also contribute toward telephone expenses.

The number of counties in which the election effort is conducted will be determined by the possible forthcoming grant. If the proposed budget is funded we will work in those 26 counties indicated in Map Number 3. It should be noted that according to the 1960 census there were 22,651 non-white farm operators in these 26 counties.

## PROPOSED BUDGET

| | Per Week | Per Month |
|---|---|---|
| SUBSISTANCE (15 people) | $ 25.00 | $1,500.00 |
| SECRETARY | 25.00 | 100.00 |
| OFFICE SUPPLIES (stamps, printing, mimeograph,etc.) | 175.00 | 700.00 |
| TRANSPORTATION (13,000 miles at .08¢ per mile) | | 1,040.00 |
| TELEPHONE | 125.00 | 500.00 |
| MISCELLANEOUS (10% of the cost) | | 384.00 |
| TOTAL | | $4,224.00 |

Submitted by:

Lewis Black

Lewis Black, Director
Rural Advancement Project
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Stanfield

SOUTHWEST ALABAMA CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

Minutes of January 5, 1967
at
LCDC Office

The meetingwas presided by Bruce Kashdon from the Migrant Division of the OEO.

People present: Dallas County-two Mr. Berrys, Mrw Berry, Nathern Payne, and Sherily Mesher.
Lowndes County-Mr. Smith and Mr. Billingsely
Hale County-Mr. Lewis Black
Perry County-Mr. Albert Turner, Mr. James Carter and Mr. James Avery.
Wilcox County- Mr. Brooks

Mr, Kashdon opened the meeting by comments of the absentees that were there during the time of this particular meeting. We were expecting two representatives from each of the ten (10) counties to be repersented in this co-operative. But there were only a few counties repersented, namely, Dallas Lowndes, Hale, Perry, and Wilcox Counties.

Mr. Turner suggested getting someone who could go around to get the people together and these should be people who are known in these places. It was stated that Lewis Black program is already geared to this type of work and that theyfelt that he should be the person to get around to do this work. Sherily Mesher suggested that a complete contact list be made up and we get in touch with these people by letter , telegram, or telephone.

Mr. Kashdon, from OEO, was trying to get some people here to work in Selma for a week or two to try to get things arranged in the office, at least two people.

Mr. Turner suggested that we get an advisory committee of three or four people. It was suggested that Lewis Black, Albert Turner, Sherily Mesher and Gordon be the advisors to serve in the capacity to coordinate the activities of the co-operative until the co-operative get off the ground. Mr. Kashdon suggested that we have a board of directors and that each county will have an advisory committee to the board and as a coordi nators.

Extensive discussion was over this problem as to who should serve as a coordernator. The two people they had in mind were Lewis Black and Sherily Mesher. The idea was to have Lewis Black as the field co-ordinator and Sherily Mesher as the office co-ordinator. This was kick about several different ways.

Kashdon suggested that we needed 100 farmers from each of the ten counties named; Wilcox, Lowndes, Perry, Dallas, Hale, Greene, Sumter, Monroe, Chataw, and Marango Counties. The things that we were to do was to get 100 farmers interested in this farm organization from each of the 10 counties. This would make a total of 1,000 farmers .

Initial plans were made to start this crop conversion program so that the farmers can make loan through the FHA to finance the crop program, in that the farmers

might have a market that they can sell their products together.

There were some sheets passed out (survey sheets) that had already been used in Dallas County. It was cited that Dallas County had already gotten several of their farmers. These forms were to be completed and turned in. It was also suggested that we ask eacy person to make a donation of $1.00 to the co-operative and give each person a receipt for the $1.00. This dallor was to be used to bear the initial expense of opening up the co-operative and getting it started to operating .

Also we discussed the crops that we were to plant. The plants are to be one that can be sold on the market.

The following was stated:

1. Dallas County has six service testin stations.
2. Co-operatives need markets to be developed.
3. The co-operative need a training program which would train farmers from the ground in co-operative work, etc.
4. The co-operative must provide service for the people.
5. Co-operative gives the person the bargining power that one need.
6. It might be possible that the co-operative will have to buy land for farmers who do not have it.
7. It was stated that there were people who will give money to organize, to use without sny interest rate (especially a co-operative for the help of poor people)

Election of President or Chairman

After a long discussion, it was dicided and voted upon that we have a temporary chairman for the Southwest Alabama Co-operative. Mr. Kashdon made sure that everyone came out of the room during the time of the election for this temporary chairman so that somebody from Dallas County could be elected as temporary chairman. It was more people from Dallas County in the room than it was from any other county. Mr. Johnson was elected as temporary chairman for the Southwest Alabama Co-operative Association.

$500.00, from the Co-operative League of the U.S.A., was sent to the tentative Co-operative Movement to be for organizing. This $500.00 was sent to the Oil for Co-op of which Mr. Payne is the president of this organization. So it was discussed how this $500 was to be divided. Each county was to get a certain position of this $500 as well as part of it is to go for office expense. It was voted that each county get $20 to spend between the time of the January 5 meeting of 1967 through January 14, of 1967. It was voted that up to $50 can be used for office supplies.

Each county representative were to see the following services: The FHS, ASCS, Extension Service and the Soil Conservation before the meeting of January 14, 1967. It was held the following Saturday.

Comments were made on marketing, brokers, credit, buying, distributors, ect., by John Zipherman who were from Grand Marie Co-operative in Louisiana. There

were some statements made by James May from the National Sharecroppers Fund in Mississippi. Some information were given about wholesale people and the people that have markets in the local areas, like Montgomery, Birmingham and other places. It was also stated that in Tennessee, they had a co-operative which has a broker on an 8% commission to help co-operatives.

The meeting was adjoined until January 14, 1967. Bob Valder, Assistance Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations from Auburn, Alabama, act as secretary. Joh Kashdon was the presiding officer over the meeting.

Stanfield

SOUTHWEST ALABAMA CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION
Held in Dallas County
January 14, 1967

The meeting was held in the Elk Building. Lewis Black from Greensboro, Alabama presided. Mr. Lee, Agriculture Teacher, from Elmore County prayed.

At the introduction of the meeting Lewis Black introduced several of the people after a brief comment. The guests introduced were as following:

Myles Hollinster- Migrant and Seasonal Farmer, OEO, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Bradford-Rural Task Forde, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Markison-Co-operative Service of the Federal Government
Mr. Philps-Department of Labor
Mr. Gunter-EDA, Huntsville, Alabama
Dr. Caverder- Extension Department, Auburn Univerisity, Auburn, Alabama
Dr. Sims- Co-operative League of the USA
Mr. O'Shields-FHA of Alabama
Dr. Thomas- Alabama A. & M. College (absent)
Dr. Mayberry-Agriculture Department, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Dr. Potts -Department of Agriculture (absent)
Mr. Blackwell-Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
Mr. Borkalich- Rural Action Group in Alabama
Mr. Brown-EDA
Mr. Wasserman-National Sharecrippers Fund (absent)
Mr, Mike Kenney-National Sharecroppers Fund
Mr. James Mays-National Sharecroppers Fund
Mr. Al Ulmer-Southern Regional Council
Mr. John Zippert-Grand Marie Co-operative in Louisiana (absent)
Mr. Osebrook-Co-operative Extension Service of Dallas County
Rev. Smith-Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Mr. Waldrup- FHA of Alabama
Mr. Stramp-FHA
Mr. Smith-Representative from Dallas County
Mr. Turner-Representative from Perry County
Mr. Johnson-Dallas County
Mr. Berry-Dallas County
Mr. Hinds-Lowndes County
Mr. James Carter-Perry County
Mr. James Avery-Perry County
Mr. Bob Volder-Alabama Council on Human Relations
Mr. Payne-Dallas County
Mr. Smith-Lowndes County
Mr. Scott-Extension Service , Dallas County
Mr. Lythle-SNCC
Mr. Martin-Jackson County in Mississippi
Mr. Griffin-SNCC
Mr. Cox-SNCC
Mr. Carter-Perry County
Mr. Avery-Perry County
Rev. Bradford-Dallas County

Mr. A. Brown-Extension Service, Dallas County
Mr. Rodgers-Dallas County
Mr. Ruphus Lewis-Montgomery County
Mr. Lewis Black-Alabama Council on Human Relations, Hale County

The first speaker for the program was Mr. Myles Hollinster. He spoke about a half an hour giving us some of the high lights on "why it is important that we organize a co-op". He pointed out one of the things in the areas that we representing is the idea of mechanization had about taken over the farm work for small farmers and there is not enough industries moving in these places to fill the gaps. There have been several legislature passed that has not yet fill the gap where it reaches the poor farmers or the low income farmer. OEO along with USDA have not rendered the services to fill the gap that has been left there by the industrialization coming in. Also there was a thing that was important to note; that 30% of the farmers that were in these areas ten years ago have migrated from the farm or those that still lives on the farm are not able to secure jobs adequately to give them a good survival for their livelihood. After his long discussion on this topic there was a period left for representatives to ask questions and make statements. Some of these statements were thrown backward and forward at some of the people who were up from the USDA Department and from OEO and EDA of OEO as well.

Representatives spoke on these particular items and representatives from the United States Departments:

1. Mr. O'Shield made statements that we were going about it right to get the government representatives to be in the planning of the co-operative movement.
2. Also small farmers have a high decrease in rate, about 30%.
3. Industry is not filling the gap for productivite
4. Many farm products go through co-op, but they must have high quality.
5. Strong legislature support for co-operative in the USDA and the OEO Department must be strengthen more.
6. Co-operative is a great instrument or great tools for poor farmers.
7. Co-operative can be supported by co-operative folk or by some folk living within the co-operative services.
8. A co-operative of the nature that we have for the multi-county can have many small associations and by this way they can help one another to make a change in the system of farming. Other counties of co-operatives can be set up in organizing in the south where a few farmers might be organized together to buy a peice of machine that one farmer can't buy. But this type of co-operative will not have the magnitude of service that the large multi-county co-operative would have.

Also it was brought out in this discussion that the south can feed millions of people through the big marketing servi es that is set up in Chicago and New York. Co-operatives help little men in buying tools and avail themselves to the marketing services in making co-operative loans through FHA and there many of them listed; SBA, ADA loans or grants, OEO Loans and grants and FHA loans to help several porposes of which some of them were listed Saturday.

OEO hope to help local folk get attention and federal resource and private resources get coordinated so that they might be helpful to the South. Mr. Hollinster stated that he was a southern and understood the problems of the people.

The house was turned back into the hands of Black. So we changed the agenda a little. The agenda changed and there was comments made by Dr. Mayberry, some questiona were asked Mr. Hollinster. There were some statements made by Dr. Bradford and some questions and statements made by some of the members from the USDA Department.

After this, there was a talk by Albert Turner who is the field secretary for SCLC in the State of Alabama. Mr. Turner explained what happens so far in this 10 multi-county program. He explained some things which was "why co-op's are needed, "the lost of cotton, relocation of farmers, look for the employment of people, this meeting was to see if we could get help from various agencies, explained the organization of the committee. He stated that we were to include the following counties: Lowndes, Dallas, Perry, Marengo, Sumter, Hale, Wilcox, Monroe, and Clarke. He further stat d how each of these counties were organized.

Mr. Irlenfeldt , from the Co-operative League of the USA was also one the quest. Mr. Brooks from Wilcox County and at this particular time Mr. Irlenfeldt asked some questions when Mr. Turner got through with his statements. He made one observation, that in this list of things we were planing that we should look into the possibility of finding out how much fertilize and seed that we are to have. He also mention the fact that in getting this fertilize and seed that we should consider the time of planting and the amount that we are going to plant, the type of market that is to be used and when we were going into the marketing. First he said that we should be considering the cost of buying fertilize so that we might buy it at a low rate. This will give a buying power by all of us buying this fertilize together.

There was long discussion by Dr. Bradford and also by Mr. O'Shield, Mr. Hollinster, etc., involving the FHA and the availibality of borrowing money. questions were asked about the help of technical assistance through the FHA and help farmers set up the co-operative and finding the need for financial assistance. Mr. O'Shield stated that he didn't have enough personal to trun in one person over to giving just co-operative its assistance. Mr. Mayberry have said that there were good evidence that this was a need for firm organization to get help from the Federal Government to help people in these locations. Dr. Bradford seemed to thing that we needed to go back and get the interest of more people in the community before we organize the co-operative.

At this point Lewis Black introduced several people from various counties.

We broke for lunch at 1:00 p.m. and the lunch lasted until 2:00 p.m. which was presided by Lewis Black. We had reports from each county that was represented there. Mr. Avery made a report from Perry County , stating that 125 people had already registered from Perry County. He also stated that we need a market which we need technical assistance and some direction in the way to go about this

co-operative. Mr. Payne from Dallas County stated that they had several representatives, about 175 farmers membership. We had a report from Wilcox County. We didn't have any from any other county at this time. Mr. Brooks made the report from Wilcox County and he stated that they had 25 applications. Mr. Thomas Johnson who is temporary chariman for the multi-county board made several remarks about members of this farm program. Mr. Brooks told about he planted cumcumber last year and he had little success in the cumcumber business, the main thing that w as giving him trouble was having a marketing place. He also raised okra and sold it to King Parr. After Mr. Brooks report and after the remarks by Mr. Johnson, Mr. Turner made a presentation of some factors that was involved in setting up this co-operative. One was the name of the organization, which is Southwest Alabama Farmers Co-operative. He spoke about the need for charting it, which has not been done yet. He spoke about the members of each county being organized as a spearate unite. Then he talked about multi-county board which was temporary set up.

Mr. Johnson was temporary chairman for the board, he spoke in turns of the three persons who also served as a banking committee and co-ordinator; Lewis Black, Albert Turner, Sherily Mesher and Mr. Johnson is the temporary chairman. He spoke about we have had some practice in raising some vegatables such as okra, tomatotoes, cumcumber. Okra sold to King Parr, the cucumbers sold to W. W. Pickin Company.

Miss Mesher made some remarks after Mr. Turner got throuth talking. She told some of the purposes of the meeting; were to get representatives there from different counties. She told about some of the problems that were related to the farmers product and she told the approach that were being made to the agriculture department and people who were in various department thereof. She told about readjustment problem that we are trying to set up for the benefit of the rural farmers on a low income. She spoke of the importance of several things. One was we need immediate help, another thing was that all farmers work together and all help out would make a strong group in order that they might be able to sell for the producing, be able to get funds through their organization and have a comperhensive training program, and for the benefit of all the people that is involved in this co-operative movement. Miss Mesher is from the Dallas County 1964 Devemopment Program.

In this program it was outlined there was nothing in there that would help to promote good farmer among the Negro farmers.

After several discussions it was discussed that that private organization would go into a meeting and then the federal organization would go into a meeting to tell us just what they could do to help to eleviate the existing struggle that the farmer are now going through. This was to be at least 5 or 10 minutes brake but it lasted 45 minutes. After this 45 minute brake, there was a report made from Mr. Markinson for all the government official. After this long report from Mr. Markinson it was concluded that the government officials were not ready to help until we go extensive organization and was suggested it would be a year before we could be ready for their help.

Mike Kenney from the Sharecroppers Fund criticize the failure for being so slow and he spoke that there was a contribution for over one million dallors

given to help these organizations get further on the way. Mr Irlanfelt from the Co-operative League of USA commented on the south in saying that the south was behind, it seemed to be another country and he never expected things to move right. He made a pledge of a grant to help the south espicially to co-operatives groups. Southern Regional Council Pleged to give a grant to this organization. Mr. Al Ulmer spoke about the chart for the grant for the Southern Regional Council and National Sharedroppers Fund which was a proposal written to Ford Foundation to grant people money to help set these co-operatives up, the meeting is to be held on February 11 and 25. This money will go to low income farmers through weveral states to help people set up co-operative and give co-operative training.

Mr. Box Valder from ACHR pledge the assistance of Lewis Black, the field director for the Rural Advancement Project and also pledge to make a contribution from the organization but didn't say how much. After all the organizations had made their pledges then some of the federal folk made pledges. Mr. Al Ulmer also pledge 5 to 800 dallors. Mr. Blackwell was disappointed at the federal government and remarked that everyone of the federal fellows who do not pledge to do their job should be out at once. After these statements Mr. Mays asked some question to the people , the during the time of some remarks being made some was made by Lewis Black. After this remark by Lewis Black there were several people who made some remarks coming from the FHA as to what they would do in helping to get these program started. So we got several comments from t the Co-operative Extension Service and Osburn stated that they will do all that they can to help us in this program. It was stated that they do not have any money to contribute but their service of education information were available to us at all times. I stated also in my remarks that Dr. Mayberry and Dr. Pott of Tuskegee will be willing to help us in any way that they could in this program that we are trying to foster.

After we had some statements from Mr. O'Shield stating that the FHA was willing to do whatever they could and said that weveral times they have not been able to put over a good program through the FHA, people in the county didn't go out to make the loans, at this point we had several questions and answer coming from different people.

Mr. Markinson from the Co-operative Service of the USA said that his department was willing to make a contribution by sending one representative d down here to stay in the community to work with us. There was remark made by Mr. Gardon; it was our job to go and get better organized so that we can go about making the service whar we desire. There were some more comments made, it was criticizing the federal fellows by Lewis Black who was presiding over the meeting.

The meeting was closed at this point. A small section of the board members and some of the organizations was willing to meet and sum up what the meeting and where to go from here. So we were discussing whether or not we should organize each county as a co-operative unite and then have each association to charter the multi-county group or whether have just one multi-county group and it was dacided at this point that we would have one multi-county charter. We desolved the problem as to whether or not we just have a co-operative for each one of the groups. Whether or not we should have a local charter

or should we have one for the federal government, but t ere were weveral things that we suppose to have about the charting of this co-operative.

We adjoined for home. It was announced before our injoinment that we would have a meeting on Tuesday at the Co-operative Extension Service Office and also have one Friday at the Co-operative Service Office. We adjoined for home.

A credit union which had made remarkable progress w as organized on October 10, 1966 and it has brown to above one thousand dallors in asset. We have pending credit unions to be chartered in Wilcox County, Monroe County, Clarke County and Greene County. We had hope that these credit unions would have been chartered in 1966 but are was still hoping that they will be chartered in the first part of 1967

$3,000.00

Alabama Council on Human Relations

P. O. Box 1310

Auburn, Alabama

Quarterly payment, Rural Advancement
Project grant

Rural Advancement Project

January 30, 67

J. Edwin Stanfield

SOUTHWEST ALABAMA FARMERS COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION
meeting with State FHA
February 16, 1967

FHA Committees:

Mr. Bamburg-Montgomery Office
Mr. Gilford-Washington, D. C. Office
Mr. O'Shield-Chief Operating Officer
Mr. Waldnoph
Mr. Ivery

SAFCA Committees:

Mr. Lewis Black
Mr. Albert Turner
Mr. Johnson
Miss Sherily Mesher

The meeting was discussed informal with Mr. Lewis Black making the introduction.

Deatils of the organizationwas given:
1. About 700 farmers have committed themselves into this co-op.
2. Who will take all product
3. Board members
   a. Gave details on co-op in order to get the funds:
      King Pharr and Southern Foods of Georgia as possibilities, and Mr. Orsburn will act as a receiver. He is from Selma, owner and operator of the gin mill.

The SAFCA Committee stated that theyrecommend untreamed okra for thefarmers to sell.

The estimated budget was given to the FHA Committee. It was discussed in details by Miss Mesher.

The FHA Committee received the estimated budget in good faith. No commitment was made by the FHA Committee. They stated that they would have to analyze the budget in order to see what the FHA can do.

The SAFCA Committee was asked to report to Mr. Bamburg, the Proposed Operating Budget, Premit to Operate, Officers of each county organization, By-laws, Artical of Incorporation, and the survey forms.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
(Rural Advancements Project)

20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

Report by Lewis Black

This report, for the most part will cover what I have been doing the months of January, February, and March of 1967. During these three months I have worked extensively trying to organize this multi-county co-op. This multi-county co-op consist of the follwoing counties: Lowndes, Dallas, Perry, Hale, Wilcox, Marango, Greene, Sumter, Chowta and Monroe Counties.

The purpose of this co-operative is to form a ten (10) county co-operative for the marketing and purchasing of equipments for farmers throughout this area. The way this co-operative is set up, there are ten (10) counties where we have an association set up with the Board of Directors in each county association of the ten (10) counties. Of these ten (10) counties associations, we have elected two people; the people from the county elected two people to serve from their county on the multi-county co-operative board. This board consist of twenty (20) board members with each county having equal representation of members.

In the month of December, on December 21 to be exact, we had our first meeting. It was on January 5, that we organized the complete multi-county board. It worked us very hard trying to go to each of these counties and organizing what was known as a Board of Directors from each county association.

In this organizing stage the Co-operative League of the U. S. A. funished us with some assistance and some of their top men came down to help us in organizing; namely, Mr. Chuck Ihlegfeldt , Mr. Marlon Miller, Dr. Williams, from Southern University and Dr. Sim from Southern University came to help us in our organizing stage. We held a series of meetings with various State and Federal Agencies also in our organizing stage. We had people from the Seasonal and Migrant Farm of Washington, D. C.; the division of OEO. We had people from EDA represented, from the national and regional level, we had people from the Extension Service of Alabama to meet with us and we had people from the FHA to meet with us in our organizing stage. We had organizations such as the National Sharecroppers Fund being repersented, the Southern Regional Council, the Alabama Council on Human Relations and Southern Rural Action Project of which Mr. Blackwell and Mr. Paul Borkalich helped us in organizing, we had representatives from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to help us in organize and Mr. Albert Turner has worked diligently with us in organizing, from the National Sharecroppers Fund we had Mr. Jac Wasserman helping us and also Mr. Mike Kenney and Mr. James Mays, and from the Southern Regional Council we had help by Mr. and Mrs. Al Ulmer, giving us assistance from the Project Freedom we had Mr. and Mrs. Nelson and any number of other organizations and individuals contributing to make the organization get its form to get started.

Lawyer Eskine Smith wrote our first papers to be recorded in the courthouse in Selma. It was not until March 21, 1967, that we were able to get our papers properly weitten up and recorded in the courthouse in Dallas County.

During these three months we had several interested individuals to come and help us and had some locally to give us assistance. One of the persons that has been giving us assistances, who is not representing any group, was Miss Shirly Mesher. Mr. John Zippert, from the Grand Marie Co-operative, has been coming in and pitching in, giving us help in trying to find markets and helping out in whatever assistance that could be of value to us.

One of our greatest problems has been to find a market to market those vegetables. Some of the places that we have contacted were as following:

GRIDLEY MAXION COMPANY-Mr. Bert Lowry So. Water Market, Chicago
Phone: 312-CA 6-6005

HIRSCH- Louisville, Kentucky-Mr. Burr

BROWN-MILLER COMPANY, P. O. Box 10278, New Orleans, La. 70212
Paul N. Walker, Phone: (504) 833-3771

ATKINS PICKOING COMPANY- Mr. Wallac

Jesse Jackson-Operation Bread Basket, Phone: (312) 584-6540
David Wallace

United MERCHANT EXCHANGE, 1218 W. 69th St., Chicago: William H. P. Bey
Consignment Merchants

A & P: M. E. Benben, District Manager, National Produce Division,
160-A Lakeshore Dr., St. Joseph, Michigan, 49085 Phone: 616-429-1511

UNPRODUCTIVE CONTRACTS
POMONA FROZEN FOODS, Griffin, Ga. -Cocklin (?)

Birdseye

We have been holding meetings in each of the ten counties and also have had meetings for the multi-county area at least once or twice a week; most of our multi-county board meetings have been held in Selma, Alabama. However, the multi-county board meetings have met at Beatrice, Marion, Yantly, Greensboro, and Oilver Alabama. It is our desire to have these meetings in various localities so that the farmers can get acquainted with the difference locals of the multi-county areas as well as meet more of the people in the communities.

At this point of the game, I feel that we have begun to have a pretty strong and dynamic organization. However, at this stage it is easier for the organization to fall apart because of little understanding about its

function. We are anticipating having some seminar to teach the board of the organization the responsibilities and how they can function for the well being of all the farmers in this particular ten county group in these multi-county meetings.

We have discussed several points and one of the points that we have discussed was marketing, the other one was purchasing items such as seeds, fertilizer, trucks, trackers, and other equipments that it would take to render these services to one another. In addition, we have discussed shed and how useful these sheds could be to people as a unit of handling the vegetables that are being marketed for the farmers. We have been offered several prices for the commodities; most of them are related.

We have been offered services from several departments namely, the Extension Service, on January 14, in our meeting in Selma. The FHA offered its service, recently we had the opportunity of meeting with FHA in Mr. Bamberg Office in Montgomery, Alabama. At this meeting was Mr. Bamberg, Mr. Nettle Ivery, Mr. O'Shield, Mr. Waldroph, and Mr. Gilford. Persons that made up this committee were Mr. Albert Turner,-SCLC, Miss Shirly Mesher, Mr. Joe Johnson- Chairman of the organization, Miss Rosie Nabors, and myself. In this report you will find the minutes of the meeting that was held in Mongtomery and also the minutes of the meetings held on January 5, and 14.

We have been encouraging farmers to carry out the following exercises in the community with their farming for the year: One is soil test; Dr. Sims from Southern University, Baton Roudge, Louisiana, has been very helpful to us in helping get soil test up in the blackbelts, however, he has done most his work in Dallas County. It is regrettable that he has not been to the other counties to help the people get out the soil test. The other thing that we have been doing was encouraging farmers to recommended standards in utilization of fertilizer and soda and also lime for the soil. We feel that it is necessary to have soil test in this area because there is such a wide variety of types of soil. We have the lime soil, we have the post oak soil, and soil, red clay soil and just about almost any type of soil that might be named. Another thing, with this broad ten county area you have several types of vegetables to be grown in some places that can't be grown in others. For instance, Irish Pototoes can be grown in the lower part of Monroe County, but not so well in the northern part of Monroe County nor can it be grown for the market in places like Dallas, Hale, Perry and what have you, because of the length of time the sun shine each day, where as in places like Hale, Perry, Marango, or Lowndes Counties you can grow okra because of more of the black hard clay soil than you have in Monroe, Wilcox, and Choctaw

The Southwest Alabama Farmer Co-operative has also placed an application with OEO for the purpose of securing a grant to cover some of the expense of technical assistance and implementing the program to get off the ground this year, in that we will not have funds available and we don't have the projective income to barrow the necessary capital to operate and we are operating with poor people that don't have capital to invest in co-op, is going to necessitate our getting a grant from the Federal Government or

some other source. For this organization that have already made contributions to this end were:. Alabama Council contributed $200, Co-opitave League of the U. S. A. contributed $500, the Southern Regional Council contributed $450 for the purpose of helping us funish gas to make trips to try to find the capitals necessary to carry on this operation and also help us to secure market in the co-op.

We have had some conversations with the Cotton Producer Co-op in Atlanta, Georgia, which has already said that they will do business with us so far as fertilizer and seeds are concern. It is going to be a problem for us to find capital to carry out our oblibations to the people that is in the co-op for this year since the time so being so late, unless the OEO proposal goes through by the first of April.

The Southwest Alabama Farmer Co-operative, in one of its board meetings in the latter part of March, decided that they would not be able to wait for the OEO grant to begin its operation for the assistance of the farmers in fertilizer, seeds and insecticide. So what was agreed upon in this meeting was that the Southwest Alabama Farmer Co-operative Association would make loans from sources to be able to purchase fertilizer, seeds and insecticide for the services to be render to the farmers of the ten county area. It was agreed upon that the Board of Directors would barrow $5,000 from Operation Freedom for the purpose of helping out in this struggle and Mr. Al Ulmer, who is on of the Field Representatives of the Southern Regional Council, helped the co-op in securing $5,000 from from some person in New York to help SWAFC in carrying out its services.

On March 26, the board meeting of the organization, agreed that we would barrow this $30,000 with $25,000 being barrowed from the International Foundation for Indepence and Mr. Robert Zevon. The way this money is to be loan to the co-op, is that Mr. Al Ulmer will got 25 people from the area in Atlanta, Georgia to sign for $1,000 each, or one person could sign for more than $1,000 to be of security to the note because SWAFC does not have any liquid assest. The Board of Directors of SWAFC has already made votes to sign the affidavit, in that they would be signing for SWAFC in the event something should happen to the present officers, SWAFC would know that whoever the officers might be that they will have this liability to be paid back to the lender of the money within six-months or soon thereafter, with the interest rate of 6% per annum on the funds with the understanding that the interest will terminate as soon as the note is paid, even if it is paid before six-months or at the six-month semi-anniversary payment with the interest thereof.

The co-op will in turn make loans to the farmers who does not have credit nor the money to purchase their fertilizer. The loans to be made to the average farmer that we have, would need only about $50.00 to $100.00 worth of fertilizer. We will have notes made on the produce that they raise. It is understood that the person is suppose to do some business with the co-op in order to purchase fertilizer, so the co-op will take a note on the person's crop in order to let im have fertilizer to operate his crop, not only fertilizer, but insecticide and seeds as well.

Many of the farmers will pay cash for their fertilizer, seeds and insecticide. This will help us out in several ways: (1) It will lesson our bookkeeping system (2) We will have operating capital to operate the purpose of the co-op (3) We will not stand the chance of a loss in our liability of the co-op (4) The farmers would have his crop cleared, in that the co-op will not have assest to his produce that he raises for the co-op and sell to them.

Another thing that was brought out in the March 26 meeting, was that we will order some fertilizer as of March 27 in the amount of 150 tons to be shiped to the Southwest Alabama Farmer Co-operative. We are also ordering seed immediately, which will be on sell for the farmers. We will have this in ample time for the farmers to plant their peas, cucumbers and okras between the dates of April 1 or 15, 1967. This will mark history making for the farmers in the blackbelt area. We have several contacts continuously coming in, in addition to the markets that we have listed in this report, of people who would be interested in pruchasing from the co-op.

Another thing that transpired in the March 26 meeting was that we interviewed the person to hold the position as receiver for the co-op; possible receiver, a nd a marketing man who will be responsible for looking out for the well being of the co-op supplies of goods. The man comes with great experience in the work and with great interest in carrying out a program to better help the farmers raise vegetables to be marketed.

I suppose with all this talk about SWAFC, that the next thing that you probably wonder what do I see in the future for this organization. I see much more promising for the co-op than I did two months ago. I feel that with the wondful progress that it has made, and with the progress that could be made, this co-op possibly will be one of the greatest things that has been ever formed among Negroes in the South. It could be the point to change the history of farming and change the history of the economical struggle for Negroes and could be the thing to deliberare the pressure from Negroes through its econamic stability and their political inspiration in the United States. It also could be the transformation of history, in that we are, for the first time, have Negroes participating in a mass production of something to help themselves and a mass vegetable that Negroes have not been use to raising because they have been tied up with cotton plantations, mainly for the interest of the White people.

Another thing I see coming out of this co-op, with the OEO grant attentively being funded, if they are funded or if they are not, we can see the wide interest of people from the Federal Government of how they have gotton to know the problems of the people in the south and the effects that the political structure has on its economic struggle for people. Not to say that the political structure is a group of people that is interested in poor people, surely this could not be all the way true nor could it all together be said to be false, because yet they have to prove themselves to the group before we can determine their really attitude toward people from an organizational self-help program.

The second phase of the OEO Program is reallt to be the one that will prove what could be done among falks. This second phase of the OEO Program is one that we will get a grant to do whatever is needed to be done and a demonstration to see what people could do other than farming; actually help themselves, these may or may not be related. There could be things like manufactories, could be sewer system, could set up training centers to help people be trained for other jobs or could be political education or could be adult education, health or day-care programs. Whatever it might be, it should be something that the people would be planting themselves in carrying out this demonstration grant. In it I must say that this could be the best thing that happened to the blackbelt of Alabama.

The other things that I have been doing in the last three months, I made two trips to McIntie, Georgia to speak to people in some seminar that was being held with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, on the promotion of Credit Unions. In these meetings we had people from Mississippe, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Texas. We haven't done any work much with Credit Unions in Alabama this year. two or three time, I have visited Credit Unions to check and see how they were getting along. We noticed the one York, Alabama is making wondful progress in their share accounts and also in their loans. The Credit Union in Demopolis, Alabama is still holding on well, it has not made to much progress in making new accounts this year. The Credit Union in Perry County is still moving about the same pace. Greenala Citizens Federal Credit Union is making very little progress this year. It has been a great help to a number of low income people who made a number of small loans and very few farm loan loans for this year. We hope that Greenala Citizens Federal Credit Union will be in position to funish all the farmers in Hale County that would not have money to purchase fertilizer from this SWAFC Association. In this way they will not have an indebtness with SWAFC, SWAFC could have this money to further its endeavor to render service to the farmers. We are encouraging credit unions to do the same thing.

We still have credit unions pending in Clarke County at Jackson, Alabama, in Wilcox County at Camdom, Alabama, Monroe County at Beatrice, Alabama, Tuscaloosa County at Tuscaloosa, Alabama and some pending commentments from Greene County, namely, either Eutaw or Folklon, Alabama. We have been working so with SWAFC that we have not had the opportunity of working with these credit unions in trying to get them organized as much as we had wanted to do.

On February 27, 1967, I was engaged in making a report to the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty. This report was delivered out of Memphis, Tennessee. I testified before this commission for fourty-five minutes; thirty minutes were deliverance and fifteen minutes were questioning and answering before the commission. This report was on television and many of the excerpts came in the National News. A copy of the prepared statement that was made will be found with this report.

That week end, we and the Board of Directors meet, for the Alabama Council on Human Relations, in Birmingham, Alabama. We had a very unique program prepared and some very informative speakers spoke at these meetings.

However, they won't as dynamatic as some people had expected. Also in February we had one week conference of the National Sharecroppers Staff and Field Workers in Memphis, Tennessee. It begin about the 7th of February. The conference was originally anticipated to be held in Mississippe so that we could get a chance to take part in knowing more about the co-operative that existed in that state, particularly in Panolar County, Batesville, Mississippi. It was at this conference that we got a chance to go over to Batesville once or twice. We got a chance to meet several board members of the Panolar Co-op and we were able to have the opportunity to take part in a conference that was being held over there, begining that first night following the seminar that we had in Memphis, Tennessee.

One of the most interesting things of this seminar was a discussion by a young man from Texas on self-help housing program, that was being develop by some Mexican-American. It was my hope that several people will know more about this self-help housing program. It would be worth while if we had a simular program in the State of Alabama.

I have also been engaged in going to another board meeting in Birmingham This was since the annual meeting. We had a great speaker at the Mobile Chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. At the Mobile Chapter, I noticed that we have a very unique chapter going down there. The people have great spirit and anxiety to do something about the existing problems around them. I didn't stay in Mobile to actually get a chance to see any of the projects that were being enacted by the chapter of the Mobile group. But I hope to have the opportunity of going back to Mobile to see the projects that they are endeavouring to carry out.

This is just the summary in general of what I have been during for the last three months.

$3,000.00

Alabama Council on Human Relations

p. O. Box 1310

Auburn, Alabama

Quarterly payment, Rural Advancement
Project grant

Rural Advancement Project

April 10, 67

J. Edwin Stanfield

Ala- R.A.P.

GREENALA CITIZENS FEDERAL CREDIT UNION
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

July 15, 1967

The Greenala Citizens Federal Credit Union was founded September 18, 1961. We began operating with nine share holders and assets of $42.50. The assets has grown to $71,157.90, and we now have 900 share holders.

The credit union has been a lot of help to people of this low income area.

Since 1961 we have made over 1400 loans and the amount of over $500,000.00 to low income people.

Greenala has been operating on its own for a period of six years without the aid of anyone to give grants to its operation.

For the last six months the members of the credit union have been unable to keep up their loan payments. This is due to so many of our members losing their jobs, and have to move from the farms to relocate themselves, and find homes in which to live.

We are writing to you because we feel that you would be in a position to let us have a grant, or loan to help Greenala to continue to operate. With the amount of loans we have out; our reserve requirements is $6,100.00, and we have only $2,924.69 in reserves. We need more operating capita l to keep the credit union moving.

Greenala Citizens Federal Credit Union would need $10,000.00 for a period of one year, in the form of a loan. If we could get a grant from some persons or organizations it would redure the need to borrow. Many of our people will be paying their present loans back in the fall of this year.

I shall be glad to hear from you in this matter.

Sign: Lemir Odock

FINANCIAL REPORT
(For Period Ended July 15, 1967)

Greanala Citizens Federal Credit Union
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

## B A L A N C E  S H E E T

**ASSETS**

| | |
|---|---|
| Total Loans | 61,054.32 |
| Cash on Hand and in Banks | 8,747.58 |
| Furniture, Fixtures and Equipment | 1,331.00 |
| Other Assets | 25.00 |
| TOTAL ASSETS | 71,157.90 |

**LIABILITIES AND CAPITAL**

| | |
|---|---|
| Accounts Payable | 177.13 |
| Social Security Taxes Payable | 19.58 |
| Shares | 67,710.36 |
| Regular Reserve | 592.25 |
| Special Reserve for Deliquent Loans | 2,332.44 |
| Undivided Earnings | 293.94 |
| Gain | 32.20 |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES AND CAPITAL | 71,157.90 |

Louis Black
Treasurer

Adm - R.A.P.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

Reply to
REGIONAL OFFICE
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Tel. 404/522-3697

national board

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A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
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*administrative assistants*

**Memo**

To: Field Representatives, CHR Directors, NSF National Office, and Southern Regional Council

From: Leonard E. Smith

The enclosed Guidelines for Descriptive Narrative Monthly Reports is sent to you for your consideration and reactions as to whether or not it merits adoption into our program. Most of you signified general approval when I discussed this idea with you. However, now that you have it in hand, and have a better idea of its purpose and content, you may not want it at all or you may want to make major or minor modification.

No further justification on our part seems indicated since our rationale accompanies the guideline.

I hope that you will give serious thought to this proposal so that we can discuss it thoroughly at our staff meeting, Thursday, July 27th. If you are unable to attend, please let me know what your reactions are either by phone or mail prior to the meeting.

July 21, 1967

## Guidelines for Descriptive Narrative Monthly Report

It is essential to the over-all success of NSF/RAP Field Programs that accurate and detailed information of field activities be maintained. Such records will provide for a continuous evaluation of the programs as well as resource and research materials we are often called upon to produce in support of other programs, activities, and even proposed legislation. In the past, we have relied too heavily and too often on secondary resource information collected and supplied by persons and agencies not as close to the primary sources as our field staff. For example, information received by the U.S. Department of Agriculture is often collected by local agencies who respond to vested interests, local pressures, and often provide inaccurate information on unemployed, labor force, etc.

Many of the reports received from staff personnel in the field will be sent to other individuals and agencies in the form received, so itis important that the reports be done with care. These guidlines for narrative reports should contain information requested but the description should not be "wordy." Only information that is accurate, provides for continuity, and is essential for full understanding is desired.

A major purpose of this format is to provide an outline for reporting information that is essential, factual, and from which progress or failure can be followed. For example, if a field man assists in organizing a new activity or is asked to assist substantially, his report should indicate purpose, how it began, membership, description of community, progress, problems, etc. Subsequent reports should contain "follow-up" information on such new developments. This information will provide knowledge of the activity, its problems, suggested solutions to the problems, its ultimate failure or success.

The reports of all the field representatives will be compiled in the Regional Office, and composite reports will then be sent to all field staff and state directors. It is recognized that the enclosed guidelines in which broad programs are listed, may not cover all of your activities. If not, add yours with a suggested heading and all of us will benefit from your contributions. Do not spend too much time on the report - too much time spent will negate its value.

July 21 1967

**Guidelines for Descriptive Narrative Monthly Report**
**NSF/RAP Field Reports**

I. **Regional Office Report**

This report will provide over-all view, based on individual reports and field visits, of the entire field operation.

II. **Indigenous Groups (Community Organizations)**

How it began - role of staff personnel - membership - description of community - progress - problems (this history is necessary for only the initial report - current narrative will provide continuing history), pictures and/or clippings.

A. Civic groups - see above
B. Cooperatives (all kinds) "
C. Crdit unions "
D. Civil Rights Groups "
E. Church Groups "

III. **Citizenship**

A. ASCS Elections - campaigns, workshops
B. Social Security - Description of Assistance - achievements and/or existing problems
C. Legal Aid Assistance - as above
D. Individual or Group Consultation - as above
E. Classes _ Workshops - as above

IV. **Housing**

A. Self-Help Housing - Type of assistance - agencies - and/or community volunteers - achievements - problems - recommendations
B. Housing Loans (all kinds) see above
C. Clean-up Campaigns - improved housing - location-description of project - community volunteers-achievements - problems - recommendations - pictures and/or clippings

V. **Movies**: Date, Place, Number of Persons

VI. Special Assistance

A. Health and Welfare - number of persons - staff assistance given - achievements - problems - recommendations

B. Food Stamp Programs and/or Surplus Commodities - same as above

c. Food-Clothing - number of persons - staff assistance - community agencies involved - recommendations

VII. Community Education (Newsletters, etc.) sample copies number distributed - staff - workshops - reaction of participants

VIII. Public Relations Date - Place - Group - Attendance of speaking engagements - reactions - clippings and/or pictures

IX. Agencies Contacted: names - reasons for contacts - achievements - problems - recommendations

X. Other Farm Programs: description - staff assistance - problems - achievements - recommendations

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
(Rural Advancement Project)

20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

Report by Lewis Black
July 15, 1967 - July 22, 1967

TRIPS TO S. C. AND MISS.

This week's work took us first to Columbia, S. C.

I had a very interesting talk in route to Atlanta with Rev. T. Y. Rodgers, Jr. We were talking about some of the problems faced with the south as a result of shift of the movement from direct action to the economical development of people.

After leaving Atlanta I met Mr. Martin Miller on the plane, by coinsedence, Mr. Miller was going to S. C. also. We had a long discussion of the condition of SWAFCA, and he was discussing with me the organizing stages of a Co-op that was being organized in three counties of S. C. The part that struck me was that they are to plan thier Co-op to be somewhat like SWAFCA. The good feature of the project is that OEO is going to give them organizing funds, upon which to organize. This, I think, is an important step to take. The Co-op, like ours in that it is design for the purpose of raising vegetables.

When getting to the airport, we met Mr. Ellis James and Mr. Benjamin Mack.

Mr. Mack took me out to his home for lunch and we then went to Shelton, S. C. for the Credit Union meeting.

We discussed the possibility of them setting up a community Credit Union. After talking with these citizens of Shelton and Blair communities; it was very little doubt left in my mind that these people could operate a fairly decent credit Union.

We had an attendance of 18 people in this meeting. We were able to make out the application for the credit Union, but we didn't have the organizational certificate. It was decided that we will fill out the application and get a committee to go to the state league representative to help in filling out the certificate.

After coming back to Alabama, we had a field trip with farmers in Hale County, under the supervision of the extension Department. This was done by the request of the vegetable growers of SWAFCA. We had this field demonstration to show the farmers how to pick the vegetables for the market. This was the first of such demonstrations, and we had 18 farmers to meet.

On Friday July 21, we had a meeting in Jackson, Mississippi. This consist of the Advisory Committee to the Ford Foundation Grant for Ala., La., Miss., and Tenn.

There was another meeting of executive Committee of the Federation for Southern Cooperative. I am serving on both of the committees.

Working on these committees; we discuss some problems, and made some decisions, that I feel could be of real benefit to the whole south, in changing the pattern of poor people's life.

The Advisory Committee elected Father McKnight to the position of Director of the Ford Foundation Grant. John Zipper was elected assistant to Father McKnight.

There was a proposal to get four persons to work in the field for Ala., La., and Miss. One person to work in Tenn. And have two persons to cover the four states.

We are still looking for a person to serve as director for 17 states for the federation.

We heard discussions and the grant from OEO to the Co-op League of SWAFCA for the federation. There were arguments against it, but the board approved it. Our meeting lasted form 10:00 A.M. until 10:00 P.M.

I feel we are making some progress toward helping the south.

$3,000.00

Alabama Council on Human Relations

P. O. Box 1310

Auburn, Alabama 36830

Quarterly payment, Rural Advancement Project grant.

Rural Advancement Project

July 24, 67

J. Edwin Stanfield

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
(Rural Advancement Project)

Report by Lewis Black
July 24, - 29, 1967

This week's work took me to Selma three times. I went to Selma to take some okra for some of the farmers and to look into some of the problems that SWAFCA was being faced with.

One of the things that faces SWAFCA is that we are spending too much money for labor in having people to grade okra and peas. The only was we can resolve this problem is to hire some field men to go out and teach the people how to grade the food to be marketed. It takes a great profit from the farmer's produce to hire these people to grade their produce.

The other problem that faces us is trying to find people to carry out this responsibility to work for the Co-op. We can't find people who have been trained in this area and will work.

This was discussed at length in our board meeting of SWAFCA Wednesday night.

We have spent a deal of our time in local meetings trying to explain how the Co-op can help people in living better.

Some of my time this week was spent with the Claim Department of Southern RailRoad Compnay in connection with the train killing two of the Bennett family New Year's Day.

I also worked a while on the Sewing Project of Hale and Greene County. We have been able to close the deal on getting a building.

I spent two days in Atlanta, Georgia at the NSF staff meeting which proved to be very helpful to us.

We were all sorry to see Jac leave the fund. Jac stated that he was still around to give any service that he could to the on-going programs of the southern states.

It was decided in the meeting that we would give monthly reports of our work.

Some of my time have been spent in trying to find people to work with Federation of Southern Cooperatives.

We are happy to hear that the Miles College Project had been funded this week. We have been working with this project over a year.

Ala- R.A.P.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Rural Advancement Project
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

Report by Lewis Black August 1967

This report covers some of the things of which I was engaged in the month of August 1967. The Federation for southern cooperative cover the Southern States of the United States. In this organization we have organized for the purpose of rendering services to cooperative in the seventeen states that's below the Mason Dixie Line of the United States constituting a Board of twenty-two members, representing several of the southern states. These are mainly people of low income cooperative, serving on this board and in this organization. This organization is in the process of starting an educational program which will be in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisana, and Southeast of Tennessee. This program is funded by the Ford Foundation in the amount of one half million dollars. We have started to hiring people as was reported in my last months report, to serve on the staff. In the state of Alabama it was proposed that we would have four people to work. We have strecthed the salary so as to hire six people instead of four. On the third of this month we met in Selma, Alabama to discuss the hiring of these people and also engaged in actual interviewing people in hiring them to serve in the state of Alabama. In Mississippi they were scheduled to hire four people and instead hired somewhere about 12 or 16 people to serve in that state, in the state of Louisana we had to hire four field representatives also. On the 12th of August we went to Atlanta, Georgia where we interviewed some canidate for the position as Director of the Federation to be serving in the 17 states of the South. Of these people we hired Mr. Miller from Georgia

to serve as director and ~~sain~~ pay him a salary of twelve thousand dollars a year. The people that we hired in Alabama and was here to be interviewed on August third were two ladies, one from Choctaw County Mrs. Thelma Cregg, Mrs. Mildred Black from Hale County. Mr. Monroe from Macon County to serve in the East Alabama area. Mr. Israll Cunningham from Beatrice, Alabama to serve in the same area as SWAFCA is operating, and Mr. Albert Turner part-time to serve in the SWAFCA area. As you will recall that in my last report we stated that Father McKnight had been elected as the Director of the Federation Project in the four states. Mr. John Zipper had been elected as the assistant director to Father McKnight. In our meeting at McComb, Mississippi on August 26, 1967, we made a choice of a person to serve ad Administrator director to serve in a capacity as person would be in the office to do office work. So we made choice of persons to serve in that capacity on August 26. On August 26, 1967 in McComb, Mississippi we were endevoring to find some people to serve in other capacity and one person we hired was a person to serve in capacity as an advertising advocate for the organization. We are still in the process of getting more field men. It was announced that in this meeting that we didn't have our field men for Louisana at that time. This further announced that the training program for the Federation will start on the 10th of September. As trainee to begin in this project for work. There will be a three week training period and the people who are working in the field will help to decide some of the administrative problems so it will give them the experience of handeling some administrative problems in as much they will be organizers in the field work of this Ford Foundation Project. Those of us who are working with the Federation have seen a great deal of growth among low

income people who are working with low income cooperative, we see a great future for this organization as long as we can tie in the resources of experience and the resources of people who have studied intensely in uniting our forces to make this a stronger society for the low income people to live by binding their forced together. In this Federation also we can pick up people who have capability of handeling certain type of situations that might be liked to that of another person in the same state or another state but can help this person to solve many of their problems by uniting their forces together. These are the things that we look forward to in this Federation that we feel will help to strengthen the economical difficulity of which we all exist. In this cooperative too, we can all readily see the working together of men and women not for charity, not for profit, but for the service that they can render to this society.

THE SOUTHWEST ALABAMA FARMERS COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

We are still working ocassionaly with SWAFCA and trying to give all the assistance and advice that we might be able to offer. The Board of Directors, the Farmers in the community, and the people who are handeling the accounts for SWAFCA. SWAFCA is still a young organization with great promise and with the right type of leadership we feel that we could be the strongest body of people in ten counties in Alabama that will be just as strong as many of the fine larger and older cooperatives that's in existance in the Western and Mid-West parts of the United States of America. We see for SWAFCA as not only just a group of farmers getting together but we see the economical development among farmers as they be educated on how to raise and market vegetables, how to purchase the equipment together, how to manage their money together, and how to

trade and become bargining people at the bargining table. We see growth in these people from a stand-point of a financial situation and also from a social stand-point of view. We see growth in these people from the stand-point of getting along with each other and we see many educational values that they could have when it comes to the fatility of the soil and knowing the proper nutrients that food can have when the soil is fertilized and when the plants are nursed and properly cared for. We see growth in these farmers in learning the type of things that will be marketing for the people to buy. We see growth in these farmers when it comes to learning to choose the good from the bad. We see growth in these people when it comes to learning how to deal with themselves honestly and squarely and when it comes to dealing with everybody else in the same manner. Where they have never had this opportunity to take advantage of the things that exist in business life and in management. Now this is an opportunity for them to have this type of understanding. I thought of these things many times during the last month when I sat in Board meetings with these men, when I went to Selma on several ocassions during the month of August to observe the operation of SWAFCA, when I had the opportunity of talking with the marketing specalist, when I had the opportunity of talking with the mamager of the cooperative and talking with the farmers in all the counties we could see the growth from last year this time when farmers were farming as one induvidual knowing not what they would receive from their market, knowing nothing about the prices per pound that they would receive for their vegetables. Now one year later they are not only knowing what the prices are, but they are helping to employ the people who will be handeling their vegetables , they are helping to see what their prices might be. They are learning the technology

in handeling the various things plus the fact they become the owners of the thing that they once supported and had no say so as to how it was to be run. SWAFCA have had great loses this year. It has over-come several obstacles. It had marketing problems, financial problems, working problems, and trucking problems.

In spite of all the problems that SWAFCA have had, SWAFCA is going on, we have been able to hire seven field men, these field men are working in various counties of Alabama to offer technical assistance to the farmers in some of the counties of SWAFCA.

Dr. Simms from Southern University is serving as a counselor in a state of horticulturist. In this program a year training of the field specialist as to their duties and how to perfrom them in the each of the ten counties we are to hire three more men to work as specialist the latest on workers coming from each of the ten counties would be people who live in the county and they will go around with the men who are specialist and learn how to make soil test, learn how to use insectide, learn the proper way of fertilizing, and study the seasons that you plant vegetables, and get the word out to farmers when the vegetables are to be planted so that they might be planted altogether and harvested altogether, in this way they can all go to the market together. The field specialist will be receiving compensation for their work. The latest on workers unlike the field workers will not be receiving anything unless he has travel expense involved in this way he will receive 10¢ a mile. Board members will receive five dollars per Board Meeting that the Board Member attends, However if the Board member does not attend a meeting he is suppose to send to the office a written statement as to why he could not attend.

Where as the Board Members miss 3 concessive board meetings without a written excuse then the Board will have to replace this board member with another person to carry out the board members term.

THE SEWING CENTER

We have been working, trying to develop a sewing center for Greene and Hale county natives to do sewing for commercial purpose. The sewing center is scheduled to began with twenty ladies sewing, and about ten persons working in other areas. Some of the areas that they will be working in will be the shipping department, and there will be supervisors to supervise the floor work for the ladies that work there.

This structure is composed of ladies from Hale and Greene counties and a co-operative idea. The way it will work will be nine ladies from Hale county will serve on the Board of Directors, and nine ladies from Greene county will serve on the Board of Directors. Thus far, we have sent three ladies from Hale county and three from Greene county to Tuskegee Mills to take training with the Tuskegee Mills in order that they might know how to sew on the sewing machines that we are to use. These are the factory-type sewing machines that we are using. We have also sent Mr. Edgar Williams from Greene county to Tuskegee to take two weeks of training in how to adjust sewing machines for the ladies work.

There are several problems that we face in setting up this sewing factory. One of them is a financial problem, as you can might well guess. In this particular area we have made a proposal of $2500 from the Southern Regional Council to be funded to this organization in order that we might be able to start our initial training program for the ladies in this area. The other problem that we have is trying to get the

building wired. It is difficult for us to get the people moving to connect the wiring of the building. We have been able to get the sewing machines down here and connect several of them up to get started to work.

My engagement was in helping to get the ladies organized, and we have had several meetings in this area. My other engagement was in helping to physically move the machines from Tuskegee down here. Thus far, we have made three trips to Tuskegee to mobolize this project to the effect that we can get started moving. Within a few days we will be ready to start. As I have stated in a report before now, Mrs. Byrd of Tuskegee is scheduled to come over to help us in getting a training period started for the ladies.

This project is ot be operated under a contract bases. The ladies that will be sewing will be doing piece work. That is they will be paid so much per piece that they sew, and they will be sewing under contracts where they will receive some compensation for their work. This is to be managed by some person that will have an office.

The building that we have rented is an abandoned school owned by the Baptist Association of Hale County. We are paying $100 per month for rent which will be $1200 a year that we will be paying for rent. This building has 6 classrooms, 2 bathrooms, and a large basement where we have already set up the sewing machines to do the work.

We are structuring this project where all of the ladies that will be doing sewing will be a member of the co-operative. Thus, receiving the divided earnings among all the ladies, the Board of Directors will be the ones governing the operation of the sewing factory. It is proposed that each person that is in connection with the sewing factory will have shares

in it. There is another proposal that they not have shares, but will only have membership in the organization, and be joint owners of the sewing factory.

We will look forward to the assistance from anybody who will be willing to offer any type of guidance ot us in helping us to set up this factory. Mr. Randolph Blackwell, who is with the Rural Action Project, operating out of Atlanta, Georgia is one of the main persons that is working with us in this connection. Mr. Leonard Smith who works with the National Sharecroppers Fund, in fact, the field representative for this area, has offered his assistance in any way that he can. Mr. John Zipper, who works with the Ford Foundation Development Project out of Louisiana, has offered his assistance in any way that he can through this training project for the sewing center.

I foresee another problem of transportation for the ladies who will be coming in sewing , day by day. We are trying to see what kind of funds we can get to pay gas mileage so that these ladies of low income will not suffer too much in coming to participate in the project.

We have applications for 56 ladies who are interested in the project and they are very enthusiastic over the project getting started. We are hoping that we will be able to start the project not later than the 15th of September.

THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

The Food Stamp Program which we worked so hard and deligently with for the last two years got on the way in Hale county on September 1. The Food Distribution Program or Food Commodity Program, for which we worked so hard, got on the way in Marango county the 1st of July. The same program is being fostered and will get started in Perry county the

1st of October. In Hale county there have been complaints tha the Food Stamp Program is one that is denying several people of the right to participate in it because of the minimum $2 that each low income family will have to pay. The problem is that so many people do not have the cash to put up for the stamps. The Stamp Program, to encourage the people of low income to participate in the program, got started with half the minimum. This means that the people that paid the minimum $2 will pay a minimum of $1 and the initial starting of the program. Even at that, this is too high for some of the people of low income. We had proposed to the Agriculture Department and would hope that we can get the people to get the Agriculture Department to pay serious attention to it; that they will be cut to the minimum 50¢, the same as it has been done in the state of Mississippi.

I have worked deligently with the people in trying to explain the Stamp Program to them, so that it will serve as an educational thing. We have worked on a limited bases with some of these people in initiating this program.

THE ASCS PROGRAM

ASCS is one of the programs that we feel that is beneficial to low income people or to all farmers in rural areas. This is one of the agricultural programs that we feel that is more beneficial to farmers than any other program in the rural. It is in this like that we are trying to encourage farmers to vote through this ASCS election which will come up on the 19th of September. We are encouraging all farmers to take part in sharing the vote, as well as participate in trying to run for office, and encourage their fellow man to vote for the candidates of their choice.

THE CLOTHING DISTRIBUTION

The Clothing Distribution Program, which I have been working very deligently with in the state of Alabama, is one that has been fostered mostly by the National Sharecroppes Fund. We have been receiving clothes from all over the United States for people of low income in Alabama. We, in the last year, have given out way above $90,000 worth of clothes to these people.

The American Friends Service Committee sent us $1277 worth of clothes to be distributed to children of low income families. These clothes were taken to Sumter county- Head Start, Macon county- Head Start, some were distributed in Perry county, some were distributed in Hale county, Choctaw county, and some other few places, such as Demopolis, Alabama in Marango county.

The people of Alabama are delighted to have had the Sharecroppers Fund and the American Friends Service Committee to make this distinct contribution to the well-beings of the low income people. I am proud to have been one to take part in helping to distribute these clothings.

TRAVELS

Traveling last month took me into Mississippi twice, where I went to a Federation Meeting, to Atlanta, Georgia twice, where I went to a National Sharecroppers Fund Meeting, and also to the Federation for Southern Co-operatives Meeting. This job has taken me throughout the state of Alabama during the month of August, and most of my travels have been in the swophical area where we have been working with the Southwest Alabama Farmers Co-operative.

We are still making progress, I feel. It is hard to measure it in a report. The only way we can truly measure the progress that we are making is the result of what the people that we are serving receive, and it cannot always be measured in dollars and cents. Sometime measuring the progress that human beings make, it would have to be measured in times of the change of the pattern of the way people think, the change of the way that people live, the change of the way that people get along together and do things together, the change in the system of the way people bargin together and the change of the way people unite their forces in order that they might have a well-rounded society for the betterment of all people concerned. I am delighted to have shared in this, and I look forward to more contributions being made in this life.

Ala-R A. P.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Rural Advancement Project

20 Washington Street

Greensboro, Alabama

Report by Lewis Black

This report will cover the period from September 1, through September 30, 1967. During this period of time we worked with Credit Unions, Sewing Co-op, and kept in touch with the Federations Progress. Distribute clothes to needy people in Hale County, and attended a meeting in Gatlandburg Tennessee, with the Southern Regional Council and State Council Staff Members for a five day period. We went to Auburn Alabama about the first of the month and met with some of the officals of the Council Credit Union, and we noted some of the following things, there were several peoples who were officals in the credit union, but had no membership in the credit union; nor did they have any shares. There was one person who was an officals there who decided to take out a share that day. Another problem they were having was the understanding of Insurance. And we cleared that matter. The Credit union is making a wonderful progress, because the officals are carrying along the Educational idea of the Credit Union, along with its economical assets. However the Credit Union does not have any outstanding loans. We have worked some with Greenala Citizens Federal Credit Union in Greensboro in helping them to recover some of the delinquent loans, by members

having neglect paying. Some of it is due to low income and people having a readjustment period of their livelihood since the movement was in this area. Another one of the great setback that we are having in this area, this year is because of the shortage of crops, and the cotton production is off. This has greatly affected the progress of Credit Unions, especially those that are not able to survive this crisis. We don't have Stabilization Funds available to help us counter act these types of situations. Greenala is in need of some financial assistance from some source. If at any time, anybody know of some person that could make a small contribution to Greenala, please let us know that we might be able to get in contact with them. We have also been in touch with the credit union in York Alabama, and we note that they are making progress in theirs shares, and making quite a few loans to their members also. They are having some of these same problems that most credit unions and low income groups have; that is getting enough money to survive. The Co-op Sewing Center in Greensboro is moving very slow, however we have been able to almost complete the wiring of the building for this sewing center and we hope to be able to get started to operating soon. In our last report we stated that the Southeren Regional Council had recieve a proposal from the group for $2,500.00. The Southeren Regional Council sent a check for $500 and this will be used to help get the Program started in order that we might have an educational program set up for the ladies. It is proposed that we will have an eight week training

program, for the sewing ladies, instead of the three weeks training program as was outlined in our last report. We are very proud that the Southern Regional Council saw fit to contribute $500 to the effort. We also will appericate any contribution that might come from concerned persons in helping to sponsor this program.

The Federations for Southern Co-operative began its training program on the tenth of September, for the purpose of training field people, and other staff members in some of the techniques that would be helpful and necessary in organizing communities and low income Co-operative.

There were approximally 40 people from the states of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee involved in this training program, we are hoping that these people will continue to work with the Federation so that it can be a successfully venture for southern people. As we can remember in our past report that the Federation was an organization, set up to service some seventeen southern states. Foundation Project, is the first among the projects that the Federations, will sponsor to help to improve and service low income co-operative in the south. The Foundation Project was called the Developement Project, was set up to service only fours of the Southern States, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisana and Southeast Tennessee.

We spent a deal of our time distributing clothing to people. We found this neccessary because so many of our peoples have low income this year above all years, so many are unemployed and the crops are very short. We have been able to distribute clothes this

month to more than 30 families, reaching more than 250 children who were school age, and desiring clothes to wear to school. These clothes were recieved through the National Sharecroppers Funds. The people are very generious about sending clothes for this effort. We would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the National Sharecroppers Funds for this contribution.

The Southern Regional Council along with the Staff members of the State Council had a meeting in Gatlandburg Tennessee, we spent some four or five days in this meeting. In this meeting we discussed many problems. We had several difference of oppion and we had many type of philosophy explored. We left this meeting with a united effort that we were about to solve some of those problems that existed among us. We also find this meeting to be challeging and fruitful in manyrespect. The scenery about the place where we was having ~~this meeting~~ this meeting was one that we felt was very unique and surely it is an experience that many of us have never had to travel in this area, and see the many exciting things. We left this meeting with the idea that we could come back and offers better services to the people whom we are serving. Because we can understand fully the philosophy of one another, and how our various organization are related to each other, and relative to the whole cramped program that existed for the people in this area. This is about the extent of the things that we have taken part in these last ~~two weeks~~ Month, because there are several people who are working with the Southwest Alabama Farmer Co-operative, and other elements is that one body can do so many things. It is that we work where they have credit unions, to do the same things. We still

have credit union pending in Clark County at Jackson Alabama, in Wilcox County at Candon Alabama, in Monroe County at Beatrice Alabama, in Tuscaloosa County, at Tuscaloosa Alabama. And we have some pending commitments from Greene County namely either Eutaw or Forkland Alabama.

Because of being involved with Swafco and other projects I have not had the time to devote to the development of New Credit Unions as I have desired to.

October 17, 1967

Mr. Robert Valder
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
303-A Foster
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $3,000.00, the quarterly payment on our Rural Advancement Project grant for 1967 to the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Please sign the enclosed receipt copy of this letter and return it to me for our auditors' records.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:rh

Enclosures (2)

Ala-RAP



Alabama Council On Human Relation

Rural Advancement Project

20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

Reported By: Lewis Black

This report covers the work that I have done for the month of October 1967, our work for the month of October, took me to Tuskegee twice, three trips t Atlantic Georgia, and three meetings with the Board of SWAFCA, several meeting in the community, with the farmers, one meeting; with the Board of the Alabama Council On Human Relations. One meeting in Camden Alabama, with some of the City Officals, and SCLC Organization For Action. One meeting with the Federation Of Southern Cooperative, several meeting with Green-Hale Sewing Co-operative and several meetings with Credit Unions, mainly the Greenala Citizens Federal Credit Unions, the York Federal Credit Union.

I made one trip to Crowfordville Georgia, to speak on, Credit Unions, and one of the trips that was made to Tuskegee, and with the SWAFCA Organization was to talk about Credit Unions.

The frist meeting that we had at Tuskegee Institute, was a meeting with Father McKnight from the Southern Consumers Cooperative, and John Zippert from Grande Marie Potato Cooperative, William Harrison from Alabama Council On Human Relations, Mr. John Brown, Dr. Stanly Smith, were representing the SEASHA area, SEASHA, is South East Alabama Self Help House Assoication,

in this meeting the group were discussing how the Ford Developement Grant, can help SEASHA in organizing the community, for the Self Help Assoication Idea, it was discussed in this meeting, the SEASHA, had plan to start a Feeder Pig Program, to cover the twelve Counties included in the SEASHA area, our concern over there were to discuss the relationship, of the Ford Developement Grant to the SEASHA Program, in the area. We had a long discussian with the SEASHA people, as to what the duties and the roll that the three men we hired would play in their organization.

Two of the trips that was made to Atlantic Georgia was in the interest of the Greene-Hale Sewing Center. This became necessary for me to make these trips in order to check on outlets for the people to have a sewing, posible in this particular area. As a results of these two trips, and many other meeting th that we have had in these two counties, we have been able to get under way with have twenty-five ladies in this Training Program.

Another trip that was made to Atlantic Georgia, was in the interest of people on Welfare, people who are recieving Food Stramps, and are suffering from the stand point of Malnutrition. We had a very friutful meeting, with the people in Southern Reign Council, who cam from several Communities, in Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and one person from Arkansas. There were also in this meeting people from the Stat Council, The National Sharecroppers the NAACP, the American Friends Service Committee, and The Southern Rural Action Project. In the meeting

we decided that it was valuable to our various Localatios if we have a hearing, on the service that people were getting from Welfare and the Food Program, these meetings were to be scheduled sometime the early part of November.

I made another trip to Georgia, in a town named Crowfordville, in the interest of people who were about to set up a Community Credit Union, that I feel was a very fruitful trip, the meeting that I had with th South West Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association, were meetings with the Board. One that I met with the Executive Committee and the interveiwing of Dr. Staut. One of the meetings that I attended was in Demopolis Alabama, the other one was in Beatrice Alabama. We noted that there are several thing that will have to be worked out in SWAFCA. One of them was getting people to sign up for Crops to be planted next year. The other one was to collection funds that we have out among farmers.

The last problem was that of discussing the necessary, fertilized and seed that we would need for next year.

The reason for signing up these farmers at this time is to insure the farmers that they will have marketing places for next year, and that we will not be caught in the same jam that we were caught in this year. The other reason it is important, is that we would know what the projected yeild we can have another year, with this projected yeild these farmers can take the same contract that's given to them by SWAFCA, and borrow money against these contrats in order to be able to run their farm.

We also went to Birmingham in the month of October to attend the Alabama Council On Human Relations Board meeting, Dr. Gomellion who is president of the Board of Director of the Alabama Council On Human Relations, was unable to atten the meeting due to the illness of his wife.

We had a very interesting meeting in Camden Alabama during the month of October with the Housing Authority, and the Mayor, Council, we felt that this was a very good meeting, and that we accomplished som real basic problems about housing which we can use in the seventeen States in the South.

The Sewing Cooperative in Hale and Greene Counties have taken a quite a bit of our time. It seem to me that it will continue to take, a deal of our time because of the native of this type of activity in this community.

$3,000.00

Alabama Council on Human Relations

303-A Foster Street

Auburn, Alabama 36830

Quarterly payment, Rural Advancement

Project grant

Rural Advancement Project

January 28, 1968

J Edwin Stanfield

file

January 29, 1968

Mr. Robert Valder
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
383-A Foster Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $3,000.00, the quarterly payment on our Rural Advancement Project grant for 1968 to the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Please sign the enclosed receipt copy of this letter and return it to me for our auditors' records.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/cl

Enclosures (2)

Robert Valder

Ala. - R.A.P.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATION

Rural Advancment Projcet

Report By Lewis Blck

January-Fefruary 1968

For the last two months, like all other months. I have worked almost everyday of the week. We are working with the following projects: (1) The federation of Southern Co-op. (2) Credit Union. (3) SWAFCA. (4) Pulp Wood Program (5) Poor People Program of Ala. (6) Green -Hale Sewing Co-op.

THE FEDERATION :

I have spent a little of my time with the Federation which has caused me to make trips to La. Miss., and Atlanta in the last two months.

We have been able to make progress in the Co-op program in Ala., Miss., La., and Tenn.. By being able to hire field workers, and loan Co-op money in their operations. Alabama was an exception, in that we helped to buy 302 acres of land.

CREDIT UNION:

We are happy to know that a credit union was started in Jackson, Ala. that we had been working at for almost two years. I am spending sometime working with the Demopolis Federal Credit Union,

since the treasurer is sick, I am teaching another preson to keep the books in order.

The other work that I have done in the Credit Union, was in helping to collect some loan for Greenala. This is a big job this time of the year.

SOUTHWEST ALABAMA FARMERS CO-OP ASSOCIATION INC.

I have spent a little of my time working with the farmers Co-op. During this time I have attended three meetings, and they were in Montgomery, Selma, and Demopolis. I Personallyfeel that SWAFCA is doing a good job in increasing its membership. One of the big problems will be to give the type of service to members will need to carry out a sound program.

PULP WOOD:

The pulps wood program is new to me, and caused me to make trips to Birmingham, and Tenn. This program aimed at getting fair employment for Negroes in Pulp wood.

POOR PEOPLE PROGRAM OF ALABAMA:

This program is being organized to educate people about the Washington March. I have attended two of such meetings.

GREEN-HALE SEWING CO-OP :

This project has taken much of my time in the last six months. The 25 ladies are sewing with fine quality, but production is far behind that of machine operations in factury sewing business. The ladies have put together, sold more than 500 dozens of garmnts. The Sweing center has caused me to travel over 2,000 miles in the last two months. Other trips that I have made were to. Alabama Council Meetings with the Farmers in Sumster County Alabama.

Ala- RAP

"20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Ala.
March 19, 1968

Dear Friend:

I am enclosing a leaflet to futher explain this letter. As you see, I have entered the Democratic Primary, seeking to be elected to the Board of Education in Hale County. We consider this election to be very important.
Hale County is in the Heart of the Black Belt of Alabama and 71 % of the total population is Negroes. However we do not have a Negro serving on Any of the Local governing boards. Therefore services are denied us because of this fact.

The Negro and a few White people of this country realized this fact and the need of having this segment of the population represented on the Board of Education. Therefore I considered seeking this office.

We have succeded in getting almost all qualified Negroes registered to vote and we have a majority vote in this country.

My opponant is a wealthy plantation owner in this country and controls a large number of people because of his financial status, and will be in position to influence people by furnishing transportation to the voting place and other favors.

All Negroes in Hale County realize the importance of quality education for both races and have pledged their support

My major problem is securing funds to buy gas and oil to bring these people from all areas of the rural into Greensbroro to polling place.

I am appealing to you to help us in this effort.

Thank you

Mildred Black

(Mrs.) Mildred Black

AN APPEAL FOR CAMPAIGN FUNDS

Please fill in the form and forward to this address

Mrs. Mildred D. Black

20 Washington Street

Greensboro, Alabama 36744

---

Name _____

Address _____
Street N umber City& State

Amount of Contribution $ _____

---

An acknowledgement will be sent immediately.

# ELECT

# MILDRED BLACK

## For

# BOARD OF EDUCATION

## Place No. 2

## IF ELECTED I WILL STRIVE TO ACHIEVE

IMPROVED EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

FREE LUNCH PROGRAM FOR ALL CHILDREN

EXTEND BETTER BUS TRANSPORTATION INTO ALL AREAS OF HALE COUNTY

BETTER SALARIES FOR LUNCH ROOM WORKERS, BUS DRIVERS AND JANITORS

EQUAL SALARIES FOR EQUALLY QUALIFIED PRINCIPALS & CLASSROOM TEACHERS

A BETTER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BOARD OF EDUCATION, PARENTS AND TEACHERS

THE PROMOTION OF ADULT EDUCATION

$3,000.00

Alabama Council on Human Relations

303-A Foster Street

Auburn, Alabama 36830

Quarterly payment, Rural Advancement Project
Grant

Rural Advancement Project

April 29, 1968

Edwin Stanfield

April 29, 1968

Mr. Robert Valder
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
303-A Foster Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $3,000.00, the quarterly payment on our Rural Advancement Project grant to the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Please sign the enclosed receipt copy of this letter and return it to me for our auditors' records.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/cl

Enclosures 2

Robert Valder

Ala.-RAP

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Rural Advancement Project

Report by: Lewis Black
June 1968

Credit Unions

I have been working with the following Credit Unions, in giving advise on book keeping, office duties and committee duties. York Citizens Federal Credit Union, York, Alabama, Demopolis federal Credit Union, Demopolis, Alabama, and Greenala Citizens Federal Credit Union, in Greensboro, Ala.

The Poor Peoples Campaign

I have worked with the poor peoples Campaign, since it's beginni ng in Alabama, we were the ones who started to organizing people in Marion, Alabama for the Campaign. I was with Dr. King every time he came to Ala. to organize the Campaign. I transported people to Birimingham to join the Poor people's Caravan. I worked with the Mule Train in Eutaw, Alabama. I have been to Washington twice since the Poor People have been up there. To see what I can do to help out in the work.

Greene-Hale Sewing Co-op

Part of my work has been that of helping with the Greene -Hale Sewing Cooperative. I made a trip to New York to get a contract for the gruop and have been involde in trying to organize the ladies to carry out the work in Mangement.

Panala Land Buyers Assn.

One of the greatest task that I have taken, was to try to Help buy 901 acres of land in Sumter County for low income farmers. This land is near Panala, Alabama. I have been helping in trying to organize this group into a-Cooperative Farming Group.

Gulf State Paper Co.

I have been active in organizing Community people to seek employment at the Gulf States Paper Mill in Demopolis.

Federal Of Southern Cooperatives

I served the Board and is the nearly elected President of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives. And I supervise a deal of the work of the five employees, in the rural area

of albama by Southern Cooperative Development Program.

Voter Education and Voter Registration

I have worked in the area of voter registeration and vo voter Education through out Alabama. I have served as consul consultant with a number of V.E.P. this year.

Head Start

I have served as consultant to the Head Start program in Tray, Alabama.

S W A F C A

Being an advisor to S W A F C A. Its my chance to set in Must Board meetings, and give advise to the members th thereof.

We feel that the advisers have served to help train the board decision making.

Trips

I have to Council Board meetings, and chaper meetings, where I was the speaker in some cases.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 26, 1968

Mr. Brice Joyce
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
303-A Foster Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Brice:

Enclosed is our check in the amnt of $3,000.00, the quarterly payment on our Rural Advancement Project grant to the Alabama Council for 1968.

Please sign the enclosed receipt copy of this letter and return it to me for our auditors.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director, Field Activities

Enclosures, (2)

Sincerely - Brice Joyce
A.C.H.R.

$ 3,000.00

Alabama Council on Human Relations

303-A Foster Street

Auburn, Alabama 36830

Quarterly payment, ~~grantmax~~ Rural Advancement Project

Rural Advancement Project

July 26, 1968

Edwin Stanfield

Stanfield

TO THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON RURAL POVERTY

I am delighted to have the opportunity to report to this commission on some of the problems of rural poverty in the State of Alabama.

In the State of Alabama there are 3,372,633 people living and 67.7% of these people live in rural areas. We have in the State of Alabama 793,118 families, 380,988 families making income of less than $3,000 a year. This is 50% of the State of Alabama makes less than $3,000 a year. We have ten counties in the State of Alabama where more than 70% of the families living in the state and makes less than $3,000 a year. We have 1,378,318 families in the State of Alabama making less than $1,000 a year. Of this three million people in the State of Alabama, 971,468 of these people are Negroes. We find the counties that is the poorest in the State of Alabama are the counties that have the majority Negroes. This probaly will tell us that counties that have the majority Negroes, have less financial resource or have less industry by which people can survive.

The other thing in my introduction that I would like to point out is that in the State of Alabama 45% of the people have less than an eithth grade education and in some counties where there is majority Negro, the education is even less than that of some counties. Some counties have an illiteracy rate of about 75 or 80%, again this shows us that education is going to have to be one of the problems to be solved to eliminate poverty among the people in the rural. So much for this introduction remarks.

I would like to spend the rest of my time discussing some of the specific areas that we will tell about.

The first area that I would like to talk about is the United States Department of Agriculture. And for the United States Department of Agriculture, I would like to talk about the food program. (1) housing in rural areas, (2) ASCS (3) Schools and education and (4) employment in the rural.

The United States Department of Agriculture still remaines on of the most segregated department of the Federal Government. It is one of the strongest departments in the Federal Government for rural people and it is one of the slowest departments in the government toward helpong to remove some of the ills that have played upon poor people for so long.

One of the things that we are going to talk about is the food program that is being issued by the USDA. Food has been one of the programs that has been kept out of the State of Alabama. In the entire 67 counties in the State of Alabama,

the food have reached only 30 of the counties, leaving 37 of the counties that need food most left out. I would like to recommend that an emergency be delcared from the president commission to get food into all of these poor counties in the State of Alabama at once because we have people suffering and dying from mal-nutrition.

USDA has another department known as the Agriculture Stablization Conservation Service initials ASCS. This ASCS is designed to aid farmers in giving them allotments for crops, giving diversion checks and giving them other services that will be beneficiary to low income farmers . They have assistant in measuring land and assistant in soil test and soil conservation.

In 1965 only eleven Negores were elected to the Alabama regular member of the ASCS Community Committee, although there are more that 25 counties where the number of Negro farm operators makes it possible to elect Negroes to the ASCS Community Committee. In 1966 the same 25 counties, only 18 Negroes were elected to serve on the ASCS Community Committee. There haven't been any Negroes elected to serve on any county committee which has the authority to help poor farmers ~~and~~ getting ~~rescued~~ rid of some of this poverty ~~stricken~~ that he has by offering him service from the service of the committee. I would to recommend that some Negroes be appointed to some of these Committees to serve on these committies in counties in the State of Alabama. We have a state ASCS Committee, the State ASCS Committee is an appointed committee. On this committee, we don't have any Negores, but there is a Negro Advisory committee to the State Committee of the ASCS. We strongly recommend that we get ~~reared~~ rid of the advisory committee to the State Committee and appoint Negroes that are competent to serve on the State ASCS Committee. We will also recommend that Negroes be appointed to work in the county managers office with a full-time job and not temporary as some already have in these offices.

Our next discussion is housing. Housing has become one of greatest problems in rural areas in the black belts of Alabama than any other problem that face us today. In 1960 we had 950,940 housing unites, out of these 950,940 housing unites, 365,628 of these unites were substandard . There were about 52.18 sub-standard housing unites in 1960. It seems at this time in history that we would be closer to leaving the sub-standard housing of our generation, but instead of that the sub-standard housing has become worse . We could name several coutties in the State of Alabama where sub-standard housing rank abour 80 or 85% sub-standard and the fact that so many tenor farmer are evicted day-by-day still making the housing shortage a much more problem. We strongly recommend that

to have an emergency loan ~~on~~ or emergency grant given to people to urge them in self-help housing program, especially in the ten black belt counties in the State of Alabama.

Education is the next topic that we will discuss. There is an old saying that "Man don't know what comes first, the chicken or the egg" So when we thing in turns of education poverty, it is hard to determine which comes first, being poor or being uneducated. Education has become one of the main tools that is used to eliminate a person from being in poverty. If people could get an education in the rural area, their economic and social and their spiritual values will readily change.

In the State of Alabama over 80% of the people are totaly illiterate and when you find 80% of the people totaly illiterate it is hard to try to teach them any skills that will cause them make a comfortable living and by some means this great society can furnish the person the skills and techniques to become a good liver. Poverty itself will vanish from those people who have been wealthy with the knowledge of skills and technique of how to master some job to make them a livelihood. I would strongly recommend that grants be given to institutions and non-profiting organizations by which people can obtain an education to intergrate their forces to make this a stronger and healthy country in which to live.

Employment becomes another problem. Employment becomes a problems because of the ~~managerial society~~ Economic System in which we live.

The other problem is that people is not receiving the wages that the law has set up that they might receive. Another problem that is facing the people is the lack of institutions to get employment, the lack of manufactories, and the lack of people ro receive finance to operate the business that they intend to employ people. People have anxiety to do things, they have anxiety where they can't negotiate loans and have the right to take part in society. This makes it very difficulty for them to make perperation for themselves and look out for the welfare of their fellowman.

I would like to conclude this report by giving a summary of what we have talked about. We talked about food, ASCS election. housing, school and education, and employment.

Without food people can't live. Without the service of the ASCS men will not be able to conserve the soin nor cultivate the soil nor will he be able to replinish the soil with what has been taken away from it through the vegetable. Without houses people will be in worse shape than a bird or other animals because a person will not be able to consider himself an inhabitant of a

place and without education a person will not have knowledge nc matter how wise he might be. He will not have knowledge enough to preform any skills and without employment he will not have ways to offer a living or a livelihood for his family.

I take great pleasure in submitting this report to the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty with hope that this will be more than just a report, that you will do something about it.

Respectfully submitted,

Lewis Black, Project Director
ACHR Rural Advancement Project

ALABAMA COUNCIL OF HUMAN RELATIONS
(Rural Advancement Project)

20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

Report by Lewis Black

The Southwest Alabama Farmers Co-op Assn. Inc.

SWAFCA has taken most of my time for the past six or eight months. At the early start of the co-op, we were trying to get organized. All of the organizers can say this was a real problem. We later found out that organizing was simple to some of the problems we have had since that time.

We had problems in several areas, and they are: (1) Marketing, (2) Financing, (3) Transportation, (4) Technical Assistance, (5) Getting workers, and (6) Getting the Grant.

We had some ten companies who said that they would buy the food that SWAFCA was growing, and later changed their minds. This alone caused us to have to make a number of calls and trips. Some trips carried us to Georgia and Mississippi.

The Co-op has been able to market over $30,000.00 gross for its growers. All this marketing started in May 1967, which has been a period of six weeks. Over $25,000.00 of this business was that of cucumbers. We managed to get cucumbers marketed with the help of Mr Fink, who is the marketing man for SWAFCA. The market closed on us the middle of June, this was done because of some of the power structure of Alabama. For one week all of us (who worked with SWAFCA) were running around like a chicken with his head cut off trying to find a market for the Co-op. During this struggle we lost 20 tons of cucumbers.

The first three weeks we were in business, we were selling the farmers cucumbers where they could make $30.00 more per ton than they were making with the other market.

Since that time we have been able to locate two markets for cucumbers.

The farmers as well as the Co-op took a great loss as a result of this one week of the cut off of sales.

We had two types of cucumbers. One was the fresh market, and the other was the pickling. Again we had trouble in trying to sell the fresh market cucumbers. The people that would take our fresh cucumbers said they could only pay for them after they are sold. We shipped the cucumbers and two weeks later the market told us that he was able to use only a few of the cucumbers. For these and many other reasons, we have had great loss in the fresh market cucumbers.

We have had financial problems from the beginning of the Co-op. We tried to get a hundred farmers from each of the ten counties to apply for an OEO loan with FHA. The FHA refused to grant the loan papers, less more the loan.

When the farmers went to the FHA Supervisor in Sumter County and tell him that they were doing business with SWAFCA, he would advise them against the Co-op. Our Farmers were not able to secure a loan from the local bank. The FHA didn't make OEO loans to our Co-op members.

A committee of us went to have a conference with the State Director of FHA in Montgomery. We were unable to get any help from this source. Instead, we were referred back to the local county FHA for Assistance. During this same period of time, we were trying to develope the application for an OEO grant for the ten county areas.

We then turned to asking different people to help the Co-op by the way of grants and loans. Operation Freedom made the first loan of $5,000.00. The International Foundation for Independance Organization made us the second loan in the amount of $25,000.00. We begin to buy seeds and fertilizer for farmers with this money. Mr. Albert Turner and I were working in the daily operation of the fertilizer program.

Mrs. Theara Burroughs, Rev. Percy McShane, Miss Rosie Nabors, and Mrs. Mildred Black helped in selling fertilizer.

We sold 600 tons in nine of the ten counties. We had more financial problems;before we were able to get any side dressing for the farmers.

The Board of Directors asked Miss Mesher and I to start to raising money for the Co-op. We were able to borrow some $10,600.00 and get a grant of $2,900.00. Were it for individuals and organizations helping the Co-op, it would not have been possible for us to operate the Co-op.

After Mr. Freeman's visit to the Blackbelt of Alabama, and seeing some of the problems that we were faced with, Mr. Freeman sent a man down here to represent his office and help the Co-op in getting the services that was needed for the farmers. In the Board meeting Sunday, the board members pointed out the importance of the USDA representive helping us in getting technical assistance and farm financing.

With this type of help, we can see a new hope for SWAFCA. Transportation is another one of the problems that faces the Co-op members. All our grading is done in Selma, Alabama. There are a few farmers who have trucks to carry the food to Selma. Some of the farmers have to carry the produce as far as 90 miles to get it to the grading shed. Some of the produce go bad on the way to shed. Sometimes the produce will have to be carried on an open truck and the sun will effect the marketing of the goods.

It is the thanking of most of the opeople with whom I talked that if we could set up a Shed in each county it would be very helpful to the farmers. The other side of the problem is there is not enough food b being raised in these counties to have shed for the time being.

Technical assistance for the farmers is a problem, and will be a problem for sometime. The farmers of this area have growing cotton for market. It is going to have to require a period of training for the farmers before they can be able to raise peas, okra, and cucumbers for the market. Until recently, we have not been able to get the support of the extension service in the Co-op. Getting people to work has been a problem, because we didn't have the money to pay for the w ork.

When we started to grading cucumbers in Selma, we were able to get a few volunteers to help us with grading. Now that we have the grant from OEO, this picture will no doubt change.

Almost everybody in the U.S. know the problem we have been faced in trying to get the grant for the S.W.A.F.C.A. This alone took us to Wahington on two trips, to Altanta once. We spent a lot of time calling and writing people, and organizations to ask for help.

We would like to take this time to express our thanks to the people who help us in getting the grant.

GREENE-HALE SEWING CO-OP

Some of our time is being spent in trying to sset up a sewing club for Greene and Hale County. This sewing center will be located in Greensboro, Alabama. We have had meetings with ladies of these two counties about ten times, and have looked into finding a building for the sewing center. We have promoted a training program to get started for

some of the ladies and one man. This is being done so they they will know how to use the machines and make minor adjustments on the machines. Mr. R. T. Blackwell, with the Southern Rural Action Project, is the person who started this project. I feel that this project will get on the way by August 10, 1967.

CREDIT UNION

I have very little time to w ork with the Credit Union. We are having problems in Greenala. We have a number of loans that got behind with payments, because of the working conditions in this area. We have spent some time in trying to help collect deliquent loans. We have been able to reduce the deliquence about $10,000 in the past two months. The credit union will need some grants from source in order to bill up its reserves to operate. We would be glad for anyone who will help Greenala in building up its reserves. We have spent a great deal of our time trying to help get this Credit Union on the road.

I have made checks with credit unions in Demopolis and York; they are making well on the way. The two credit unions were organized in 1966 and are rendering a gr at service to the people with whom they serve.

Now that SWAFCA has gotten on the road we will start trying to put more time into developing the Credit Union.

TRIPS AND MEETINGS

The past few months have taken me to Georgia, La., Mississippi, Tennessee, South Carolina, Varginia, Washington, D.C., and all parts of Alabama.

I went to speak at meetings in McNitchan Georgia, for SCLC. This was the project education. Two of the trips to Atlanta was for the Federation of Southern Co-op meeting. One of the trips was for NSF meeting.

My trip to La. was for the Federation Meeting. The trip to Mississippi was for N.S.F. Meeting. I was in South Caroling for a Frog-More meeting with SCLC Education Project and Columbia, S.C., for a meeting with a community that was trying to start a Credit Union. I was in Tennessee for two meetings. One with NSF, the same time I was in Mississippt and the other was with President's Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty. The two trips to Washington D. C. was to promote the SWAFCA Project.

I have been to over fifty meeting is Alabama. Some of conferences and some were speaking trips. They were in: Selma, Mobile, Lawerence, Tuskegee, and the ten counties that SEAFCA covers.

We have had meetings with the Alabama Advisory Committee on Civil Rights, Mr Freeman, Secretary of Agricultural, Dr. Martin King, The Board of Directors of Alabama Council on Human Relations, the Citizens Crusade against Poverty, the Southern Research Project, and maybe some more important people and projects.

411 dresses
3000 trousers
50 doz ~~white~~ blouses per week for 6 mos.

Ala - REPORTS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Rural Advancement Project
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

Annual Report by Lewis Black

This is the second annual report that I have made to the Alabama Council of Human Relations. First, I would like to say that I have enjoyed immensely my working with the Alabama Council on Human Relations, director of the Rural Advancement Project. ~~Here that~~ In that, I have been encouraged to do more by working with people to help in whatever way I can and secure services that would be for the benefit of not only the people in Alabama but for humanity in general.

This report, hopefully, will cover many of the projects that I have worked with and it will cover the progress and problems that we have faced with these programs. During the year of 1967, the program that we worked with for the most part, were programs that were newly developed and very few programs that started this year. So in this sense, my work has been one with the ongoing problem, the ongoing activities and the fostering of betterment among these programs that were started before I began this years work by large. One of the main programs that we worked with this year was that of Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association. As you know SWAFCA includes ten counties and they are as follows; Lowndes, Dallas, Perry, Hale, Marengo, Wilcox, Greene, Sumter, Choctaw, and Monroe. The Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association as you know, is mainly a purchasing and marketing cooperative which produce vegetables for the farmers. It is a producers cooperative in that all these farmers are producing together. It is a pruchasing cooperative in that the farmers purchase for fertilizer and seed and looking to purchase other equipment together. It is

a marketing cooperative in that the farmers market the vegetables which they raise together. In 1967, we were able to secure of the services for these farmers in many ways. Really it brought new birth to the lives of many poor low income farmers. We had a new era in that this is the first time in the history of Alabama that so many farmers purchase their fertilizer together. By securing funds through borrowing and gifts that people have given us, namely the Alabama Council on Human Relations, The Southern Regional Council, Cooperative League of USA, International Foundation for Independence, and the services that many organizations render us, such as the National Sharecroppers Fund, Southern Regional Council, Southern Consumer Organization, and finally the big grant that came from the OEO. We could see a new light on the service that people can render to one another by one helping themselved. Some of the people who contributed their time and effort to the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association were Shirley Measer, Albert Turner, Chuck Allenbert, Martin Miller, Dr. TD. Williams from Southern University, Dr. Simms, Mr. Fink, Mr. Paul Blockage, Mr. Mike Kenneth, Mr. Jack Watsman, Mr. James Hayes, Mr. Al Ulmer and to just name few of the people. There were several struggles that we went into and Mr. Randolph Blackwell contributed quite a bit of his time to help us in these struggles of getting out loans and grants approved. There are very few organizations in the United States that can say that they didn't participate in the formation and the organizing and funding of SWAFCA.

The farmers in SWAFCA have received services from the organization throught the purchasing of more that $45,00 worth of fertilizer together and the pruchasing of more than 1,500 acreas of seed together. They have reached the benefit on the sale of produce throughtthe cooperative of over $95,000 of vegetables. They have been able to employ among themselves today more

than fifteen full time people through the OEO grant that have been given the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association. My work with SWAFCA was one that serving as a cordinator and giving the cooperation of the people in these ten counties to organize an association and getting a board from this association, comprising of at least two people from each county to serve on this board on multi-county cooperative associations. We had people like John Zipper, Al Ulmer, Robert S. Valder, and many of other people to meet with us and to go into counties to have these county organizations formed so as to do this detail work. We employed Lawyer Erskin Smith to do our legal work and one that we can say has done a very unique job in fixing up all the papers that we have to do legally with the cooperatives. Several trips was made to Washington. I had the opportunity of traveling on at least two or three of these trips to Washington to represent the farmers of Alabama. We have had the experience of meeting with several groups, people that we had never dreamed of contacting in big business. SWAFCA has meant a great deal to Alabama people in that we have brought the light on the society that we live in and we have shown people that farmers can began to work for to an end to help themselves. We have been able to get some commitment from the FHS, ASCAS, the Extension Department of Agriculture and several other agencies that can be of vital help to farm and low income people in the United States. We have drawn the attention of the Secretary of Agriculture in many areas that we have tried to endeavor to get assistance heretofo. This, to me has shown that people together can make a deeper dent into our society than they can one person operating by himself. We spent a deal of our time in going around organizing these farmers, getting these survey sheets fixed out, finding out what the farmers can raise, what are the

feedability of raising vegetables and we found that okra, peas and cucumbers could be our main crops to help in this program. We also have found that most of our soil was suitable on the condition that we have soil tests for the vegetables that we had to raise. A deal of our time was spent in getting these soil tests for the farmers. After the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative was funded by OEO, then this gave us the opportunity of getting a staff. Now that we have a staff, we have bagun our operation, we have now spent most of our time with SWAFCA in attending board meetings to see that the formulation of policies we made and see that the things of the board are carried out. SWAFCA now has been able to secure markets for the year 1968. We have made surveys for the year 1968, and we are in the process now of making soil tests. In this way we can find out the kind of fertilization that the soil need and get the line of the land and get the land cultivated for the next year.

The future of SWAFCA is one that lies ahead, we can only predict what the future might bring. In my apprasial I can see as a result of last year that we will be starting off this year with a deliquency of some payments on fertilizer due to shortness of crops, through the changing of staff operations and finally due to the break down in communication from the main office, to so many of the members. This is one thing that could happen in any newly formed organization where you change staff. My personal recommendations to SWAFCA is that it get on a more siner basic in its operation at the present time before branching out into anything else. However, SWAFCA has many possibilities for a setting up of freezing units to freeze fresh vegetables to expand its production in the crops that it is already raising, to set up canaries to utalize the vegetables that can be canned, to set up gas pumps to serve the farmers with low cost of gasoline to manufacture its own fertilizer and make fertilizer to the farmers and finally to set up supermarkets throught the black belt area for farm and farm families

to buy vegetables through its own cooperative endeavors.

Another area in which we were in coop with was the Federation of Southern Cooperative. The Federation of Southern Cooperative began its opposition about two years ago, at Mr. Beulah, Mississippi. Since that time it has formulated its organization and I'm for one who served on the Board of Directors and as well served on the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Federation. The Federation of Southern Cooperatives is an organization that's organized hopefully, it will cover seventeen of the Southern states. During this year we have been able to receive $1,500 from the OEO grant that was submitted by the cooperative League of USA. $10,000 from two different foundations and one grant of ½ million dollars from the Ford Foundation. It was submitted by the Southern Consumers Education Foundations of Louisana. This ½ million dollars we were able to employ some forty people to work in four states in the South to help our low-income people and developing skills and techniques and offering technical service to the people. As in connection with cooperatives and forming other cooperatives. In Alabama, we have had some seven of these people to work as field workers to assist in the area of SWAFCA and the area of Sea-Shelf, and as Sea-Shelf is initiated Southeast Alabama. Self-Help Association with its headquarters in Montgomery, Alabama. This has caused me to have to meet in Tuskegee with Sea-Shelf groups, some five or six times this year. I have met in Louisana on several occasions with the group on the project to get funds for people in the state of Alabama. I have met on several occasions in Louisana, Mississippi, Alland, South Carolina with the Federation, and also with the Southrn Consumer Foundation, for the purpose of assisting in some of the rules and regulations as it governs to people that work in these four states. The Ford foundation grant in addition to employing these people in the state of Alabama, we

have been able to loan the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative $3,100, we were able to loan 5,000 of this foundation grant to an interesting group in Dallas county who was purchasing some land for twelve families. The Federation has been helpful to people in these four states. In addition we have been able to employ a director to take over the full management of the business of the Federation. That is one of the organizations that we feel can serve as an umbrella to help cooperatives throughout the South get on its feet. We feel gratified in having been able to work with the Federation in our efforts to advance rural people through our various projects. In appraising our scope of workers we found that we have a number of cooperatives in the South that has taken part in sharing with the Federation, namely of a few supermarkets, Credit Unions, Vegetable cooperatives Oil Producer Cooperative and the Bakery Cooperative of Southern Consumers. We have several Credit Union's involved in the work with Federation, we have some seven in Alabama, we have some one or two in other states, we have only one supermarket and that is the one in Greensboro, Alabama, we have one potato cooperative and that is Grant Marie in Louisana, and one Bakery cooperative and That's Southern Consumers. We have two or three oil cooperatives one in Tennessee the other in Louisiana. We have vegetables cooperatives and holesting groups namely from Penola County in Mississippi and SWAFC in Alabama. Mr. Charles Prejean of Louisana has been chosen by the Board of Directors to serve as the Director or Manager of the Federadion staff. He is to carry out the duties set forth by the Board of Directors of the Federation of Southern Cooperative. I forsee the Federation of Southern Consumers as being a prospous organization in that it will make provisions for people to see several service cooperatively. This could be

a clearing house for small cooperatives to borrow money and pay back to the Federation. The Federation could serve as a big umbrella to help one cooperative borrow money from the other cooperative to assure the cooperative of its operation. The Federation could also serve as a clearing house for helping low income families and low income co-ops members to receive insurance at low premium rates. The Federation could serve as a market agency to help people get markets for their vegetables of whatever they might produce. These are just a few of the things that the Federation could do. Greatly of all the Federation has in its scope of activities to have an educational program designed primarily to education Board of Directors and the members of the staff of cooperatives to take training in educational program so they can be efficient in carring out the responsibilities that set forth for them as cooperative people.

Credit Unions is the next area in which we worked. We have worked with Credit Unions in Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Georgia. In Mississippi we made about three trips over there to discuss Credit Unions with people who were trying to organize Credit Unions. In South Carolina we made several trips over there, there were about five trips I made over there to discuss Credit Unions with people. Most of the trips were financed by an interesting community group in South Carolina. The trips that I made to Georgia to discuss Credit Unions were financed by an interesting group also. One of the trips was financed by the National Council on Negro Women In Alabama we worked with Credit Unions in York, Demopolis, Marion and Auburn to discuss Credit Unions, worked very much with the SEASA, talking about the Credit Unions and limited amount with Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association talking about Credit Unions. We worked extensively with Greenala Citizens Federal Credit Union, which during the year of 1967 had quite a bit of deliquency which have to be recovered and still have a great percentage of deliquency.

We feel that Credit Unions are institutions where people can be able to help one another by borrowing, saving, and by learning to do the simple accounting that goes to make up business practices. In the Credit Unions that we have been working, we found that the Credit Unions in 1967 were stalling for the lack of interest. The main thing was the lack of Education on the part of the Board of Directors. The people who were staff in the Credit Unions and this made it be a slow process for the Credit Unions to grow among the members of the Credit Unions. We have endeavored to set up Credit Unions in others areas, namely Wilcox, Monroe, and Clark Counties. We hope that these counties can continue to move forward and setting up this Credit Union idea. It has become necessary for me in 1967 particulary the last part to spend quite a deal of my time workin; with Greenala because of the deliquency that has occured as a result of loans that was made during the movement and some of the people were relocated and therefore had to reestablish themselves. Many of them were evicted, lots of them lost their job because of their participation in the movement. So it has been a little difficult for us to recover the loans. I worked about one half of my time in the month of December trying to work to recover the loans. Since we have been trying to recover the loans we have been able to close out more than 300 loans and have been able to collect above $30,000 to clear up these deliquencies and outstanding loans.

The Sewing Center: The early part of 1967, we started working to help set up a sewing center for the purpose of helping train some ladies to do manufacturing sewing. We sent some ladies to the Tuskegee Mills in Tuskegee, Alabama to take training in sewing. We sent one gentlemen to Tuskegee to take training in repairing machines. Later we have been able to secure nineteen machines for the purpose of sewing garments. We made a proposal

to the Southern Council during the year 1967, and the Southern Regional Council gave the sewing plant $500 to help out in getting started. We got started and we hired to world-wide interprise to do a training program for us paying them $500 a week. The ladies who are interested in sewing decided to borrow $2,000 from the Bank of Moundville, Moundville, Alabama to help defray the expense for their training, so when they finish the training they have began to work on some dresses. They made 59 dozen dresses and now they are working on boy's trousers. They have made above 2,000 pairs of boys trousers for the market. These ladies are people who range from the age of 20 to 67 years of age. Many of these ladies have never made over $10 a week, but we are endeavoring to set up a pay schedule where they can have a profitable income. A great deal of my time for the last three months have been spent with this initial training program to help in whatever way I could to see that this project go. To go and help pick up machines when they were needed, to get garments for people to sew, to do various other things. In this project have been rather successful. Our success has been that we have been able to get machines for the ladies to take thr training. We have been able to get a personnel to train the ladies. We have been able to get the material to do the sewing, the thread, zippers and what have up to keep the operation going. The probloms that we have had were mainly finincial problems, fuel problems, when this could happen when setting up any cooperative idea that each member or person plays in the total operation of the cooperative. We feel that this particular element of it has been all worked out. The other problems that we have, the same as with most cooperatives is the marketing problem. We have called for assistance from the Southern Cooperative Foundation, we have called for assistance from the Federation of Southern Cooperative. We have called for

assistance from the National Sharecroppers Fund and most that we have ever gotten any of there was criticism, and we haven't gotten any assistance that's going to be of real value to us from it. I think we have gotten more criticism by trying to start a sewing factory than we have any of our endeavors. However, it is my honest opinion and I still believe it that it is one of the most valuable concerns that we have ever worked with. And I really rate it as high as I do with fooling with SWAFCA. The organization of Credut Unions; I rate this just as important to the development of rural areas for low income Negroes and whites alike in the South. The food stamp and food commodities programs as was handeled by USDA. We spent quite a deal of our time in 1967 trying to get people interested in the food programs. That is the stamps and the commodity program. We also kept in touch with the United States Department of Agriculture on these programs. We had discussions with the Secretary of Agriculture concerning how the food program can help low income people in Alabama. We have been successful too in getting some of the things that we felt that was deserved by all low income people. In keepint up with this food program, at yhe end of December 1967, we had been able to encourage people in every county of Alabama to get food except Tuscaloosa, Morgan and Limestone Counties. That is to say that at the beginning of 1967 we had only about half of the counties in the state of Alabama had food programs and as a result of some research do by the Southern Regional Council of the National Sharecroppers Fund and articles written in the paper. The New York Times, Birmingham News, Montgomery Advertiser, and several efforts made by other interested individuals. The people took on to what the program was all about. The Southern Research Project that was organized and administered by attorney Jackernack, had to bring a great deal of light on the subject of the problem

of food. So by the beginning of 1967 we had about 50% of the counties in Alabama participating in the food program. With the lowest counties left out for the most part. By the end of 1967 we had all the counties in Alabama participating except the above three that I named. By the middle of 1968 we are hoping that those other three counties will be participating in some food programs, either food stamps or food commodity programs.

THE ASCS PROGRAM

Because of the nature of the ASCA program and what the benefits would be to any low income group of people in any rural area particulary in the farmers. I thought it would be valuable to work with the ASCA and the farmers to see if it was possible that we can utalize as these resources for the betterment of the rural people. In that light, we spent a limited time working trying to educate farmers about the ASCA elections and we spent some time in working with the Southern Research Project and helping to get data and information about the previous elections that has been held. The third thing that we did was testify before the US Civil Rights Commision in respect to the problems that the ASCS program had with trying to get its education program over to the general public. And mainly with the discriminating practicies that has been existing because of segregation in the southern states of the United States. The other project that we have been dealing with was that of clothing distribution. In 1967 we distributed clothing. Some of the clothing were sent directly to the Hale County Progressive Association, some were sent to the National Sharecroppers Fund project to us. Some were sent by the American Fringe Service Committee to us to be distributed. It is hard for me to say exactly how much the worth of the clothing was to the people that we recipitants thereof. But we

distributed clothing practically all over the State of Alabama, particulary in the rural areas. We have received an average of 2 boxes per day during the year of 1967. Roughly, an average of 15 pounds of clothes per day. So most any person can imagine that worth of these clothes. The clothing has meant that some children have been able to wear better clothing to go to school, It has meant that some adults have been able to wear better clothing to protect themselves from the weather. It has meant that some people have gained a renewed life in that they were able to wear presentable clothing in the community and last the clothing have meant that it has helped the economical status of people in that they can spend the small amount of money that they were getting for something else, and wear the clothing that was distributed by the project of which we are working.

TRAVELING AND TRIPS

During the year 1967 we traveled to quite a few of the southern states and made these four trips to Washington, D.C. We visited over 25 different board meeting, organization meetings, and made over 15 speeches to various groups on registration voting, Credit Unions, and what have you. These board meetings were with the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperatives, Alabama Council on Human Relation, Southern Regional Council, Federation of Southern Cooperatives, Southern Consumers Cooperatives, Bates field Cooperatives, Greenala Citizens Federal Credit board meeting. The C&C Grocery board meetings and we could go on and name several boards that we have met with. Of the speeches that we have made some were with Alabama Council in Mobile, Florance, Auburn, Alabama and any number of other council meetings. Some of the speeches that we made were out of state namely, the National Council on Negro Women in Virginia, Adult training groups that was set up by SCLC.

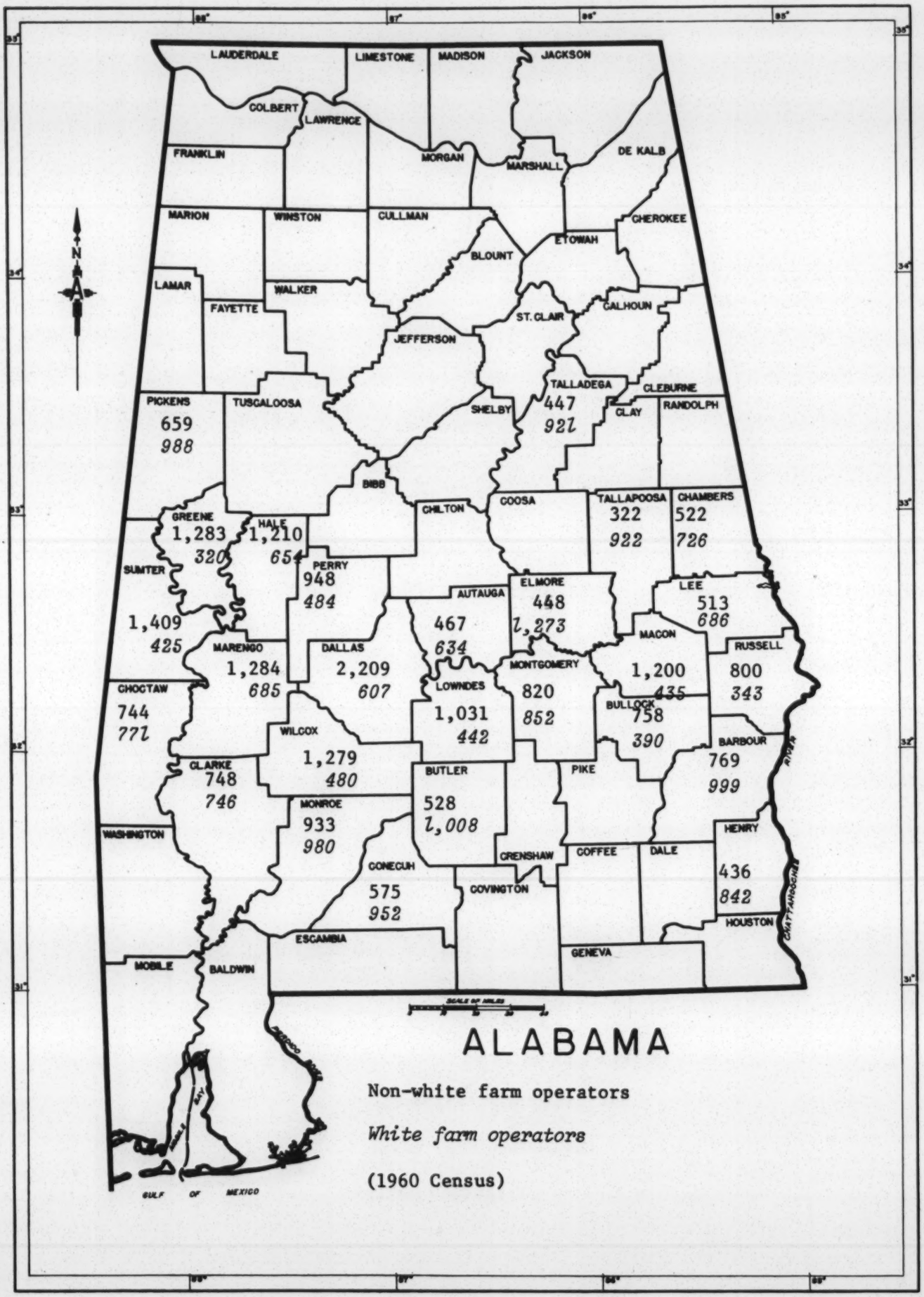
We made speeches to them in Georgia and also in South Carolina. The National Council on Negro Women invited us to speak in Mississippi, and there were a number of speeches that we made in the state of Alabama. We were asked to testify before some two or three committees, one was the President's National Advisory Commission on rural proverty which met in Tennessee last February. Another one was the United States Civil Rights Commision which met in Selma and had a hearing on the ASCS. I spent a deal of time working with one case in Alabama where a man and his wife was killed on the first day of 1967 for a long time this man wasn't to be found because his body had been washed down the river. It was believed that he was still alive until in the early fall of 1967 his body was found and this solved the death of this person. His name was Bennett, and he and his wife both were killed on the railroad in Selma, Alabama. The child that was with them was terrible injured. As of yet the railroad has not made a settlement to the people for the bureal for either of the bodies, nor have they made and settlement on the injuries that were inflicted to the child. This whole problem has been pesponed in the spring court in Hale County. These are some of the things that we have engaged in in 1967. We look forward to a much brighter year in 1968., hopefully, that the projects with which we have worked this year will continue to progress and the people will become more educated. But more than that we are hoping that the community can utalize the services that the community has to offer and people can become aware of agencies that can be of more service to them in helping to foster more programs and better programs for the well being of all the citizens that exist within their community, and within the nation and world alike.

NUMBER OF PERSONS NOMINATED BY PETITION FOR ASCS COMMUNITY COMMITTEEMEN

AS A RESULT OF OUR MEETINGS

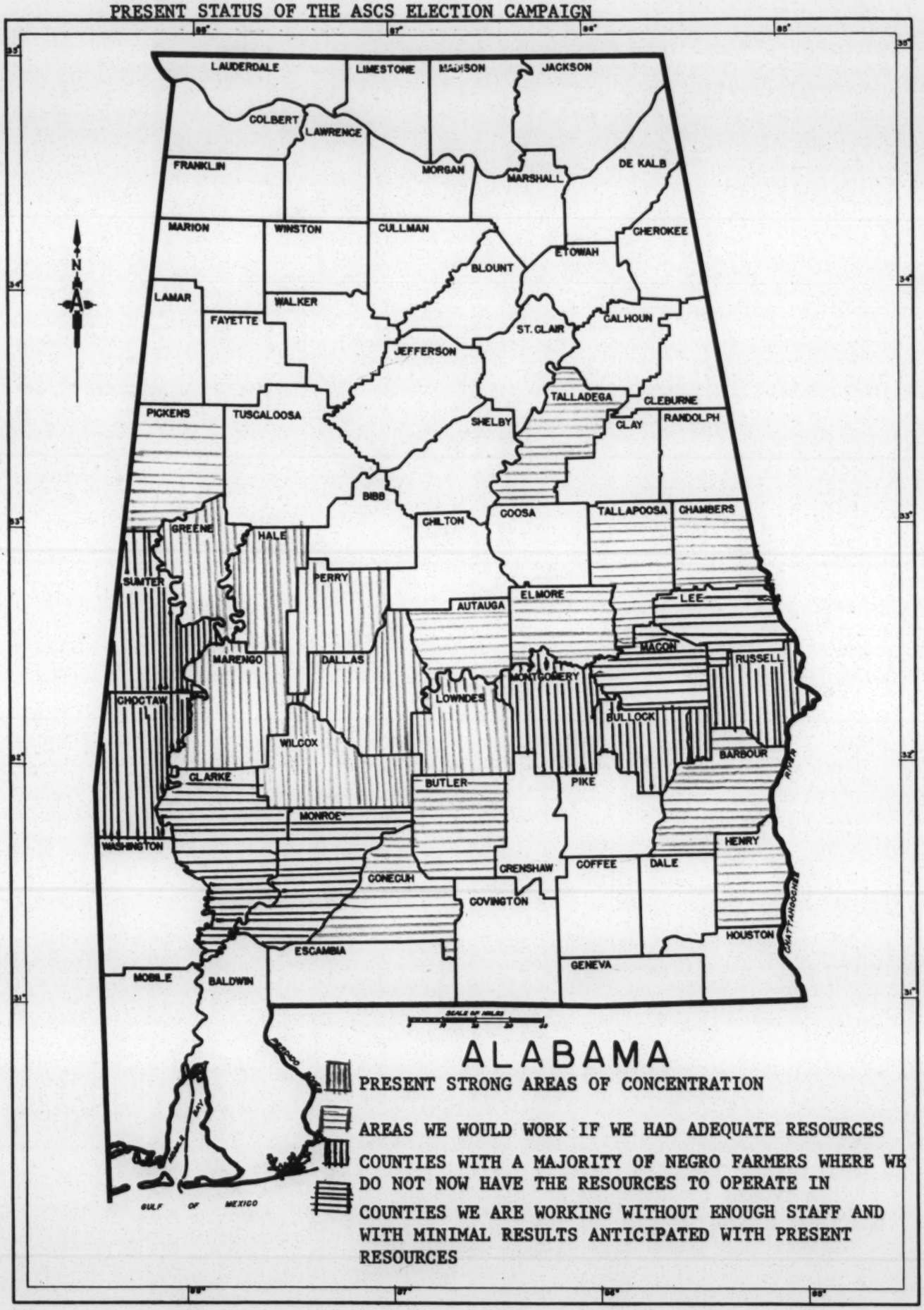
MAP NUMBER 1

MAP NUMBER 2


LAUDERDALE
LIMESTONE
MADISON
JACKSON
COLBERT
LAWRENCE
FRANKLIN
MORGAN
MARSHALL
DE KALB
MARION
WINSTON
CULLMAN
CHEROKEE
ETOWAH
BLOUNT
LAMAR
WALKER
FAYETTE
ST. CLAIR
CALHOUN
JEFFERSON
TALLADEGA
447
921
CLEBURNE
PICKENS
659
988
TUSCALOOSA
SHELBY
CLAY
RANDOLPH
BIBB
GREENE
1,283
320
HALE
1,210
654
CHILTON
COOSA
TALLAPOOSA
322
922
CHAMBERS
522
726
SUMTER
1,409
425
PERRY
948
484
AUTAUGA
467
634
ELMORE
448
1,273
LEE
513
686
MARENGO
1,284
685
DALLAS
2,209
607
MONTGOMERY
820
852
MACON
1,200
435
RUSSELL
800
343
CHOCTAW
744
771
LOWNDES
1,031
442
BULLOCK
758
390
WILCOX
1,279
480
BARBOUR
769
999
CLARKE
748
746
BUTLER
528
1,008
PIKE
MONROE
933
980
WASHINGTON
HENRY
436
842
CONECUH
575
952
CRENSHAW
COFFEE
DALE
COVINGTON
HOUSTON
ESCAMBIA
GENEVA
MOBILE
BALDWIN
GULF OF MEXICO
N
ALABAMA
Non-white farm operators
White farm operators
(1960 Census)

MAP NUMBER 3

PRESENT STATUS OF THE ASCS ELECTION CAMPAIGN



ATTACHMENT NUMBER 4

THINGS WE NEED FROM THE COUNTIES AND COMMUNITIES IN THE ASCS ELECTION

1. In each county find out if the notices of the election have been mailed.

   a. If they were mailed, find out from about 10 people when they got them.

   b. Make a list of the people who should have got notices of the election, but did not. This list should name the person, his address, phone if he has one, his ASCS community, and his church community.

2. Community meetings are the most democratic way to nominate people for ASCS county committeeman. Meetings should be held this week to nominate people.

   a. It is very important that no more than 5 people are nominated in each community. You can nominate less than five, but if you nominate more than 5 you will split your vote and lose. A community meeting to nominate people will make sure that only 5 are nominated.

   b. Also, a community meeting will make sure that the people in the community will support those people nominated on election day.

   c. It would help if someone could take minutes of the nominating meeting.

   d. A second meeting should be called to hold workshops to train people in how to vote.

3. Someone in the ASCS community should go to the ASCS County office and get a list of all eligible voters in his community. Then he should go back to his community and get some of his friends to help him make a list of all tenants, sharecroppers, and farmers who were left off the list in the ASCS office. This is important because many elections have been lost in the past because too many Negro names were left off the list.

   This list, like all lists, should be printed in ink, with name, address, phone number (if they have one), ASCS Community, church community, and county.

4. A copy of each petition should be printed in ink and returned to the ASCS Election Campaign office in Selma (not to the ASCS county office, but to the National Sharecroppers Fund, SCLC, SNCC office). The original petition signed by the farmers is turned into the ASCS county office in that county. REMEMBER, people who cannot read and write are eligible to vote, and to sign petitions. They make their mark and someone prints their name next to the X and then writes his own name under the printed name of the man who made his mark.

THINGS WE NEED FROM THE COUNTIES AND COMMUNITIES IN THE ASCS ELECTIONS

5. We would like a list of all complaints that people have about ASCS during the year. The complaint only needs to be written in one sentence and someone from the National Sharecroppers Fund will investigate if it looks like we have a chance to do something about the complaint.

6. We would also like a one page report on each county which tells us which ASCS communities

   A. are well organized and do not need much help.

   B. are organized but will need some help.

   C. are not organized and will need extra help.

7. IT IS VERY IMPORTANT that the community leaders who are working on these elections are listed in the central office in Selma. This is the responsibility of the members of the Temporary statewide ASCS Election Committee.

   We need to know the name, address, telephonenumber, County, ASCS community, and church community of each leader. We need this as soon as possible.

It may be possible for someone from the National Sharecroppers Fund or the Temporary ASCS Election Committee to visit in the counties,

People who want help can call to:

James Mays or
Mike Kenney at 872-0927 in Selma

Those in the western part of the state can call

Lewis Black at 624-8121 in Greensboro

Send all lists and reports to:

National Sharecroppers Fund
802 First Street
Selma, Alabama

ATTACHMENT NUMBER 5

WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE ASCS ELECTIONS IN YOUR COMMUNITY

WHY IS ASCS IMPORTANT?

Because the ASCS gives out your crop allotment.

WHO CAN VOTE IN THE ASCS ELECTION?

Any man or woman who owns or rents a farm, or who is a tenant or sharecropper on someone else's farm can vote.

You do not have to be able to read and write to vote.

You do not have to be registered at the Court House to vote in ASCS.

There is no racial discrimination in this program. You can vote if you are Negro or White or any other race.

IF YOU WORK FARMS IN DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES IN THE COUNTY, CAN YOU VOTE IN BOTH COMMUNITIES?

No. You can only vote one time. You may choose which community you want to vote in if you work two farms.

WHO CAN RUN FOR ASCS COMMITTEE ELECTIONS?

Anybody who can vote in ASCS elections can be a candidate for ASCS committeeman. But, the candidate must live in the community he is a candidate from.

HOW DO YOU RUN FOR THE ASCS COMMITTEE ELECTIONS?

There are two ways for a man or woman to have their name on the ballot:

1. One way is for the man or woman to have their name put on the ballot by the County ASCS Committee. Usually the people put on the ballot by the County committee do not work for you. They work for the other man.

2. You can put your OWN candidates on the ballot by PETITION. That way you can be sure that they will work for you.

HOW DO YOU PUT CANDIDATES ON THE BALLOT BY PETITION?

You can make your own petition or use the one attached to this notice. All you need on the petition is a statement saying that those people who sign the petition want to nominate a person (the petition must have his whole name) as your canidate for the ASCS voters in his ASCS community.

You can sign as many petitions as you want.

Petitions must be turned into the county ASCS office at least 25 days before the day the election ballots are due at the office. In Alabama that is on the 22nd of July.

(over)

WHAT IS AN ASCS COMMUNITY?

Each county is divided up by the ASCS County Committee into ASCS communities which are Not the same as the communitie people live in. They are much bigger and will include many rural communities. Sometimes they will cut a rural community in half. The ASCS County Committee is supposed to write you a letter telling you what community you are in. If you have any questions about what community you are in, you should ask at the ASCS County office.

WHAT ARE THE TWO MOST IMPORTANT STEPS TO REMEMBER IN AN ASCS ELECTION?

1. The First important step in an ASCS election is to nominate Your Own friends and leaders by PETITION. The easiest way to do this is by calling a meeting of farmers in your community and let the meeting decide who to nominate by petition. Then, at the meeting have the petitions signed and have someone carry them the next day to the County ASCS office. If you cannot get them signed that night, have someone carry them around the next day until you have 10 or 12 signatures.

2. The SECOND important step to remember in an ASCS election is CANVASSING.

   ASCS voting is new to many people. They will be getting letters in the mail from the ASCS Committee explaining how to vote. But they may not pay any mind to these letters since they have never voted before. It is up to you and your meeting of farmers to go around to every farmer in the ASCS community and explain to him or her how important the ASCS elections are and to see that he votes.

   One of the biggest reasons many ASCS votes are lost is because people do not sign their name correctly on the outside envelope. Your canvasser can help by showing everybody how to vote, (but of course he cannot vote for them) and be the witness who helps the voter who cannot read and write.

   Your canvasser should also explain that if you only like one or two of the men who are running as ASCS committeemen, you do not have to vote for 5 people. You can vote for only those people you trust.

IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE TO REMEMBER IN AN ASCS ELECTION?

Yes. Remember that if anybody tries to keep you from voting or tries to force you to vote for someone, or threatens you with violence or loss of credit if you vote, he is BREAKING THE LAW.

You should report all violations of the law in a simple letter to:

The Secretary of Agriculture
United States Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

And the National Sharecroppers Fund can help if you will send a letter telling about your problems to:

The National Sharecroppers Fund
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

This notice was prepared by the National Sharecroppers Fund.

We hereby request that _____

who lives at Route _____ Box _____ _____, Alabama

(or Post Office _____) in _____ County, Alabama, be

placed on the ballot for Agricultural Stabilization and Conser-

vation Service Community Number _____.

| | NAME | ADDRESS | IF X (mark) Witnessed by: |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | |
| 2. | | | |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | | | |
| 5. | | | |
| 6. | | | |
| 7. | | | |
| 8. | | | |
| 9. | | | |
| 10. | | | |
| 11. | | | |
| 12. | | | |

ATTACHMENT NUMBER 6

# ASC ELECTIONS

## How Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Community Committeemen are Elected

## WHO CAN VOTE

You can vote in elections of Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Community Committemen if you are a farm owner, tenant or sharecropper. In community property law States both husband and wife can vote.

To know for sure who can vote ask your ASCS county office manager. He knows the rules and will help you. Here are some of the rules:

You can vote in an ASC election if you are old enough to vote in a State or national election and if you are taking part or are eligible to take part in ASCS farm programs.

If you're not old enough to vote, but you do run an entire farm, you can vote.

## WHO CAN BE ELECTED

You could be elected an ASC Committeeman yourself. This would be an honor as well as a responsibility.

Of course there are some limits as to who can be elected. If you already are an elected officer in your county or State, or if you hold a national office you can't be a Committeeman. (However, being a member of a school board or on the board of a soil conservation, irrigation, drainage or weed control district, or similar type board, does not make you ineligible.) If you are an officer, employee or delegate to a convention of any political party or political organization, or if you work full time for the U. S. Department of Agriculture, you can't serve on an ASC Committee.

## PUTTING NAMES ON THE BALLOT

Names get on the ballot in three ways. The community committee now in office names at least six persons. The county committee may name others.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

PA-676 August 1965

(Minority group farmers will be placed on the ballot in the same proportion as they are to the total number of farmers in the county.) You and your farmer neighbors can also add names to the ballot by sending in a petition naming a person you think would make a good committeeman. The petition must be signed by at least six farmers eligible to vote in the ASC election. You can sign as many petitions as you wish. The community committee will check with each nominee to determine that he is willing to serve. Names of nominees will be placed on the ballot in alphabetical order.

## VOTING YOUR BALLOT

Public notice of the election will be in newspapers and on radio and television in your county. In addition a notice of the election and a ballot will be mailed to all eligible voters of record in the county office. If you believe you are eligible to vote and do not receive a ballot, check with your ASCS county office.

When you get your ballot there will be two envelopes with it. One will be plain. The other will have a statement printed on the back. There will also be instructions on how and when to send the ballot back to the county office. Mark your ballot and seal it inside the plain envelope. Put the sealed plain envelope inside the envelope with the statement on the back. This statement is a certification that the ballot was marked by you personally without undue influence by any person. A witnessed mark is O. K.. This statement must be signed or your vote will not be counted. Mail or take your ballot to the ASCS county office.

## COUNTING THE VOTES

When the ballot gets back to the county office, the inside envelope with your ballot will be taken out. The outside envelope will be separated from the envelope containing the ballot. This assures that your ballot will be secret. No one can know how you voted unless you tell him.

The county committee will count the votes. They will do this at a place, date and time they announce ahead of the counting. The place where they count the vote will be open to everyone regardless of race, creed or color. You and your friends — or anyone else who wants to — can watch the vote counters open the envelope and count the ballots.

GPO 821-421

**ATTACHMENT NUMBER 7**

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

# ELECTING FARMER COMMITTEEMEN TO ADMINISTER ASCS PROGRAMS

An explanation prepared especially for the use of ASC County and Community Committeemen

Each year, between July 1 and December 30 — as determined by the appropriate State Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committee — farmers and ranchers elect new members to represent them on community and county ASC committees.

The locally elected farmers supervise and administer Federal farm programs directly affecting the health, welfare, and economic well-being of every American. These include agricultural conservation, price support, acreage allotment and marketing quota, wool incentive payment, sugar, voluntary wheat and feed grain diversion and various other programs assigned to ASCS by the Secretary of Agriculture or the Congress.

## WHO SERVES ON ASC COMMITTEES

ASC committeemen are men and women engaged in the operation of a farm or ranch. They represent various types of farming and agricultural regions in the county or community.

Each community committee consists of a chairman, vice-chairman, regular member, and first and second alternates. All three members are delegates to the county convention which elects the county committee. Alternate committeemen are alternate delegates.

The county committee is made up the same way. The county agricultural extension agent is an ex officio member, but does not vote.

## COMMITTEEMAN QUALIFICATIONS

A nominee for ASC committeeman must be eligible to vote in ASCS elections in the county or community where he is elected. He must reside in the county or ASCS community where elected. He must be of good character, not a member of (or candidate for) any Federal, State or county office filled by election pursuant to law. However, members of school boards, soil conservation district boards, irrigation, drainage, weed control or similar boards are not ineligible because of such membership. Officers, employees or delegates to a convention of any political party or political organization are ineligible. So are full-time employees of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

A nominee for county committeeman or alternate must not: (1) Be a sales agent or employee of Federal Crop Insurance Corporation during his term of office; (2) have passed his 70th birthday by the date the new term of office begins unless this is waived by the State Committee; (3) have served three consecutive terms immediately prior to current elections. (Any term which began on or before January 1, 1965 does not count toward this three-term limitation.)

The community committee checks with each nominee to determine his willingness to serve.

Names of nominees will be placed on the ballot in alphabetical order.

TERMS OF OFFICE

Community committeemen and alternates serve 12 months or until qualified successors are elected. Their term begins on the first day of the month following election.

County committeemen serve 3-year, staggered terms starting in 1966. Alternates serve 1-year terms. Terms begin the first day of the month following election. Committeemen and alternates must sign the prescribed Oath of Office before taking office.

WHO VOTES FOR ASC COMMITTEEMEN

Any person is eligible to vote if he is of legal voting age and has an interest in a farm as owner, tenant or sharecropper. OR

If not of legal voting age, a person is eligible if he supervises and conducts the farming operations on an entire farm where one of the following requirements is met: (1) The farm received or will receive a payment or is carrying out an approved practice under the current agricultural conservation program; (2) the farm has an acreage allotment or marketing quota; (3) the farm is eligible for a cooperator's loan or other price support, OR a sugar program payment, OR a national wool program payment, OR a soil bank payment; (4) the farm is eligible to participate in any farm program administered by the county committee.

WHEN ARE ELECTIONS HELD

County and community elections are held between July 1 and December 30. The State Committee sets the dates. The county committee notifies voters.

Although State Committees may authorize elections by meeting or at a polling place, the trend in recent years has been toward use of mail ballots. Farmers in many States have shown a preference for this method. Since it is more convenient, it has resulted in greater voter participation than either of the other two methods. A step-by-step description of Mail Election follows.

CONDUCTING THE ELECTION

1. At least 40 days prior to the date set for return of ballots by farmers (E-Day), the State Committee approves community boundaries.

2. At least 30 days before E-Day, the county committee publicly notifies farmers that slates of nominees will be selected for each community. This notice, disseminated by newspaper, radio, TV, and public poster, is also sent personally to each eligible voter of record. The county committee may not have a complete list of eligible voters so it is each eligible voter's responsibility to contact the ASCS county office and get on the list. The notice announces the forthcoming election, invites petitions for additional nominees, and prescribes the method of preparing a petition. Any group of six or more eligible voters may submit a petition. A person may sign as many petitions as he desires. The final date for receiving nominating petitions must be at least 20 days prior to E-Day.

3. At least 15 days prior to E-Day, the community committee nominates at least six persons eligible to hold office. The county committee will make sure that qualified minority-race nominees are included in the same proportion as minority-race farmers are to total farm population (owners, tenants and sharecroppers) in the county.

4. At least 10 days before E-Day, the county committee will give public notice of the election including the slate of candidates (failure to give this notice is grounds for invalidating the election), the date ballots will be mailed to eligible voters, instructions for getting ballots in case eligible voters fail to receive them by mail, date by which marked ballots must be mailed or returned, where to send them, invitation to the public to witness the vote counting (including information on date, time and place of counting), and a statement that the county committee will settle questions on election procedures or eligibility to vote or hold office. Appeals from a county committee ruling will be heard by the State Committee.

5. If the certification on the envelope is not signed, the ballot will not be considered as a vote. A witnessed mark will qualify as a signature.

COUNTING THE BALLOTS

The county committee will count the ballots, except that a county committeeman who is a candidate for community committeeman may not count ballots.

The place where ballots are counted will be where facilities are open to all persons without regard to race, color, creed or national origin.

The time and date for counting will allow adequate time for receiving ballots from every community, but cannot be later than 5 days after E-Day.

DECLARING AND NOTIFYING WINNERS

The person receiving the most votes is elected community committee chairman. The second most votes determines the vice-chairman, the third most votes decides the regular member. All three are county convention delegates. The person getting the fourth most votes is first alternate committeeman and first alternate delegate. The fifth most votes determines the second alternate committeeman and second alternate delegate.

The county committee will promptly inform all nominees of election results, and will notify community committeemen and delegates of their election, and of the date, time and place of the county convention.

THE COUNTY CONVENTION

The State Committee will set the date for the convention, designating a convenient place that does not restrict the use of its facilities to any person because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

The county committee will give at least 10 days public notice stating the time, place and date, and declaring the convention open to all who wish to attend.

The incumbent county committee organizes and supervises the convention. A quorum consists of a majority of the delegates or their alternates. After a permanent chairman is elected, all incumbent committeemen retire from the room but remain available for advice or consultation.

The convention will nominate and elect three committeemen and two alternates. In 1965 they will nominate and elect committeemen for specific terms of office as follows: One for a 3-year term; one for a 2-year term; one for a 1-year term. In subsequent years, committeemen will be elected to fill vacancies only, with vacancies occurring in the same order as established in the 1965 elections. Alternates will be elected for 1-year terms only.

RECORDS AND REPORTS

Election records and reports pertaining to community elections will be sealed and kept in the county office for 30 days.

Minutes of all county convention actions and the name of each delegate present will be kept. Ballots will be sealed in containers and kept in the county office for 30 days.

Results of the county convention election will be sent to the ASC State Committee for review and approval.

GPO 821-483

ATTACHMENT NUMBER 8

# ASCS ELECTION MANUAL

This pamphlet is a suggested plan for organizing an ASCS election campaign. It is based on experience from 1964 and 1965 in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and North Carolina. You may want to do things differently but these basic ideas should help you to have a WINNING campaign.

## FIRST

The first thing to do is form an election committee in your ASCS community. This committee should be made up of farmers in your ASCS community. It is important to remember that ASCS communities are NOT the same as your rural or church communities. Usually the ASCS communities are larger and cover 3 or 4 rural communities. Very often the ASCS community boundary lines cut real communities in half.

## THEN

After the election committee is formed, it needs to do three things:

1. The election committee should send a group to the county ASCS office to get a list of the eligible voters in your community from the ASCS rolls.

2. The committee should also ask the county ASCS office for an ASCS county map so they can know which farmers are in what community, at the time of the present election.

3. The election committee should find out when the petitions and ballots must be turned into the ASCS office, and when the ballots and sample ballots will be mailed out.

4. The election committee should also request sample ballots at this time from the ASCS County Office.

## THEN

Call your first planning meeting for the whole ASCS community. The first meeting is just to get started. You should plan to hold meetings once a week in each ASCS community until the elections, starting about 6 weeks before the day the ballots are due back at the ASCS office. It is a good idea to hold these weekly meetings in different churches or schools or homes so that more people will hear about them and be able to come.

At the first meeting you should explain how important the ASCS elections are because the ASCS committees give out the extra crop allotments, measures land and determines the soil bank payments. You should explain that they are Federal elections and all farmers, large or small, white or black, owners, renters, tenants or sharecroppers are supposed to vote in these elections.

After people understand the purposes of the elections you should explain that in the past many sharecroppers, tenants, and other small farmers have been left out of the elections. Then read the list of eligible voters in your community that you got from the ASCS office to see if all the people at your meeting have their name on that list. If some people at your meeting are eligible and do not have their names on your community ASCS list, one member of the election committee should write their names down on a separate piece of paper and arrange to go with them to the ASCS County office to get their names on the eligible voters list. People who know sharecroppers and tenants who are not on the list should give their names so an investigation can be started.

Finally, at this first meeting you should ask for volunteers to work as canvassers and precinct Captains for the ASCS elections. Usually it is easiest to ask for one volunteer from each road in a community. He is responsible for contacting all the farmers on his road or on roads near where he lives. Also, it makes it easier on everyone if each Church community has one precinct Captain who helps the canvassers and who the canvassers report to. The Captain is a member of the election committee.

A second meeting should be arranged before you adjourn the first meeting. A subcommittee should be chosen to visit the ASCS County Office Manager to invite him to speak at the next meeting. They should also invite him to show slides which the United States Department of Agriculture has prepared explaining the ASCS elections. If he says he cannot come, this should be reported to the State Director of ASCS and to the National Office of ASCS.

The canvassers should be prepared to canvass each member of their district to make sure that they come to the meeting.

And, IT IS VERY IMPORTANT that the canvassers make a list of each farmer, renter, sharecropper, or tenant in their district so they can find out if people have been left off the ASCS list.

THEN AT THE SECOND MEETING

The ASCS County Office Manager will speak and explain the ASCS election, if he comes. If he does not come, somebody who is familiar with the ASCS elections should explain the elections again because you will have many new people at this second meeting.

After the elections are explained, allow a long period for questions so that everybody gets a chance to ask whatever question he has.

This is now a good time to tell people that they should be thinking about who they want to represent them on the Committee so they can nominate them at the next meeting. (It is always good to plan what you are going to do at the next meeting so people will want to come.)

THEN AT THE THIRD MEETING

You will have to begin by explaining the ASCS elections again. Thi is good because some people do not understand everything after hearing it only once. Everyone should be asked if he has any questions he wants to ask.

Then the group should democratically decide who they want to nominate for the elections. At this time it should be explained again that usually all the names put on the ballot by the ASCS committee were not democratically selected. The only way to make sure people on the committee do what you want is to nominate them yourselves and make sure they are elected. Then it is important to remember that no more than 5 people should be nominated by petitions because you will split your vote with more than 5 people and make sure the other man wins.

After the group has democratically decided who they want to nominate, they should get petitions signed for those people. Each petition must have at least 6 signatures of eligible voters in the ASCS community. But it is a good idea to get 12 signatures because the ASCS offices sometimes refuses to honor all of the signatures. You can make your own petition. It just needs to say something like:

We nominate _____ for ASCS committeeman for the _____ community.

The petition should then be signed with the names and addresses of at least six people from the same community.

THE NEXT MEETINGS ARE VERY IMPORTANT. THIS IS WHEN YOU PLAN YOUR STRATEGY AND PRACTICE VOTING. DEPENDING ON HOW GOOD YOU DO THIS PART OF THE PLAN, YOU WILL WIN OR LOSE THE ELECTION.

AT THE FOURTH MEETING

You must do the following things:

1. Make sure that every voter knows that he should vote only for the people put on the ballot by petition. Each voter should understand that a vote for the other man means that the other man will win. You must vote only for those people nominated by you.

2. Each voter should also understand that if you have less than 5 of your own people on the ballot by petition, you should vote for only your own candidates. You do not have to vote for 5 candidates. If you have only placed 2 candidates on the ballot by petition, you should vote only for them.

3. The best way to make sure that everybody in your community knows exactly how to vote and whom to vote for is to have them practice voting at your 4th meeting with sample ballots which you made up after seeing the sample ballots from the ASCS office.

4. Then your canvassers should be ready to go from house to house to help the people in his district practice if they did not make it to the meeting. People should fill out as many sample ballots as they need to make sure that the people know how to do it.

By now you are probably having your meetings once a week on the same night. People will be used to coming to meetings. You can announce that at the next meeting there will be more time to practice and that the final plans will be made to make sure of VICTORY.

THEN AT THE FIFTH MEETING

Make sure that all of your canvassers have a list of all the voters in their district. This is called a check-list. They should carry this check-list around with them beginning the day the ballots arrive by mail. At each house they should make sure that the farmer or sharecropper has voted. They check off his hame on their check list after he has voted. They must go around every day until each man in their community has been checked off.

The canvassers should be able to read and write so they can help those farmers vote who cannot read and write. They must understand that not only do they have to sign their own name to outside envelope, but that they must print the voter's name next to his "X".

If the area is well organized, people can come to a meeting and mark their ballots at that time.

At this meeting you might want to discuss whether or not it would be best to have people hold their ballots back until the day before they are due so that the other side cannot know how strong your vote will be and have time to run out and scrape up some extra votes to beat you with.

THEN THE SIXTH MEETING SHOULD BE DURING THE VOTING PERIOD

The canvassers should give their reports and plans should be made to have emergency workers canvass to see that late voters vote and carry their own ballots to the office, if necessary, to make sure they are in.

At this meeting you should select a committee who will be at the place the ballots are opened and counted so that you can be sure that the ballots are counted fairly. Announce that any interested person can attend the vote counting. Then encourage everyone to attend. The more people you have there the better chance you have of having an honest election.

BUT BE SURE TO ASSIGN some people to go so that you are sure you are represented at the vote counting.

Then be sure to call a meeting for AFTER the election to review what happened. This will be your VICTORY meeting. If you have to protest you should choose a committee to do the protesting in the name of the community.

NOW THAT WE HAVE FINISHED THE STEP BY STEP SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN WE WOULD LIKE TO REMIND YOU ABOUT THREE VERY IMPORTANT THINGS:

1. You cannot win the election unless all your eligible voters are on the ASCS list. You must begin working on getting all your voters on the eligible voter list at the very beginning of the campaign and you will probably have to work on this problem for the whole 6 weeks.

2. If you have trouble getting your candidates on the ballot by petitinn you can either boycott the election, or you can conduct a write-in campaign. Write-in campaigns are very difficult, but possible. The ballots must have spaces for write-in names. Have your meeting decide which names are written in and then

you practice writing those names in just like you practice for the regular voting. Sometimes people spell wrong and it is harder to get them to write in names than it is to have them mark an X on the ballot.

3. Keep a record of everything you do and everything that happens. If you need to protest the election, your case is much stronger if you have a record of everything that happened. For example, it is best to have a written letter inviting the ASCS office manager to your meeting when your committee goes to invite him. If he refuses, you have proof because you kept a copy of that letter.

   You should keep a list of all things done wrong in the election. If the ASCS office manager does not have the slides to show you, you should make a note of that. If you are kept out of watching the voting you should write down who was kept out, at what time they were kept out, who kept them out, and who saw all this happen. You should note any time that any ASCS official is discourteous to you and you should report any acts of discrimination that you might suffer.

   Also you should immediately report any acts of violence or intimidation in connection with the ASCS election to the nearest FBI office and by mail to:

   Secretary of Agriculture
   United States Department of Agriculture
   Washington, D. C.

   and copies of all complaints should be sent to

   The National Sharecroppers Fund
   5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
   Atlanta, Georgia 30303

   so that the National Sharecroppers Fund can follow-up on your complaints.

REMEMBER: You can win this election if you want to.

The only thing which can stop you from winning is not working.

If you work, <u>you will win</u>.

This manual was prepared by the National Sharecroppers Fund
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

ALA - RAP

THE RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT

GREENSBORO, ALABAMA
By Lewis Black

This report covers my work for the last two month in some five (5) different areas. They were as follows:

1. Voter registration.
2. Helping candidates, who were running for office.
3. Surplus food commodities program.
4. Leadership Training Program.
5. CO-OP and Credit Union Training Program.

I. VOTER REGISTRATION

We feel that registration of the rural people is important to help advance them in choosing the public leaders of rural. A great deal of my time have been spent in getting information to the people in the Black Belt Counties about the VEP Program, and helping keep in touch with SCLC to get aid in there registration campaign.

We have had, in order to:(1) get the number of Negro and White voters, (2) find out what precinct the voters lived in the county, (3) find out the days the county have for registration, (4) help set up car pool to get people to the polls, and(5) help to keep count of the number of voters went to the polls, by race.

II. HELPING CANDIDATES, WHO WERE RUNNING FOR OFFICE.

It goes without saying to have Negroes by candidates for public office, is one of the greatest political advancements we can make. I spent a lot of time helping organize poll watchers. I also served as a poll offical for May 3, and May 31, elections.

III. SURPLUS FOOD COMMODITIES PROGRAM

We have 10,000 people in Hale County, and 8, 800 people in Perry County, who by reason of low income, or no income need basic foods to eat.

We organized the people to go to the Power Structure of these two counties to ask them to help get food in these two counties. The power structure in each case said that they are not going to get food for these people.

With the aid of our CAP Organization and the State OEO Office we have written up a proposal to get food for these 18,800 people of Hale-Perry Counties in Alabama.

IV. LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAM

The leadership training program is one that we havegiven a lot of our time in the last month or so. The purpose of this proposed program is to train leaders to work in their home county. It is felt that they could do a very find job in community development once they start learning about the different program and going back to their communities and teaching others about them.

The proposal calls for training 130 Black-Belt Leaders.

The cost is about $250,000. The proposal will be sent to the OEO Office in Washington, D. C. this week.

We have had four meetings in Birminghan and one meeting in Washington, D. C. working on this proposal.

V CO-OP AND CREDIT UNION TRAINING PROGRAM

I have arranged one meeting in Marion, Alabama on Credit Union and Co-op development, and I attended a meeting in Mississippi on Co-op and Credit Union.

In Marion we were trying to get the feel of the credit union and Co-op movement among the people. The discussion was set out to define the organizations, and how they operate?

This meeting in Edwards Mississippi was three days long. We were discussing problems, and our resouces in the communities. One of our greatest problems was the lack of training that it would take to operate these co-ops.

We discussed the possibility of setting up training centers for co-ops in the Southern States.

Ala RAP

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Report on the Activities of
Rural Advancement Director, Lewis Black
June 27 through July 11

(1) Devoted considerable time and energy in further efforts to secure approval of a surplus food program for Hale and Perry Counties. After contacts with the OEO and USDA offices indicated the possibility of establishing the program without approval of Hale County power structure, the RAP Director checked on possible warehouses and assured himself of their immediate availability. Then, upon receiving a call indicating the proposed visit of three USDA representatives to Greensboro, the RAP Director arranged for a mass meeting of Hale County Improvement Association members to receive them. The message brought by the three representatives of USDA was not that anticipated but rather one that filled the audience with anger and despair. The RAP Director endeavored to see that the anger was directed to a useful purpose and the despair alleviated. Consequently, the Hale County Probate Judge, whose refusal to sign authorization papers has prevented establishment of the food program, received upon two occasions masses of hungry people in the Courthouse. Subsequently he called a meeting of the Hale County Board of Revenue to consider the question with a committee from the Hale County Improvement Association--the Board decided to take the problem under advisement. In the meantime, the RAP Director, working in conjunction with Alabama Council Director, Jerry Roden, Jr., arranged under the auspices of Alabama Senator John Sparkman appointments in Washington with USDA and OEO representatives at the policy making level. Drove through to Washington on July 10-11; met with Messrs. Ken Birkhead and Neal Freeman of USDA, and with Messrs. Alfred Corbett, David Bowen, and Joseph Howell of OEO on July 12; and received a firm commitment that the USDA would make immediately one final effort to get Judge Knight to cooperate and then, if that effort failed, would establish the food program anyway in cooperation with OEO.

(2) Continued efforts during this period with the Credit Union program. Specific results include (a) the organization of a committee in Beatrice and a subsequent application for charter, and (b) initiation of operations in proper order by the Demopolis Credit Union.

(3) Met with ATAC representatives, Council Director Roden, and others to discuss plans for bringing Head Start into Hale County.

(4) Began with OEO representatives in Washington and with Council Director Roden the exploration of ways through which a federally-supported basic adult education and vocational training program may be established in the Black Belt where the power structure is antipathetic to improving the Negro's ability to help himself.

Ala R.A.P.

**ASCS REPORT**
**Directed by**
**Alabama Council On Human Relations**
**(Rural Advancement Project)**

**Voter Education Program**
This Program is designed to teach the farmers;

(a) the value of voting in the farm programs. This will be done by having some people go to the farm communities, and make a house canvass of the people who received letters.

(b) this program is to get farmers who have not received letters and have a farm interest to go to the ASCS Office to get on the list of farmers, so that they share the service of the ASCS Office.

(c) we are having meetings in the communities to get a chance to talk face to face with farmers about their problems and trying to help them find solutions to them.

(d) the groups of communities are divided from the county level. We have people in some counties working to meet with people and these house to house canvass.

**The Number of People Reached**
We are working with 14,278 farmers in 12 counties, namely: Greene, Hale, Sumter, Perry, Marango, Chactow, Clarke, Wilcox, Monroe, Lowndes, Macon, and Dallas.

**The Type of Instruction Provided to Farmers**
(1) We are the awareness of the programs that the ASCS have.

(2) Importance of the Negroes being on these committees, in the ASCS Office.

(3) The controlling elements of the farm programs in the county and how they can get in a policy making position.

**Evaluation**
It will be about five days before I can send you an evaluation of this program.

Sign: Lewis Black
Lewis Black

Ala - R.A.P.

ES

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT
REPORT BY
Lewis Black-Director

I. ASCS Elections

II. Co-op

III. Credit Union

IV. Community Action Program

I. ASCS Election

Due to the fact, of the many services a farmer can receive from the USDA, and many of these services are governed by the ASCS Committee, we felt that it was important to devote some time to educating the farmers on the election. Shall I say the Negro Farmers most of all, of their right to take part.

Before I go into what we did, I would like to say some important things about the ASCS Services.

A. The ASCS can render it's services to tenants, farm owners, and share-croppers.

B. The ASCS has an economic advantage for any farmer that have crops which will conserve the sale or price support in marketing quotar.

C. The USDA has this arm of it's department, so that the local group can have some voice in the distribution of funds to farmers who conserve sale in the: (1) seed grain program, (2) Cooperative loan, (3) sugar program, (4) national wool program, (5) sale bank payment, (6) fish and wild production, and (7) corp acerage allotment or marketing quota currently established for the farmers.

In realizing all these services, we felt that if the Negro Farmers could become aware of this, and take a part in the voting, they by the same token could share in the economy that the ASCS Committee has to offer.

We begin our education program by first, finding out the number of people to be educated. Looking at the number of farmers in Alabama, we found that we had twenty-six (26) counties with a great number of Negroe Farmers. These twenty-six (26) counties had, 22,442 Negro farm voters, and 18,566 White Farm voters. After looking into our resource, we found

that we could only make a good possible showing 12 of these counties, and they were: Greene, Hale, Sumter, Perry, Marengo, Choctaw, Clarke, Wilcox, Dallas, Monroe, Lowndes, and Macon. In these 12 counties, we have 14,278 Negro Farmers, and 7,029 White Farmers.

During this education period, we called meetings in Montgomery, Selma, Tuscaloosa. In Montgomery, July 16, 1966 at the Jefferson Davis Hotel, we invited 150 people to the meeting and 35 of the group showed up at the meeting. Amoung the people attended were: James Mays, Jac Wasserman, Mike Kenney, Lewis Black, Joseph Searles, Pat Davis, Albert Turner, Lucy Foster, Red Farmer, J. H. Glanton, Mary Ligan, Don Jelinek, Eddie Long, L. A. Lee, P. A. Harris, Eugene People, Willie Ricks, Bob Valder, Bob Smith, S. S. Seay, Alice West, Donald Doss, Lonzie West, Phil Jones, Phil Gosher, Annell Ponder, Annie Louise Hardy, Elex Morris, Cleman Barlow, Oscar Moorer, Walter Blaston, Melvin Myers, New-soong Li, Shirley Mesher, and Hurbert Johnson.

The expense of this meeting was paid by the Alabama Council on Human Relations. It was decided at this meeting that we would file a petition in court to throw out the election. We also made plans for our Alabama Education Program for the ASCS Election. Sunday, July 17, 1966, we met in Selma, Alabama at the SCLC Office, with about 15 people present. We discussed things people should know about their community. (Exhibit A) and (Exhibit B). After the Sunday meeting in Selma, it was decided that we would have a meeting every Friday night until the election was over.

July 23, 1966, Bob Valder and I got together in Auburn, Alabama and wrote a proposal to the Southern Regional Council for a grant of $4,224.00. The Southern Regional Council approved a grant of $1,650.00. This money

used in Hale, Perry, Greene, Sumter, Marengo, Macon and Lowndes Counties. In all the counties we worked, we had some volunteer help.

The court hearing was set before we got started on our education program. It was August 9, 1966, and the court ordered the election to be set off until September 15, instead of August 16, 1966.

The ASCS County Committees, "for the most," held meetings with the farmers in Alabama while we were in Washington at the hearing.

In each of the named counties worked, the names of the farmers were listed in the paper, and we had to get the boundaries of the of the communities the best we new how. The county was divided from 5 to 11 communities. The workers were instructed to have community meetings, give lectures of the importance of voting, and ASCS benefits to the farmers. The ASCS Office sent out a new leaflet. (Exhibit C).

The men working in the field made visites to the ASCS Office for information about the election, made house to house calls, helped farmers fill out their forms, turned in complaints, and distributed leaflets to farmers about the program of the ASCS.

II. I am still trying to give some assistance to the Hale-Perry group in getting a farmer's co-op together. Since my last report, we have had two meetings. The first meeting we showed a flim from the consumers co-op association. We discussed ways we can buy seed, fertilizer, Trucks, and trucks, and tractors together. There wwere 15 men at this meeting. The c estion was raised about a market for the produce. After a lond* discussion, the group asked if we could each be looking for market. We did discuss the possibility of having processing plant, to process the food that grow.

Our second meeting was held November 3, 1966. We showed a picture of co-op. At the end of the picture, Mr. Joe Lee Hamilton, President was in



*lond – (lŏnd, adj; advord - "londly") Both long and loud, as "a lond burst of machine gun fire."

It was stated in the outset that a number of farmers had lost interest in the co-op, because there were no market for their produce.

Another thing was the management of co-op poorly organized. Its a hard matter to get the Perry-Hale co-op members to meet together.

I had a long talk with one of Mr. Baker's assistants of USDA about the co-op, and got some of their people to come down and offer some support to the nearly formed co-ops of the rural south. I feel this can be a way to get the FHA involved in helping the small farmers. The USDA representative said he would look into coming and let me know.

As I see it, there are three things the co-op needs, (1) organization, (2) management, and (3) marketing.

III. Credit Unions:

I have had little time to work with credit unions. The Demopolis Credit Union is beginning to make some loans to it's members, and is adding to it's shares. The York Credit Union has received it's Charter, and has start it's savings accounts. We have worked a little with them.

We have been to Credit Union Education meetings in Greensboro, Marion, York, and Auburn, Alabama and showed Credit Union Flims at each place.

IV. Community Action Program

We have been working for almost two years trying to get a Community Action Program started in Hale and Perry Counties. It was until the White People figured we were going to get some money, that we could get them to even meet with us. We had a meeting of all Negro, to decide who we were going to have on our committee to represent the Negroes of the county. The White People had a meeting to decide who they were to have on their committee. After this, we had a joint meeting; where 20 Negroes and 20

Whites were elected to serve on the board, and I was elected to serve as vice-chariman of the board.

Our second meeting was held two weeks later to draft the by-laws of the organization charter. Only eleven whites met, and 20 Negroes met. We didn't finish our organization of the Community Action Committee as yet.

WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE ASCS* ELECTIONS IN YOUR COMMUNITY

[*Agric. Stabilization and Conservation Service of US Dept. of Agric.]

WHY IS ASCS IMPORTANT?

Because the ASCS gives out your crop allotment.

WHO CAN VOTE IN THE ASCS ELECTION?

Any man or woman who owns or rents a farm, or who is a tenant or sharecropper on someone else's farm can vote.

You do not have to be able to read and write to vote.

You do not have to be registered at the Court House to vote in ASCS.

There is no racial discrimination in this program. You can vote if you are Negro or white or any other race.

IF YOU WORK FARMS IN DIFFERENCT COMMUNITIES IN THE COUNTY, CAN YOU VOTE IN BOTH COMMUNITIES?

No. You can only vote one time. You may choose which community you want to vote in if you work two farms.

WHO CAN RUN FOR ASCS COMMITTEE ELECTIONS?

Anybody who can vote in ASCS elections can be a candidate for ASCS committeeman. But, the candidate must live in the community he is a candidate from.

HOW DO YOU RUN FOR THE ASCS COMMITTEE ELECTIONS?

There are two ways for a man or woman to have their name on the ballot:

1. One way is for the man or woman to have their name put on the ballot by the County ASCS Committee. Usually the people put on the ballot by the County ASCS Committee do not work for you. They work for the other man.

2. You can put your OWN candidates on the ballot by PETITION. That way you can be sure that they will work for you.

HOW DO YOU PUT CANDIDATES ON THE BALLOT BY PETITION?

You can make your own petition or use the one attached to this notice. All you need on the petition is a statement saying that those people who sign the petition want to nominate a person (the petition must have his whole name) as your candidate for the ASCS voters in his ASCS community.

You can sign as many petitions as you want.

Petitions must be turned into the county ASCS office at least 25 days before the day the election ballots are due at the office. In Alabama that is on the 25th of July.

WHAT IS AN ASCS COMMUNITY?

Each county is divided up by the ASCS County Committee into ASCS communities which are NOT the same as the communities people live in. They are much bigger and will include many rural communities. Sometimes they will cut a rural community in half. The ASCS County Committee is supposed to write you a letter telling you what community you are in. If you have any questions about what community you are in, you should ask at the ASCS County office.

WHAT ARE THE TWO MOST IMPORTANT STEPS TO REMEMBER IN AN ASCS ELECTION?

1. The FIRST important step in an ASCS election is to nominate YOUR OWN friends and leaders by PETITION. The easiest way to do this is by calling a meeting of farmers in your community and let the meeting decide who to nominate by petition. Then, at the meeting have the petitions signed and have someone carry them the next day to the County ASCS office. If you cannot get them signed that night, have someone carry them around the next day until you have 10 or 12 signatures.

2. The SECOND important step to remember in an ASCS election is CANVASSING.

   ASCS voting is new to many people. They will be getting letters in the mail from the ASCS Committee explaining how to vote. But they may not pay any mind to these letters since they have never voted before. It is up to you and your meeting of farmers to go around to every farmer in the ASCS community and explain to him or her how important the ASCS elections are and to see that he votes.

   One of the biggest reasons many ASCS votes are lost is because people do not sign their name correctly on the outside envelope. Your canvasser can help by showing everybody how to vote, (but of course he cannot vote for them) and be the witness who helps the voter who cannot read and write.

   Your canvasser should also explain that if you only like one or two of the men who are running as ASCS committeemen, you do not have to vote for 5 people. You can vote for only those people you trust.

IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE TO REMEMBER IN AN ASCS ELECTION?

Yes. Remember that if anybody tries to keep you from voting or tries to force you to vote for someone, or threatens you with violence or loss of credit if you vote, he is BREAKING THE LAW.

You should report all violations of the law in a simple letter to:

The Secretary of Agriculture
United States Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

And the National Sharecroppers Fund can help if you will send a letter telling about your problems to:

The National Sharecroppers Fund
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

This notice was prepared by the National Sharecroppers Fund.

Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

DR. C. G. GOMILLION, President

BOB VALDER, Associate Director LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project

f

January 11, 1966

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Vice Presidents

Dr. Raymond D. Fowler, Tuscaloosa
Dr. Lucius Pitts, Birmingham
Father Brice Joyce, Sheffield

Secretary

Mrs. Paul J. McCoy, Huntsville

Treasurer

J. E. Pierce, Montgomery
Rev. V. A. Edwards, Tuskegee Institute
James F. Kidd, Birmingham
Rev. Powers McLeod, Montgomery
Mrs. Bill Reed, Huntsville

BOARD MEMBERS

Dr. Joseph Bettis, Tuscaloosa
Allen Black, Jr., Florence
Mrs. John Cashin, Huntsville
Mrs. John Drew, Birmingham
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Rev. Harold Long, Birmingham
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Ross Bonner, Tuscaloosa
Arthur Whitfield, Mobile
Mrs. James Kennedy, Mobile
Joe D. Wilson, Huntsville
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Paul Wooley, Montgomery
Earl Pippin, Montgomery
Prof. George DeBoer, Florence
Mrs. Thelma Mullins, Sheffield
Mrs. Laura Daly, Talladega
Alfred Radney, Talladega

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Good news! We have an Annual Meeting speaker--Frank Smith. Don't know what kind of speaker he is or anything but after all at this date one can't really be worried about such things as that. I'm kind of relieved.

Got a question. I'm trying to decide what to ~~the~~ tell the Board Members with regard to what expenses of theirs are covered for the Board meeting on Feb. 3. I recall you saying something about this last year to the effect (I think) that at the Annual Meeting Board meeting you didn't think they were supposed to get travel since it is assumed they'd be coming to the Annual Meeting anyway. My question is--do you know what expenses they are supposed to get--just Friday meals and Friday night hotel or what? I've asked Dr. Gomillion and he doesn't recall either and I've searched thru the entire memorandum file and elsewhere and can find nothing. Do you recall what kind of meeting this decision was reached at and an approximate date? This might help me locate the information in the files.

All for now. Al's spending last nite, tonite and Thurs. nite with us--we're enjoying it. The Annual Meeting is pretty well shaped up--have all the resource people nailed down.

Are we supposed to submit a new suggested RAP budget for 1967 to SRC; whether or not we are supposed to who should prepare a tentative one and to whom should it be presented at ACHR and who at ACHR is supposed to approve it?

Thanks for letter to Joe Gannon. Great typing, huh??? Mine, that is.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

Fr. Brice's "deadline" been extended to end of Jan. No other news of the deal. Did SRC do anything on this?

Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

DR. C. G. GOMILLION, President

BOB VALDER, Associate Director LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project

~~PA~~

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December 30, 1966

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Southern R gional Council
5 Forsyth St., M.W.
Atlanta, Georgai 30303

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Don Ring, Huntsville
Paul Wooley, Montgomery
Earl Pippin, Montgomery
Prof. George DeBoer, Florence
Mrs. Thelma Mullins, Sheffield
Mrs. Laura Daly, Talladega
Alfred Radney, Talladega

Dear Ed:

Thanks for the short note--glad you like that gold. As long as your gonna intrude on the Annual Meeting why not make it a 100% job and plan to come to the Board meeting too? It will begin at 6:00 p.m., February 3 at the Tutweiler. It will be followed by a talk by Dr. Long of Talladega at 7:30.

We need some infor and I guess you should know this or know who at SRC can get it for us. We would like to have an organizational chart of SRC, if one is available. Also the number of SRC staff members, broken down into professional and secretarial--just the number, not the names or positions or anything else. And we'd also like to have the names of the past presidents of SRC, if such a list is readily available.

This stuff is for the presentation which the H'ville chapter is making to these city delagations who come to H'ville at the invite of AHAC as part of that Stern Family Fund program. We're explaining ACHR and SRC as part of the presentation and would like to know the above things. If the chart and the presidents thing aren't easily available, don't bother with finding out.

and rec a carbon?

And rather than send this stuff to me could you just send it to Joe Gannon, 401 Karter St., N.W., Huntsville, Alabama? Thanks much.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

Is this available?

(1) flyer on SRC - amending notations on Special Projects
(2) 40 staffers, c. 15 professionals
(3) list of Board members

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**ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.**

**303 a Foster Street**
**Auburn, Alabama 36830**
**April 23, 1968**

**MEMORANDUM**

TO: ACHR Board of Directors

FROM: Bob Valder

SUBJECT: ACHR's new Executive Director
The Field Foundation Grant

At a meeting in Birmingham on April 20 the full Executive Committee of the Alabama Council on Human Relations interviewed five candidates for the position of Executive Director. Following the interviews with each the committee decided that the person possessing the best combination of qualifications for the directorship was Father Brice Joyce. Many of you know Brice, as he worked in Sheffield, Alabama for many years during which time he was active with both the local and state Council on Human Relations. Brice will assume the position on or near May 1, which is the effective date of my resignation.

Some of you have probably heard by now that on April 5, 1968 the Field Foundation contributed $1 million to " a few organizations which in purpose and method represent Dr. King's own constant and beautiful loyalty to the ideal of a beloved community, united in and by justice, non-violence, and love." The following represents excerpts from a letter from Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Field Foundation.

> Confirming our wire of April 5, I enclose herewith our check for $40,000. This represents a one-time grant to the Alabama Council on Human Relations, in memory of the work and achievement of Martin Luther King, Jr.
>
> It is part of a larger grant made by the Foundation to this end. We thought the Alabama Council should share in it because it has always embodied and expressed convictions similar to those of Dr. King. We remember too his personal association with the Alabama Council and, of course, his historic work in the state of Alabama.
>
> In Making this grant, it is the hope and wish of the Foundation that it can be put immediately to use, that it will enable you over the next few critical months to enlarge significantly your efforts. We do not, of course, ask that you act hastily: only that we hope these funds can be thrown as rapidly as good judgment allows into Dr. King's cause.

At the April 20 meeting the Executive Committee decided that this $40,000 grant from the Field Foundation would not be used by the Council for operation expenses, i.e., salary, rent, etc. It was decided that we would immediately place these funds in a special savings account and that the money would be used only for projects, as ideas for projects are developed.

We are now sending to local chapter presidents the notification that local chapters may prepare and send to the state office proposals which they believe merit funding by the State Executive Committee from the $40,000. The notification to local chapter presidents emphasizes that the committee will entertain only "modest" sums of money and that these proposals will be funded on the basis of merit ( the executive committee does not envision that each chapter should expect to receive the same amount of money or even any money just because they are a local chapter--in other words one chapter might get a proposal funded which calls for much more money than a proposal which another chapter might have funded). Those local chapter projects which are funded by the Executive Committee are looked upon primarily as demonstration projects with a view to receiving additional funding from elsewhere once these projects prove their worth.

Another idea which we hope to begin working on soon is the possibility of using a small amount of the grant to hire a consultant whose job would be to write up proposals, particularly to foundations, in hopes of substantially increasing the funding of local chapter projects described in the paragraph above.

# Some Race Related Deaths in the United States

# (1955-1965)

These are cases involving violent death between the races in the South. The list is of course not complete; it is not restricted to cases involving civil rights. It is compiled from newspaper accounts, and in some instances, where cooperation could be obtained, reports from officials.

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**1965**

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|---|---|
| **Freddie Lee Thomas (N) 9-3-65** | Near Greenwood, Miss. Body found on highway. Thomas' half brother claimed victim was slain to deter voter registration efforts. Coroner's inquest ruled hit-and-run accident. No arrests. |
| **Thad Christian (N) 8-28-65** | Near Anniston, Ala. Allegedly shot by white man while fishing. Suspect charged with murder in arrest warrant. |
| **Perry Smau (N) 8-27-65** | Greensboro, Ala. The 87-year-old victim had voiced opposition to demonstrations. He was beaten and tongue cut out. Civil Rights groups denied complicity. Two Negro suspects in custody, one indicted on murder charge. Victim was robbed of $26. |
| **Arthur James Hill (N) 8-20-65** | Villa Rica, Ga. Shot during argument with whites. One white suspect held for grand jury action on voluntary manslaughter charge. |
| **Jonathan M. Daniels (W) 8-20-65** | Hayneville, Ala. Episcopal seminarian slain after release from jail for civil rights demonstration. White man, member of prominent family, accused of shootings that killed Daniels and wounded a Catholic priest. |
| **8-22-65** | Suspect Tom L. Coleman, arraigned for murder and assault with intent to kill; jailed for 11 hours, released on bonds of $10,000 and $2,500. Grand jury brought indictment for manslaughter, and assault and battery. Defendant acquitted of manslaughter charge. |
| **Johnny Queen (N) 8-8-65** | Fayette, Miss. White off-duty constable named in the pistol slaying, which was not connected with any arrest. |
| **Andrew Whatley Jr. (W) 7-29-65** | Americus, Ga. Shot from passing car during racial disturbance. Two Negro men indicted by grand jury as murder suspects. |
| **Robert Wilder (N) 7-18-65** | Ruston, La. White policeman accused in pistol slaying. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide. |
| **Willie Brewster (N) 7-15-65** | Anniston, Ala. Shot while driving home from work. Three white men indicted by grand jury on murder charges. Shooting climaxed a week of anti-Negro rallies by National States Rights Party. One of the men, Hubert Damon Strange, was convicted of second degree murder and given a ten (10) year prison sentence. All-white jury. The other two, Johnny Ira DeFries and Lewis Blevins, still face murder charges. |
| **James Waymers (N) 7-10-65** | Allendale, S. C. White man charged with murder in shotgun slaying. Area was scene of recent civil rights demonstrations. Accused acquitted Oct. 21, 1965, after entering a plea of self-defense. |
| **O'Neal Moore (N) 6-2-65** | Bogalusa, La. Victim was one of city's first two Negro deputy sheriffs and was shot by a white man while walking beat in Negro community. Suspect charged with murder, released on bail. |
| **Frederick L. Humphrey (W) 3-26-65** | Hattiesburg, Miss. Shot after the victim, a constable, stopped car of Negro suspect during racial unrest. Murder charge pending. |
| **Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo (W) 3-25-65** | Shot on Hwy. 80 between Selma and Montgomery, Ala. Detroit housewife returning to Montgomery to transport civil rights marchers. Three klansmen charged with murder. |
| **10-2-65** | Collie Leroy Wilkins tried for murder. Jury hung. Mistrial declared. |
| **10-19-65** | In a second trial Wilkins acquitted. Charges still pending against other two suspects, William O. Eaton and Eugene Thomas. All three received 10 year sentences for conspiracy to violate Federal civil rights statute. Bond set at $10,000. The three will appeal. All-white jury. |
| **Rev. James Reeb (W) 3-12-65** | Selma, Ala. Four white men accused in bludgeon death of white civil rights sympathizer; three indicted on murder charges. Three defendants acquitted. |
| **Jimmie Lee Jackson (N) 2-18-65** | Marion, Ala. Slain by white state trooper as victim, according to witnesses, tried to shield his mother from beating during demonstration. No arrest. Grand jury cleared trooper, identified only by surname. |

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| **Ollie W. Shelby (N) 1-22-65** | Jackson, Miss. White sheriff's deputy accused of shooting 18-year-old Negro in prison. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide. |
| **1964** | |
| **Frank Morris (N) 12-10-64** | Ferriday, La. Died of burns suffered when his shoe repair shop was fired by arsonists in area of racial unrest. No arrests. |
| **Frank Andrews (N) 11-28-64** | Lisman, Ala. Choctaw County. Shot in back by white sheriff's deputy. County solicitor said victim was attacking another deputy. No arrests. |
| **Charles Sammie Marrow, Jr. (N) 10-29-64** | Chattanooga, Tenn. Shot in back by a white man reportedly "to protect an attractive white waitress in a downtown restaurant." Acquitted in criminal court. |
| **Hubert Orsby (N) 9-9-64** | Near Pickens, Miss. Body of 14-year-old youth found in Big Black River wearing CORE T-shirt. Coroner's jury ruled death by accidental drowning. |
| **James Andrew Miller (N) 8-30-64** | Jackson, Ga. Shot by white man during racial flare-up. Victim had been beaten by whites a few days prior to shooting. Coroner's jury ruled slaying a case of self-defense. Shooting suspect cleared. |
| **Billy Wayne Wallace (W) 8-9-64** | Dallas, Tex. Shot during racial row in city park. Two Negroes arrested. One indicted for murder with court action pending; the other suspect was no-billed by the grand jury on same charge. |
| **Charles E. Moore (N) 7-12-64**<br>**Henry Hezekiah Dee (N)** | Meadville, Miss., near Tullulah, La. Both bodies mutilated. Recovered from Mississippi River. Had been missing since May 2, 1964. Charges against two white men dismissed without prejudice Jan. 12, 1965. Prosecution said lacked enough evidence. |
| **Lemuel Penn (N) 7-11-64** | Near Colbert, Ga. Victim was Washington, D. C., educator. Shot by whites while returning from Army reserve duty at Fort Benning, Ga. Four Klansmen arrested; three indicted for murder; two tried and acquitted. Federal indictments against six white men charging conspiracy to deprive Penn of civil rights dismissed in district court, appealed to U. S. Supreme Court. |
| **James E. Chaney (N) 6-21-64**<br>**Andrew Goodman (W)**<br>**Michael H. Schwerner (W)** | Philadelphia, Miss. Three civil rights workers slain after their release from jail. 21 white men arrested, charges dismissed by U. S. Commissioner. Federal grand jury later indicted 18 white men on felony and misdemeanor charges of conspiring to violate the victims' civil rights. Federal judge voided felony charges against 17. Misdemeanor charges pending. Justice Department is appealing the rulings. Trial of the 18th suspect pending in federal court in Atlanta. |
| **Mrs. Johnnie Mae Chappell (N) 3-23-64** | Jacksonville, Fla. Shot while walking along street during racial unrest. Young white man sentenced to 10 years in the shooting. |
| **Louis Allen (N) 2-1-64** | Liberty, Miss. Civil rights worker slain some time after testifying against a white man charged with killing another Negro. No arrests. |
| **1963** | |
| **William Kinard (W) 10-18-63** | St. Augustine, Fla. Victim slain as he and two other whites drove with shotgun through Negro area. Two Negroes arrested on murder charges. Court action pending. |
| **E. B. Bryant (W) 10-18-63** | Jackson, Miss. White gas station attendant slain after squirting water from hose on Negro drinking from "white" fountain. Negro suspect charged with murder, sentenced to life imprisonment. |
| **Virgil Ware (N) 9-15-63** | Birmingham, Ala. Thirteen-year-old youth killed by two white teen-agers while riding his bicycle in suburban area following downtown church bombing. Defendants received probated seven-month sentences and a stern lecture on second-degree manslaughter charges. |
| **Johnny Robinson (N) 9-15-63** | Birmingham, Ala. Killed by police after church bombing and rioting. No arrests. |
| **Denise McNair (N), age 11, 9-15-63**<br>**Addie Mae Collins (N) age 14**<br>**Cynthia Wesley (N), age 14**<br>**Carol Robertson (N), age 14** | Birmingham, Ala. Killed while attending Sunday School by exploding bomb at church where civil rights rallies were held. No arrests. |
| **John L. Coley (N) 9-4-63** | Birmingham, Ala. Suffered fatal wounds from shotgun pellets during rioting after a race bombing. No arrests. |
| **Andrew Lee Anderson (N) 7-17-63** | Near Marion, Ark. Slain by group of white citizens and sheriff's deputies after white woman said he had molested her 8-year-old daughter. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide. No arrests. |

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| **Medgar W. Evers (N) 6-12-63** | Jackson, Miss. Shot in back as he arrived home from civil rights rally. He was field secretary for NAACP. White man tried twice, but hung juries brought mistrials. Accused Byron de le Beckwith now free. |
| **Frank G. Link (W) 6-7-63** | Lexington, N. C. Killed during rioting. Three Negroes convicted—one sentenced to serve four to seven years for second-degree murder, and two sentenced to six-month terms on charges of engaging in a riot. |
| **William L. Moore (W) 4-23-63** | Near Attalla, Ala. Mailman from Baltimore, Md., making one-man protest march across Alabama slain by bullet. Grand jury failed to indict white suspect. |
| **1962** | |
| **Paul Guihard (W) 10-30-62**<br>**Ray Gunter (W)** | Oxford, Miss. Guihard (news reporter from France) and Gunter (local TV repairman) slain during white rioting over admission of James Meredith to University of Mississippi. No arrests. |
| **Leroy Parks (W) 9-6-62** | Dallas, Ga. Victim was among masked nightriders calling on a Negro woman who was charged in the slaying. Coroner's jury ruled shooting justifiable homicide. Suspect moved North after release from jail. |
| **Cpl. Roman Ducksworth Jr. (N) 4-9-62** | Taylorsville, Miss. Shot by white policeman when the Negro refused to move to rear of interstate bus. No arrests. |
| **1961** | |
| **Eli Brumfield (N) 10-31-61** | McComb, Miss. Shot by policeman during racial unrest. No arrests. |
| **Herbert Lee (N) 9-25-61** | Liberty, Miss. Civil rights worker shot by a white state legislator. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide. |
| **Frank Coleman Dumas (W) 6-1-61** | Shot to death in his home. Preston Cobb, Jr., 15 year old Negro, found guilty of murder Aug. 16, 1961, and sentenced to die. Case retried, ending in sentence to life imprisonment. Motion for new trial pending. |
| **1960** | |
| **William Nance (N) 8-27-60** | Near Winchester, Tenn. Body found in Lakeview Lake with slugs from three different guns and weighted with large rock. No arrests. |
| **Albert Pitts (N) 7-23-60**<br>**David Pitts (N)**<br>**Ernest McPharland (N)**<br>**Marshall A. Johns (N)** | Monroe, La. White employer arrested, then released in the shooting of five of his employees; four died. Victims accused of making threats. Records of Dist. Court, Parish of Ouachita, Monroe, La., reveal that no bill of indictment or information was ever filed. |
| **Mrs. Mattie Greene (N) 5-20-60** | Ringgold, Ga. Died under falling debris when her home was dynamited. No arrests. |
| **1959** | |
| **William Roy Prather (N) 11-1-59** | Corinth, Miss. The 15-year-old boy was killed in anti-Negro "Halloween prank." Eight white youths charged with the slaying, six of whom were turned over to juvenile court. One indicted on manslaughter charge. |
| **Tommy Dwight (N) 6-13-59** | Dalton, Ga. Four white men fired supposedly over the heads of a group of Negroes intending to "scare" them, but four fatal buckshots hit the 11-year-old victim. The four were indicted on charges of involuntary manslaughter. Charges reduced to misdemeanor and three of the men sentenced to serve one year. One of these permitted to serve the year outside jail. |
| **Jonas Causey (N) 5-10-59** | Clarksdale, Miss. NAACP requested investigation and action against 15 policemen accused of the slaying. No arrests. |
| **Mack Charles Parker (N) 4-25-59** | Poplarville, Miss. Abducted from unguarded jail cell and shot to death. No arrests. |
| **1958** | |
| **James Henry Ellison (N) 9-20-58** | Chattanooga, Tenn. Shot from a passing car occupied by two white couples. No arrests. |
| **Ernest Hunter (N) 9-13-58** | St. Mary's, Ga. Slain while in jail. White policeman accused of shooting reported that he and victim engaged in a struggle. No arrests. |
| **Joe Franklin Jeter Sr. (N) 9-13-58** | Atlanta, Ga. Shot by white policeman who said victim was resisting arrest. Grand jury returned "no bills" on three charges. |

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|---|---|
| **Richard Lillard (N) 7-26-58** | Nashville, Tenn. Died after a beating in local workhouse by three white guards. They were indicted on murder charges on Aug. 15, 1958. Each was acquitted on Jan. 16, 1959. |
| **Woodrow Wilson Daniels (N) 7-1-58** | Water Valley, Miss. Died of brain injury nine days after beating. White sheriff acquited of manslaughter charge. |
| **Willie Countryman (N) 5-25-58** | Dawson, Ga. Shot in his backyard by white policeman. Federal grand jury failed to indict the policeman, who had been accused in another death one month earlier. |
| **John Larry Bolden (N) 5-3-58** | Chattanooga, Tenn. The 15-year-old boy was shot by white policeman. No court action. |
| **James Brazier (N) 4-25-58** | Dawson, Ga. Victim died a few days after beating at hands of white policemen. Federal grand jury refused to indict four accused officers. |
| **George Love (N) 1-8-58** | Ruleville, Miss. Killed by 25-man posse. No arrests. |
| **1957** | |
| **Willie V. Dunigan (N) 11-18-57** | Lomax, Ala. Shot by sheriff's deputies outside his home. Deputies were looking for person(s) who earlier wounded another deputy. No arrests. |
| **Charles Brown (N) 6-25-57** | Near Yazoo City, Miss. White man charged with shooting the victim, a young airman, who was visiting at the home of the suspect's sister. |
| **James Hollis (N) 2-3-57** | Griffin, Ga. The 17-year-old boy was slain and a white housewife wounded by husband who found them together partially clothed in his home. A grand jury failed to indict the husband. |
| **1956** | |
| **Mrs. Maybelle Mahone (N) 12-5-56** | Near Molena, Ga. Shot by white man for "sassing" him. The 71-year-old suspect was first given a life sentence on a murder charge, Aug 1, 1957, but was found "not guilty for reasons of insanity" the following March 21, 1958. |
| **Mrs. Bessie McDowell (N) 6-14-56** | Andalusia, Ala. Killed by white father and son, who were indicted on first and second degree murder counts. |
| **Rev. C. H. Baldwin (N) 4-22-56** | Near Huntsville, Ala. Victim struck by heavy rock. White man convicted of second-degree manslaughter, sentenced to 12 months at hard labor. |
| **Dr. Thomas H. Brewer (N) 2-18-56** | Columbus, Ga. Prominent physician and NAACP leader shot by white man. Grand jury refused to indict. |
| **Milton Russell (N) 1-21-56** | Belzoni, Miss. Burned to death in his home. Whites suspected of foul play. No arrests. |
| **Richard King (N) 1-6-56** | Eufaula, Ala. White man given life sentence for pistol slaying. He was later paroled, violated his parole and "might be back in prison," according to Barbour County's court clerk. |
| **Edward Duckworth (N) 1-56** | Raleigh, Miss. White man reportedly admitted the shooting but claimed self defense. Suspect died of heart ailment while awaiting grand jury action. |
| **1955** | |
| **James E. Evanston (N) 12-24-55** | Near Drew, Miss. Body of school principal found in Long Lake with neck broken and no water in lungs to indicate drowning. Negro press called it civil rights slaying. Death officially ruled suicide. |
| **Clinton Melton (N) 12-3-55** | Glendora, Miss. White suspect was indicted on a murder charge and later acquitted. |
| **John Earl Reese (N) 10-22-55** | Near Longview, Tex. The 16-year-old boy died of injuries from shotgun blast into cafe from a moving car. Two whites indicted for murder, one given a five year suspended sentence. |
| **Emmett Till (N) 8-28-55** | LeFlore County, Miss. The 14-year-old boy from Chicago was slain after "smart-alec" talk to a Mississippi white woman. Body found in a river, beaten and shot. Two white men indicted for murder and acquitted. |
| **Lamar Smith (N) 8-17-55** | Brookhaven, Miss. Victim was shot down on lawn of county courthouse in broad daylight. A grand jury failed to indict three accused white men. |
| **Rev. George W. Lee (N) 5-7-55** | Belzoni, Miss. Killed by a shotgun blast from a car carrying several whites. No arrests. |

**THE ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 Wright Avenue • Little Rock, Arkansas

# A Pastoral Letter
# On Race and Conscience

We believe the racial problem is the most serious domestic problem facing our Nation, and it demands the attention of every citizen. The satisfactory solution of this problem rests ultimately on the conscience of the individual. **It is a problem which cannot be solved by statutes and laws alone, but which requires mutual respect and cooperation in keeping with the traditions of our civilization which recognize that all men are the children of one God who should follow the great commandment: "Love thy neighbor as thyself."**

Every man is our neighbor. We are obliged to love him not only in thought and word, but "in deed and in truth". We do this by trying to help him have not only what is his due from his own efforts but also what he can expect from us as his brother.

We are not obliged to love our neighbor more than ourselves. We do not have to love all men equally. But we are obliged to love everyone enough to try to make it possible for him to have equal opportunities to life, work, and improvement in this world as a preparation for the next.

**The divine law to love our neighbor is binding upon all.** It binds both white and Negro alike.

This concept is not easy to follow. Prejudice, custom, past injustices, both real and imaginary difficulties, are obstacles to the practice of love of our neighbor. These obstacles can incline us to intolerance and racial hatred.

We must learn to understand before we can advance very far in real charity toward our neighbor. Understanding leads to tolerance which gives us the moral strength to bear patiently those things about our neighbors, real or imaginary, which we do not like. **In spite of our disposition to dislike certain things about our neighbor we can and must continually strive to treat him justly and charitably. This is the law of God. This is something we are obliged to do in spite of how we feel.**

We appeal to all men of good will to take an active part in solving this moral evil by accepting not only in theory but in practice the application of the Great Commandment of love for our neighbor in our conduct toward all men regardless of race. Each individual person must contribute his share to the solution of this problem by striving for a true conscience and following it in accordance with God's law. If each individual in our area will conscientiously try to act in accordance with such a conscience, we will overcome racial hatred and promote the mutual understanding and cooperation without which little progress can be made.

We, the members of this Conference, composed of men and women of different religious faiths and of different races, pledge ourselves to strive to the best of our abilities to exemplify by our personal conduct and public actions that we believe in the commandment to love our neighbor. **We appeal to the members of all congregations to ask their own consciences if there is any other course that they themselves can follow and still be consistent with what they profess.**

We respectfully make this appeal that God may be glorified by the living together of all His children in that brotherly love which is the parent of justice, of peace, and of happiness.

This letter was prepared at the request of the Conference on Religion and Human Relations by the following interfaith leaders: The Most Reverend Albert L. Fletcher, Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Little Rock; The Reverend John D. Bright, Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Area of Arkansas-Oklahoma; Dr. Kenneth L. Teegarden, President of the Arkansas Council of Churches; Dr. Ira E. Sanders, Rabbi Emeritus at Temple B'nai Israel.

☆

To be read and distributed in churches and synagogues during the weekend preceding Thanksgiving, November 28.

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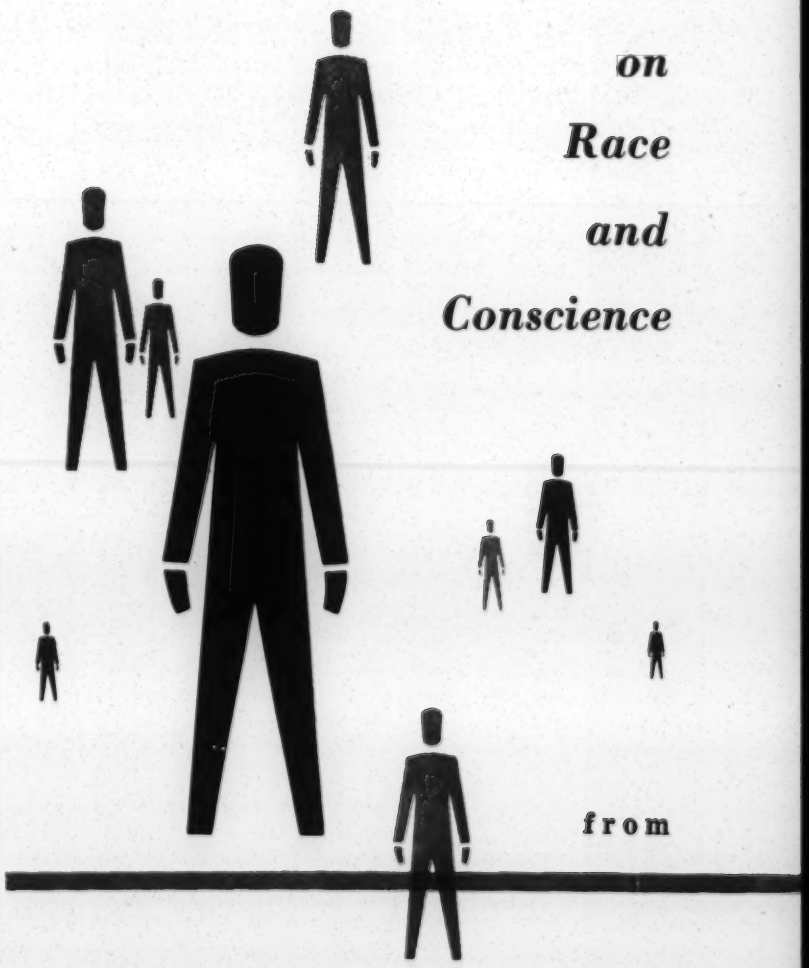
Copies of this appeal are available from The Arkansas Council of Churches, 1719 Broadway, FR 5-1553, and The Arkansas Council on Human Relations, 1220 West Capitol, FR 4-4521.



*Challenge to Justice and Love*

# A Pastoral Letter



## *on Race and Conscience*

**from**

**THE GREATER LITTLE ROCK CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND HUMAN RELATIONS**

November, 1963

Arkansas Gazette.

Monday, June 1, 1964.

# Arkansas Council on Human Relations Looks Back on Long, Difficult Decade

By BILL LEWIS
Of the Gazette Staff

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations is approaching its 10th anniversary financially and numerically stronger than it has ever been, but faced with a job that is not as dramatic but far more difficult than before.

"The operation now is harder," said Ozell Sutton, associate director. "We have moved from outright defiance to circumvention, which is more difficult to deal with."

Despite difficulties, the Council can look back to a record of achievements — often without fanfare or credit — that probably is unequaled by any other private, non-profit organization with a minimum staff and funds.

The Council came into being as the result of efforts of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, which dates from the end of World War I, to stimulate groups in the Southern states that would help prepare the way for desegregation of the schools, which by the early 1950s had begun to appear an inevitability.

## 1955 Incorporation

The Arkansas Council, then as now affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, organized a Board in December 1954, obtained a staff in April 1955 and set up its office the next month. It was incorporated under Arkansas law as a non-profit organization in July 1955, with Fred K. Darragh Jr., Harry S. Ashmore and Rev. Charles C. Walker as incorporators.

"At that time," recalled Nat R. Griswold, the executive director, "the Council realized that Southern communities, in complying with the Supreme Court's desegregation decree, would need all of the advice they could get." But the feeling generally was that the communities would accept the ruling in good faith and comply.

The byword has long since become "transition without tragedy." In those days, he said, "we didn't think there would be tragedy. And up until 1956, things were pretty relaxed."

In Griswold's retrospective view, the Southern Manifesto quickly changed everything. It seemed to say that "maybe we don't have to desegregate after all." Governor Faubus, in answers to questions by a New York Times reporter in 1956, disclosed his own viewpoint, which essentially was one of local option compliance, and he offered the services of his administration to help carry out that viewpoint.

The fears of desegregation began to evolve, and the Council, which previously had operated quite openly, began to take less direct approaches, even in approaching officials. From that time on through the turbulent crisis years, Griswold said, the Council racked up "a long record of failures" in which many things were attempted with few achieved.

In the summer of 1957, it brought to Arkansas some education consultants from Missouri and Oklahoma to meet the school superintendents at Russellville ("It has just now desegregated," Griswold noted), Clarksville, Danville, Ola and other communities along the Arkansas River.

The object was for the superintendents who had experienced desegregation to tell those facing it what they might expect and how to go about it. As the Little Rock controversy mounted, the upriver superintendents became less willing, and their answer eventually was, "We can do it, but we won't do it without a court order."

## Another Try Falis

The Council also tried at Little Rock and North Little Rock to organize conferences of teachers at which staff members from the College of Education at the University of Arkansas or other experts could offer direction on dealing with problems that would accompany the admission of Negroes to white schools. "We were always stopped at the superintendent's office," Griswold said.

While the Council advocated good-faith compliance with school desegregation orders, Griswold said, the Little Rock school administration, personified by the superintendent then, Virgil T. Blossom, was planning minimum compliance.

"Blossom was the author of the doctrine of avoidance of court defiance without the admission of Negro children in any significant numbers," he said.

The Council's most successful early effort was at Hoxie. There, the School Board, motivated more by economics than human concern, desegregated voluntarily, and after a few weeks this stirred up a hornet's nest of segregationist opposition. Board members and school officials were threatened, their homes stoned. The Board was on the verge of resigning under the pressure when the Council moved in.

"We were able also to bolster the resolution of the principal and the School Board members," Griswold said. The Board took the initiative in court and won a federal court ruling that the School Board, which administratively found it possible to desegregate but did not do that, was liable to the parents of children who were damaged by segregation. The court also enjoined the distractors from continued molestation.

## Little Rock Effort

The Council was thwarted in its every effort to smooth the school desegregation path at Little Rock, Griswold said. Blossom would attend meetings but always confined his contribution to an explanation of what the Board was doing.

"When we made suggestions, he became very defensive, aggravated and disturbed," said Griswold. "He was the only one allowed to talk on this subject."

Throughout, the Council's "weapon" has been the conference table. "We have been committed from the beginning to the view that the majority and the minority could solve any problems in any community without rancor, and do it fairly," Griswold said.

An example is Pine Bluff, which he said had made considerable progress in desegregating its public accommodations largely through the Council, which established liaison between opposing factions.

At Pine Bluff, Griswold said, the Council has reached the point in public confidence where its staff talks publicly with the police chief.

## Explanatory Work

From time to time, the Council also has issued statements it feels are needed to counterbalance or put in perspective pronouncements on court opinions or whatever by various groups and individuals.

Griswold and Sutton say they approach desegregation problems not from the Negro's side alone but from the standpoint of what the South — white and Negro—has lost and is losing through continuance of segregation.

"The Negro has less to lose because he doesn't have anything," said Sutton. "The South itself has everything to gain."

Sutton said the difficulties lie in the fact that Southern — and Little Rock — school and public officials have never accepted desegregation as progress" but only as "something that might have to be done."

"They're always looking for a place to stop," said Griswold.

Both agree that desegregation will come, whether now or tomorrow or another day, and that segregation continues only in the acquiescense of Negroes.

The Council tries to achieve the "transition without tragedy," and also to bring the full community into the realization of the value of harmonious living. It does this now by trying to interpret to the communities in which it operates all developments in the race relations area and to get white and Negro persons involved in projects so that by working together they get to know each other — the most effective way to integration.

Griswold thinks this will come to urban areas much more quickly than to rural communities, but it tries to tackle the rural problems as well, by holding meetings for people from rural crossroads.

## What Are Goals?

What is the Council's present goal?

It might be summarized this way: "Opening doors."

The Council particularly is concerned with opening doors for job opportunities for Negroes, including urging industrial plants to declare and publish an "open" policy of employment. It also is finding itself the liaison in efforts to extend Negro opportunities in federal jobs in line with national policy.

Sutton said the Council provided a real service to industrialists who do not know where to start, who to see or what to do when they wish to begin hiring Negroes. It answers employers' questions about employe reaction to Negro co-workers. (Those with federal contracts, for example, stand in threat of losing them—and thus having to lay off white workers —unless they follow a non-discrimination hiring policy.)

Many of the approaches are through the pocketbook.

"It would be good to have the heart converted," said Sutton, "but if that doesn't work, we try something else."

## Civil Rights Bill

Another area in which the Council is now at work is on public and business acceptance of the civil rights bill, which it expects to be passed.

"We're doing what we can to see that businesses will not defy the act," said Griswold. Under the law, if passed, Negroes would have a right to go wherever they wished and to be served as whites are, and Griswold said this involved a possibility of trouble.

Both the Council and business leaders want to avoid trouble, he said. Often the Council works indirectly through businessmen, who might be able to approach a small businessman whom the Council staff itself could not.

From whom does the Council draw its strength?

Always interracial, it has a 14-member executive board, with state-wide representation. Its staff includes the director, associate director and secretary. Its membership is at times "pretty low" but now numbers more than 600, and it operates in 24 communities of Arkansas.

"We have not claimed to be a mass movement or force or power and have never attempted to be," Griswold said.

Its funds come from foundation grants and from members and donations. Its budget this year is $26,000. Until last year, Griswold said, only about one-fourth of the budget had been raised locally. This increased last year to 40 per cent, representing, he thinks, a change of climate in the business community of the state.

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NEWSLETTER OF THE FORT SMITH COUNCIL HUMAN RELATIONS
January 11, 1965

MEETING TO BE THURSDAY

The First Methodist Church will host this month's Human Relations Council meeting at Roebuck Chapel (200 North 15th Street) at 8:00 p.m. January 14.

Brooks Hayes, Special Advisor to the President, will present an address to the Council on civil rights. A special invitation is submitted to everyone to hear this well known Arkansan.

STATE CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS HOLD SEMINAR

Civil rights leaders from all over the state numbered approximately 600 at the Marion Hotel in Little Rock where they gathered Dec. 7, 1964, to explore and explain provisions of the Civil Rights Bill.

Sponsored by the Arkansas State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, the seminar drew four Ft. Smith city officials: Mr. James S. Yarborough, mayor; Mr. Fred B. Hayes, sheriff; Mr. Carl Atkins, city clerk; and Mr. M. J. Fitzgerald, civil defense director, along with several Human Relations Council members to find out how they could help implementation and acceptance of the Civil Rights Bill.

As expressed by the committee, four main purposes dominated the meeting:

1. to explain the Civil Rights Law and other federal regulations.
2. to explain individual and group rights and responsibilities under the law.
3. to explore experiences of states and communities in achieving voluntary compliance with the law.
4. to explore federal, state, and local public and private programs which are of assistance to communities in prevantion or solutions of related problems.

In the morning division of the programs Mr. Brook Hayes and others were guests speakers. Afternoon workshops covered employment, public accommodations, the government's role, medical services, and education.

SCHOOL SUIT APPEALED

The school suit opposing the step-ladder plan of integrating Fort Smith schools brought to Judge Miller by Mrs. Corine Rogers and her two daughters has now been appealed to the 8th Circuit Court in St. Louis. The Court has not set a date for the hearing.

CHRISTMAS CARPENTERS REBUILD CHURCH

It took a group of college kids, two professors, and several Mississippi Negro families building a church in a muddy field to prove that a true Christmas still lives despite the commericalized one encountered on the streets.

On Christmas morning in the roofless, Ripley Antioch Baptist Church, a dedicated group gathered for prayers; but immediately after the service, Negro and white alike again grabbed saws to complete the rebuilding of the church which had burned shortly after a civil rights rally last October.

This was the present of Ohio, Massachusetts, and South Dakota college students who lived with the local Negro families while spending their holiday vacations as "Carpenters for Christmas".

Through a combination of youth, grit, and love, two races came to know each other as friends and co-workers in Mississippi. It can work in other places.

MORE ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS LAW

Divided into ten sections and a grouping of miscellaneous considerations, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 covers such areas as voting rights, desegregation of public accommodations,nondiscrimination in federally assisted projects and establishment of a community relations service to aid in settling disputes on discriminatory practices.

Most sections provide for court enforcement of their provisions or fines for the abuse of the authority concerned. The section on the Commission on Civil Rights provides for payment of commission members not otherwise on the government payroll.

In general, the bill puts in writing the fact that no person shall be denied individual rights because of his race, color, religion, or national origin. Included in these rights are the use of public facilities such as hotels, restaurants, motion picture houses, gas stations and sports arenas, and the right to attend public schools without discrimination.

Much of the 29-page bill is elaboration on court procedures and discussions in semantics since provisions must be made for many possible irregularities and for constant disagreement on the definition of such terms as "public" and "discrimination."

The longest, and probably the most discussed of the section is that on equal employment opportunity, in which it becomes necessary to define "person," "labor organization" and "commerce." Added to this section is the stipulation that no individual shall be denied right to work on the basis of sex. Again, the overall purpose of the employment section is to prevent any discrimination in hiring, grouping, organizing or classifying workers.

HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL MEETS

The Fort Smith Human Relations Council held its monthly meeting Nov. 17 in St. Luke's Lutheran Church. Guest speakers were Mr. Ozell Sutton, associate director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations; Father John Clancy of St. John's Seminary in Little Rock; and Mr. Nat Griswald, executive director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Each man directed his discussion to concrete plans which could be introduced into Fort Smith. Mr. Sutton began by speaking on voter registration and the importance of job opportunities. The "separate but not equal" status of education, schools and housing was discussed by Mr. Griswald who was followed by Fr. Clancy's talk on the Church's role in integration and how to implement the public accomodations section of the bill.

HRC MEMBERS SERVE ON PANEL

Hoping to solve the mysteries of the Civil Rights Bill, Members of the Young Christians movement of St. Scholastica battered four members of the Fort Smith Human Relations Council with questions Dec. 8 in an informal panel at the Academy.

Drawing from their personal experiences, Mr. George Tyson, Mr. Carl Shelby, Mr. Speck Reynolds, and Dr. H. P. McDonald discussed all questions thrown out for nearly two hours.

Queries ranging all over the spectrum of civil rights were fired at the panelists proving that the Civil Rights Bill is badly in need of interpretation for the layman.

PANEL OF AMERICANS TO BE ON KFSA

On the following page appears an article from the Ladies Home Journal on the Panel of Americans. Special mention should be made of the Fort Smith Panel which has done outstanding work in breaking down racial barriers here. Mrs. Kenneth Cockram now announces that the Panel will have its first chance at the "television world" to explain their group's objectives and programs.

Four members representing all the women of the Panel will be interviewed on a KFSA program, "Noon on 5." At press time the exact date was not known, but the local papers will carry the news item.

## JOURNAL PRESENTS ORIGIN OF PANEL OF AMERICANS

The January edition of the Lady's Home Journal carried an article concerning the origin and progress of the Panel of American Women in various cities of the U.S.

According to Samm Sinclair Baker, author of the article, it all began when Mrs. Paul Brown of Kansas City, Mo.,wanted something more than professional lecturing on local racial and religious prejudice. She wanted some action.

Four average housewives--one Negro, one Jew, one Catholic, and one white Protestant--comprised the first panel. The Panel's acceptance gave rise to a national movement aimed at promoting understanding among people of all races and religions. Members of the Panel cannot be accused of ignorance about special local problems (as many professionals are) when they speak of prejudice because they live there.

The movement has already spread from Kansas City to Little Rock, Des Moines, St. Louis, Omaha, Philadelphia, Topeka and Los Angeles. Women in other cities have asked for help in starting panels of their own.

The Lady's Home Journal article featured the problems and progress of the panel in Little Rock. Mrs. Patrick C. Murphy was the originator of the movement there. She had considerable trouble getting women to speak out, but once they were heard, the results were overwhelming. Invitations to speak at various club, church, and civic meetings came in an avalanche. To meet the demand, twenty panelists were recruited. Mrs. Murphy believes that the gains in Little Rock are definitely very substantial. Once reluctant husbands and the Arkansas Gazette agree with her.

In the opinion of Mrs. Brown, panels are effective where many other organizations fail. Women in the audience can easily identify themselves with the wives and mothers on stage; they know the panelists are not experts talking down to them; they are just neighbors discussing controversial issues. Mrs. Gloria Fleishl, moderator of the Omaha Panel of American Women, summed up the goal of each panelist when she said, "If each of us will try to befriend his neighbor and light one small ray of understanding, all our efforts together can help illuminate the dark corners of our communities, our nation, and the whole troubled world."

## CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL ORGANIZED

Thirty Catholics concerned with the teachings of the Church with regard to interracial justice organized the first Fort Smith Catholic Interracial Council recently.

Begun under the auspices of Bishop Albert L. Fletcher, the Council has as its officers Mr. Carl Shelby, president; Mr. Charles S. Nichols, vice-president; and Mrs. Katherine Wanslow, secretary-treasurer.

Dec. 13 Negro and White Catholics were invited to attend a Mass at Immaculate Conception Church at 9:00 a.m. at which CIC members received Communion together in a body for the first time. This month the Council plans to start an exchange of visits between homes, a program to promote better understanding between the two races.

By actions similar to the above the Council strives to fulfill its main objectives: the promotion of the practice of interracial justice in Catholic organizations by familiarizing Catholics with the Church's teachings on matters of human justice and charity, the application of these principles to everyday life, and the cooperation with agencies working to strengthen better human relations.

Anyone 17 years of age or over who is interested in the work of the Interracial Council may join by contacting Sister Sabina at Crawford County Memorial Hospital in Van Buren or any one of the other officers.

KEY SECTION OF CIVIL RIGHT'S BILL DECLARED CONSTITUTIONAL

Public accommodations are without a doubt equally accessible to Negroes and Whites as of last week's Supreme Court decision. According to Time magazine, the court's decision merely reaffirmed a rule of 140 years ago but at this time "its potential impact upon the U.S. race relations was nonetheless momentous." Negroes may now travel anywhere without apprehensions about being served according to law.

KING ACCEPTS NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

"I accept this award today with an abiding faith in America and an sudacious faith in the future of mankind." Read these encouraging words of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's quoted from his acceptance speech for the Nobel Peace Prize in the December 18, 1964 issue of Time magazine.

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING AND THE FBI

Doctor Martin Luther King, Jr. met for 70 minutes with FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover in an attempt to ease the strain between the civil rights movement and the FBI.

At the outset, King said that his supposed statement warning Negroes not to report civil rights violations to the FBI, whose agents are allegedly unsympathetic to the civil rights cause, was reported inaccurately. This statement was partly the reason for Hoover calling Dr. King a "notorious liar." Hoover did not apologize but he did state that he would take action against any FBI agent who practices discrimination.

Dr. King cited the part many Southern law-enforcement officers take in the process of intimidation and expressed his hope that the civil rights movement remains non-violent.

On this topic Hoover surprised King with his knowledge of the corrupt officers and stated information on cases which were thought to be known only to the Negro leaders.

While neither man retreated, this meeting is said to have eased relations between the Negro movement and the FBI in that it led to a clearer understanding.

NEGRO STUDENTS ATTEND ARKANSAS COLLEGES

Predominantly white state-supported colleges in Arkansas are being attended by an estimated 51 Negro students this year.

Although there are few complaints concerning college acceptance, segregation rules affecting Negro students after enrollment, particularly housing regulations, incited Negro and white students to picket the U of A in December, 1962 to protest dorm segregation. In 1964 a Negro sophomore protested segregated housing and varsity athletics. Soon afterwards, the University Senate went on record for beracial athletics.

However, housing policy was not changed and in August, 1964, two Negroes sued and the University was ordered to integrate dorms.

With one exception, all private colleges in Arkansas accept Negro students if they apply and have desegrated dorms, athletics, and other facilities and activities.

According to the Southern School News, estimated enrollments at the state colleges are: U of A, 25-30; Arkansas State College, 10 or 11; Arkansas Tech, 3; Arkansas State Teachers College, 5; Henderson State Teachers College, 4; Southern State College, 4; and Arkansas A & M, 0.

YCS EDITS NEWSLETTER

St. Scholastica Young Christian Students, a group of 35 students with leadership potential who are striving to develop themselves as better Christians and so influence society, have been responsible for this newsletter as one of their projects for the promotion of better interracial understanding.

LWD ✓
VJ ✓
AV ✓
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**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

Volume 10 No. 2 NEWSLETTER March 1965

## SCHOOL MEN REACT TO CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

School men are openly discussing ending discrimination (segregation). This hard news is stimulated by the seriousness with which HEW seeks to implement Titles IV and VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Pine Bluff Commercial reported on a meeting of Southeast Arkansas school officials at Monticello, March 25, to hear and discuss "Guidelines for Southern School Desegregation" by G.W. Foster, Jr., of the Law School of the University of Wisconsin, native Arkansan and consultant for the U.S. Office of Education. The document of Mr. Foster sets out what federal authorities expect in the schools' plans for ending segregation. Much of it was printed by the Pine Bluff Commercial and was reprinted by ACHR for use of its affiliates and members.

Much of the same material was contained in an 11-page memorandum received the same week by School Superintendent E.F. Dunn of Pulaski County. It came in answer to Mr. Dunn's inquiry as why his "open door" policy was not acceptable to Washington.

Yes, public school men are discussing integration now. We think they will find what others have, that it really goes smoothly when they carefully prepare community, teachers, and students. The Civil Rights Law of 1964 provides significant help in the preparation: informational materials, specialists as consultants to school systems, training for school personnel, grants in aid.

## EMPLOYMENT OFFICIAL VISITS

Fort Smith Council on Human Relations had for its meeting, March 16, Mr. Percy Williams, Special Assistant to the Executive Vice Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. At St. Boniface School the session dealt with the federal and national private forces working toward employment opportunities for Negroes.

Enroute Mr. Williams met informally with a group of concerned individuals at lunch at the Albert Pike in Little Rock. The dialogue around the table focussed on getting and keeping the "global" perspective on the inclusion of Negro Americans in the economic life.

## NEGROES ASK FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Negro school patrons also are discussing integration, discussing it with school officials.

North Little Rock Council on Human Relations by letter and in person has urged the school board to end segregation. Pleading before the school board John W. Smith, building contractor chairman of the committee on education, declared "we are here not because we want to be here but because we have to be here...to ask you to declare tonight that these schools are open on a non-discriminatory basis... we can't afford any law suit... We shouldn't spend the tax payers' money on a lawsuit that has already been won."

The Sullivan High School PTA (Negro) at Morrilton has petitioned the school board to open the new high school to all in September. That board has announced it has submitted a plan of compliance with the Civil Rights Act, but would not announce policy changes until it receives approval from Washington for its plan.

The Negro patrons of Pulaski County School District have used a newly formed PTA Council to compile complaints for HEW about continued inequities and discrimination.

Negro patrons of Conway District in a paid advertisement asked the school board to declare its policy about including students of Pine Street School in the new high school now being built. The board has affirmed its intention to comply with the Civil Rights Act but will wait for approval of its plans by Washington before making them public.

Negro patrons and the local council on human relations in Jonesboro are meeting this week (March 16) with the school board there concerning its plans for compliance.

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## GUIDELINES FOR SOUTHERN SCHOOLS

Attorney William Foster's "Guidelines for Southern School Desegregation" clearly defines the two acceptable approaches to plans, "geographic attendance zones" (non-overlapping) and "freedom of choice." The latter approach is "perhaps no more than a transitional device" that "will give way to unitary (geographic) zoning."

He also emphasizes that at this late date "freedom of choice" cannot be applicable to only one or two grades. The least to be expected is that it will include both the beginning grades and some secondary levels.

Mr. Foster warns of the necessary safeguards of all plans based on either approach. They should plot the timetable for completing the process in cluding integration of faculties.

Mr. Foster's emphasis on speeding up the process of desegregation is underscored by a decision of the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in which it laid down the principle: "The later the start the shorter the time allowed for transition." The court ruled that two Georgia counties must complete desegregation by 1968. This decision ruled against plans of the boards which would have completed the process by 1972.

## ARKANSAS' SHARE IN EDUCATION PROGRAM

Education Commissioner A.W. Ford estimates Arkansas will receive two million dollars from the federal education program aimed to help children of families receiving less than $2000 annually. This he said on February 11 is a great incentive for districts to desegregate so they may share in this new aid. Mr. Ford indicated that he believes a majority of the 412 Arkansas school districts will comply this year with the Civil Rights Act.

## FEDERAL ASSISTANCE ON DESEGREGATION

"Assistance on Special Education Problems Occasioned by School Desegregation" is the title of a folder distributed by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare to all school officials. It gives in detail consultant services and grants available to local schools.

ACHR is securing copies for use of local groups and committees who are advising with school officials about programs of preparation for desegregation. Ask for yours.

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## PULASKI COUNTY COMMUNITY ACTION

Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (Anti-Poverty) concerns "Community Action Programs."

The "Discussion Guide" stresses the "desir ability of broadly based agencies and programs." "...preference will be extended to agencies...providing the wide participation of existing organizations and agencies..."

Pulaski County furnishes a suggestive illustration of this "broadly-based" agency for developing and guiding a program. These were the essential steps and resulting agency:

1. The Health and Welfare Council volunteered as the agency to initiate plans for community action.

2. Little Rock, North Little Rock, Jacksonville and Pulaski County officially designated the Health and Welfare Council as the agency for this purpose.

3. The Board of HWC accepted the proposal that it establish a "division" similar to its other divisions called the Division on Economic Opportunity.

4. This division would have wide representation (actually 70 persons now) with a racial proportion approximating the ratio of Negro to white poor, 40 to 60 per cent in the county.

5. Organizations related to HWC were asked to submit nominees for the Division. Many did so.

6. The 70 persons named have been placed on functioning committees. The chairmen of these form an Executive Committee with the head of the Division named by the Board of HWC.

7. An early act of the Division was application to the OEO for a sizeable study grant for employment of a Director and staff to develop the Community Action Program under the Division.

8. The staff begins work on April 1.

There is reason to believe that Director Sargent Shriver will give ready preference to good action programs <u>that are integrated at every level and in every phase</u>. Effective programs with the poor cannot be otherwise.

## STAFF CHANGES

Ruth Arnold, Secretary and Program Assistant, of ACHR, goes to a position in the local Economic Opportunity Program on April 1. Mrs. Carole I. Taylor of Little Rock will become office secretary on April 1.

## LEVITTOWN, PA., 1965

The Junior Chamber of Commerce here presented its first distinguished service award to a Negro last night.

Levittown was the scene of nine nights of racial violence when the color barrier fell in 1957.

The thirty-three-year-old recipient, Henry Ford, was chosen outstanding young man of 1964 for his "untiring efforts in working with the children" at the Community Center.

(from San Francisco Chronicle)

## LOCAL COUNCILS CLICK

Current chairmen of the local councils on human relations or associations of community relations follow:

Fayetteville - Philip Bashor
3 West Trenton
Fort Smith - George Tyson
2901 Pendell Lane
N.Little Rock - Rev.Donald Lightfoot
2401 Edmonds
Conway - Mr. Ferris Baker
32 Timothy Lane
Jonesboro - Mrs. Knight Laird
500 Elm Avenue

Newsletters from Fayetteville, Fort Smith and Conway make exciting reading.

ACHR's board has laid upon the directors responsibility for increasing local groups which become doubly strtegic this year of implementing the Civil Rights Law and launching Community Action Projects of the Economic Opportunity Act. Isolated members of ACHR need no longer be isolated. Get with others. Organize. Write the state office for help.

## TEACHER WORKSHOPS BY ATA

Workshops to clarify understanding of the significance for teachers of the Civil Rights Act and Anti-Poverty Programs are being held at Pine Bluff, West Memphis, Little Rock and Hope. The program is sponsored by the Arkansas Teachers Association which secured national and state leaders to act as consultants. In the first session in West Memphis 160 teachers attended. Mr. Edwin Hawkins of Horace Mann is ATA President and Mr.T.E. Patterson is Executive Secretary.

## ANNUAL MEETING

Dr. Ernest T. Dixon welcomed members to our tenth anniversary meeting in the Philander Smith Student Union. Dr. Dixon, new president of the college, came here from Nashville, Tenn., where he was on the staff of the Board of Education of the Methodist Church. His four children are in integrated schools and were in such in Nashville.

## WAR ON CRIME

"The deep lawlessness of the Alabama authorities in Selma has provided a lurid background to the opening of the President's campaign against crime. A society in which the legally constituted authorities use violence to deprive citizens of their lawful rights of assembly and petition is not likely to make much headway against private crime. For the indispensable condition of law and order is that law and order prevail, and in Alabama be restored, within the lawful government."

- from Walter Lippmann

## A BAPTIST PASTOR STANDS UP

"According to a Baptist press release a Mississippi pastor, Chester A. Molpus, has resigned after 21 years as pastor of First Church, Belzone, because of friction with members of the church over race attitudes. A proposal from the deacons to the congregation would have made racial segregation the official policy. In his church bulletin the pastor is reported to have stated following this action:

'I have arrived at the place where I, for my part, will not deny to a Negro who desires it the privilege of worshipping in the same church building with me. I cannot, for the life of me, imagine Jesus standing on the church steps and turning a man away because of the color of his skin!"

- from Arkansas Baptist

## ACHR PASSES RESOLUTIONS

ACHR's Board on March 6 passed two resolutions in accord with the "Position Paper" adopted at the annual meeting. These recommended (1) That the Arkansas School for the Blind and the Arkansas School for the Deaf "open their facilities to all students with these handicaps" and that the Colored School for the Blind and Deaf be duscontinued; (2) That all patients with tuberculosis be treated at the Arkansas Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Booneville which has adequate space and that the McRae Sanatorium be used for the continued treatment of the severely mentally handicapped.

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## COMPLAINTS ABOUT DISCRIMINATION

Reports continue to reach ACHR's office of discrimination in public accommodations. Use of our forms for such complaints helps keep the record straight and assures reaching the proper federal officials. Please ask for them.

Ark

NEWSLETTER OF THE FORT SMITH
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
March, 1965

ANNOUNCEMENTS:

Percy Williams, a member of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, Washington, D.C., will be the speaker at the monthly meeting of the Human Relations Council for March.
Date: March 16, 1965
Place: St. Boniface Catholic Church Auditorium, 210 N. 18th St.
Hour: 8:00 P.M.

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COMPLAINT OF VIOLATION (Civil Rights Act of 1964) forms are now available through our local council; the completed forms will be sent to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations office in Little Rock. The state council will send the original to Washington, will keep a copy on file, and will send another copy back to us for our files. These forms should be utilized; direct redress to Washington is assured by them.

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Ralph Creger, the author of A Look Down The Lonesome Road, will speak to the Unitarian Fellowship at the Fellowship House, March 21, at 11 A.M.

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The Panel of Americans will speak to members of several Methodist churches of the Van Buren area at St. John's Methodist Church in Van Buren on Sunday evening, the 21st of March.

CONCERN I

At the February meeting of the Fort Smith Council on Human Relations Steering Committee, an area of vital concern in the coming months was discussed--school desegregation. The Steering Committee suggests the Council ameliorate the dissensions and problems occasioned by a larger scale desegregation in Fort Smith in the following ways:

--assess the experiences of Negro students (and their parents) who are already students in formerly all-white schools.

--promote exchange visits between the parents and children of the white and Negro communities who will actually be involved in desegregated classrooms for the first time this September.

--secure organizations and individuals who will tutor all students who need assistance in making the transition.

--support seminars or an institute for teachers who will be teaching in newly desegregated schools.

If larger-scale desegregation of Fort Smith public schools is to be peaceable an and enduring, reconciliation must be effected before the widely-mentioned "mass movement" to the southside becomes a reality.

CONCERN II

The Catholic Interracial Council, at its March meeting, decided to invite representatives from businesses which have fair employment practices and integrated services to speak on a panel at the April meeting of the council. It is hoped that frank and

CONCERN II (continued)

open discussion will help to allay the fears of Catholic businessmen who will be involved in desegregation, and serve to implement acceptance and compliance with the Civil Rights Act. The Catholic Interracial Council was authorized to write Bishop Fletcher asking him to begin thinking of desegregating St. John's Catholic school here in Fort Smith. Pilot groups of students, both white and Negro, will be started under the Council guidance to work in the areas of creative dramatic and visual arts, summer reading improvement programs, and etiquette training programs for eighth-grade students entering high school this fall. The Catholic schools will be urged by the Catholic Interracial Council to integrate their scouting programs; the children at St. John's school will be encouraged to participate in Girl's Club and Boy's Club and to join the Red Cross Summer Swimming Classes.

CONCERN III

Arkansas college students and other interested persons will spend April 17-24 (Easter vacation time) living with Mississippi families in white communities while helping to rebuild burned Negro churches in Mississippi.

An Arkansas Committee of Concern has been established on the University of Arkansas campus to recruit students and raise about $2000 to finance the project. Members of the committee are Jamie L. Jones, Jr. of the Baptist Student Center; Dr. Gordon P. McNeil, sponsor of the Channing Club; Miss Arla Elston, Disciple campus minister; Rev. Canon George M. Small, Episcopal chaplain of the University; Dr. Jacob Sacks, faculty sponsor of the Hill Club; Rev. Jim Loudermilk, Methodist campus pastor; and Rev. George Gunn, Presbyterian university pastor. A similar committee in Mississippi is contacting families in Mississippi to secure invitations for persons who want to help rebuild a burned church and share in dialogue with Mississippians of good will who live within the white community and may perhaps be encouraged to influence the Mississippi power structure. If you are interested and would like further information, contact the Arkansas Committee of Concern, 814 East Maple Street, Fayetteville, Arkansas

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OTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS

In April the Panel of Americans will speak at St. Joseph's School on April 8 (Paris, Arkansas) and to the Women's Society of Christians Service of the 1st Methodist Church of Fort Smith on April 20th.

Mrs. Esther Brown of Kansas City, Mo., who has organized the Panel of American groups all over the nation, will be in Fort Smith March 17 to adress the local Panel of Americans.

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The Southwest Regional meeting of the United States Commission on Civil Rights will meet in Dallas on March 26. Discussion will be centered on the role of the State Advisory Committees in Implementing the Civil Rights Act; particular attention will be given to Title 6. (Programs Supported by Federal Funds). Efforts will be made to co-ordainte the work of the State Advisory Committees of the several states in the southwest region. Mrs. H. P. McDonald of Fort Smith, a member of the Arkansas Advisory Committee, will attend the conference.

PA
AU
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ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

Volume 10, No. 4 NEWSLETTER October 1965

## MONEY VS. MORALITY

With school bells in September came a quickened pace of desegregation across our state. All but a handful of our 512 school districts filed desegregation plans acceptable to officials of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Again, the almighty dollar of Uncle Sam has spoken with a decisiveness and a result unequalled by arguments of morality.

It is not known at this time just how many Negro students are enrolled in formerly all white schools. No doubt statistics on this will be published later. Many of the desegregation plans approved by H.E.W. are woefully inadequate to the needs of the individual communities. This is to be regretted. However, integration is now an established fact in nearly all our biracial districts. This fact renders invalid forever the contention that first we must change the heart before changing the actions of an individual. No, you cannot legislate the hearts of people, (Christianity has been working at this for 2,000 years.) but you can legislate their action. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 has done that.

## WORDS WORTH PONDERING

The philosopher Morris R. Cohen supports the above contention thusly: "There can be no doubt that when men are stimulated by sympathy or intelligent regard for the welfare of their fellowmen, the ugly phases of social conflict recede; and it would be folly to insist that preaching of brotherly love through the ages has had no effect whatsoever. But to rely on this as a complete solution, and not to inquire as to when such teachings are applicable is a form of irresponsible sentimentality."

## SALUTE TO MRS. GORDON (JEAN)

The Newsletter salutes Mrs. Frank (Jean) Gordon, Secretary to the Board of ACHR, upon her election to the Little Rock School Board. Jean won the September 28 election with a majority (7,350) over two opponents, Mr. Ed McCuiston and Mr. Ed Riley.

## SALUTE TO MRS. GORDON (JEAN) cont'd

John W. Smith, Chairman of the Education Committee of the North Little Rock Council on Human Relations, lost his bid for a position on the North Little Rock School Board.

## HERE AND YONDER ON THE EDUCATION FRONT

Although desegregation is reported to have gone smoothly generally over the state, some problems are present in a few areas. Approximately 200 Negro students were jailed recently in Forrest City for demonstrating at the white high school. The students, led by SNCC workers were dramatizing the inequalities existing between the white high school and Lincoln High for Negroes. School officials expelled the demonstrating youngsters, but reinstated them after a conference with some state and community Negro leaders.

A bus load of Negro high school students from Gould demonstrated recently at the Federal Building in Little Rock. They and several adult advisors were protesting HEW's approval of the desegregation plan of this little south Arkansas cotton town. Again, to demonstrate inequalities seemed to be the central point. The W.O. Fields High School for Negroes is in extremely poor condition. Its general setting is not condusive to good education with its "out houses", etc. School officials say the out houses now flush, a noted improvement. This school, by the way, is the alma mater of the Associate Director.

## WORDS OF WISDOM

What is required of thee but to do justly, but to love mercy, and to walk humbly before thy God. -- Micah 6:8

Justice and power must be brought together, so that whatever is just may be powerful and whatever is powerful may be just. -- Pascal

The primary duty of organized society is to enlarge the lives and increase the standard of living of all the people. -- Herbert Hoover

HEADSTART

ACHR was sponsor of Headstart programs in three cities this summer. A warm and rewarding experience was reported by all involved in the program. Each city program had a local sponsoring group that administered it. The three cities and their enrollment included: Hot Springs, 94; Conway, 65; and Fort Smith, 115. Headstart was one of the most meaningful programs of ACHR under the supervision of the Executive Director.

S.O.S.

The initials, S.O.S., are recognized throughout the world as signalling conditions of distress. ACHR is distressful because a large number of its members are delinquent in their dues. Dues from our members make up a large portion of the budget. When money from dues is short of expectation, program cut back is the result. You will agree, I am sure, that the time is now ripe for a more meaningful extension of program. So, if you are among those who have not paid dues for 1965, get your check in the mail today.

CONFERENCE OF ARKANSAS CHURCHMEN

ACHR in its continuing effort to inform and commit more people co-sponsored with the Conference on Religion and Race a one day seminar for ministers and lay church leaders. The Conference of Arkansas Churchmen was held at the First Methodist Church and the Albert Pike Hotel, September 30.

Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright was a principal speaker. You remember Bert as a long time ACHR Board member and an organizer of the Conference on Religion and Race. Bert is now minister of the Central Christian Church, Youngstown, Ohio. Also speaking at the Conference was Dr. T. B. Maston, Professor Emeritus of Christian Ethics, Southwestern Baptist Seminary. Dr. Maston is the author of several books including: The Christian in a Modern World; Christianity and World Issues; and The Bible and Race.

HEAR YE THIS!

Last year members of the staff participated in several "cultivation sessions" with our members in a number of cities. Members just invited some of their friends and neighbors to a cup of coffee and a discussion with a staff member about human relations problems in general and the work of

HEAR YE THIS! (cont'd)

ACHR. The staff views these sessions as an excellent way of informing and commiting people. Why don't you get together a group in your community and invite one or both of us to come?

A SUCCESS STORY

Some time ago, ACHR started trying to persuade the officials of the Blind and Deaf schools to the wisd of desegregating. The Negro School for the Blind and Deaf was inferior, without question, to the white Blind and Deaf schools. The opening of school this September brought with it complete integration. All of the Negro children are now attending the formerly all white Blind and Deaf Schools. As an example to the rest of the state, 11 of 14 Negro teachers from the Negro school now hold staff positions in the desegregated schools.

WHITES CONTENT -NEGROES DISCONTENT

Concerned persons in human relations are not the least surprised by a recent Gallup poll's finding that a vast majority of Negroes are dissatisfied with their lot in life. There should be no element of surprise in the fact that whites are generally satisfied with their situation.

Actually, no poll was necessary to reveal Negro dissatisfaction. Selma, Los Angeles and Chicago say it best. However, the Gallup poll findings make interesting reading. The interviewers asked Negroes and whites if they were generally satisfied or dissatisfied with, 1) their family income; 2) housing conditions; 3) education children are receiving; and 4) work they do.

Family income: 69% of whites were satisfied; only 30% of Negroes were satisfied.

Housing: 77% of whites say their housing is satisfactory, while 67% of Negroes are dissatisfied with their housing conditions.

Education: 77% of whites are satisfied with the education their children are receiving today. About one half of the Negroes are satisfied.

Work: Nearly nine whites in ten (87%) say that they are content with their work. Only 48% of Negroes are content with their jobs.

STATISTICAL REASONS FOR DISSATISFACTION

The questions is raised among many well meaning whites as to why so much malcontent among Negroes exists amid genuine progress in Civil Rights. Well, maybe the following statistics will help in understanding: the unemployment rate for adult Negro males is up from 5.9% to 6.5%; for adult females unemployment is up from 7.8% to 8.8%. Nonwhite unemployment (adult male, adult female, and youth) is now 9.1%, more than double that for whites.

Walter Heller, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, described their plight aptly when he noted that "If a man stands with his left foot on a hot stove and his right foot in a freezer, the statisticians would say that, on an average, he's comfortable."

JUST A JEST OR SO.

The New Order: A mistress engaging a new maid said, "Mary, we have breakfast promptly at 8 a.m." The new maid replied, "All right, m'am. But if I'm not down don't wait!"

ALBERT SCHWEITZER

The following are excerpts from SATURDAY REVIEW editorial, "What Matters about Schweitzer"

The main point about Schweitzer is that he helped make it possible for twentieth-century man to unblock his moral vision. There is a tendency in a relativistic age for man to pursue all sides of a question as an end in itself, finding relief and even refuge in the difficulty of defining good and evil. The result is a clogging of the moral sense, a certain feeling of self-consciousness or even discomfort when questions with ethical content are raised. Schweitzer furnished the nourishing evidence that nothing is more natural in life than a moral response,

ALBERT SCHWEITZER (cont'd)

which exists independently of precise definition, its use leading not to exhaustion, but to new energy.

Thus, Schweitzer's main achievement was a simple one. He was willing to make the ultimate sacrifice for a moral principle. Like Gandhi, the power of his appeal was in renunciation. And because he was able to feel a supreme identification with other human beings he exerted a greater force than armed men on the march.

He reached countless millions who never saw him but who were able to identify themselves with him because of the invisible and splendid fact of his own identification with them.

Schweitzer's aim was not to dazzle an age but to awaken it, to make it comprehend that moral splendor is part of the gift of life, and that each man has unlimited strength to feel human oneness and to act upon it.

Man's resources do not exist outside him. His responses must come from within. A thinking and feeling man is not a helpless man. The sense of paralysis proceeds not so much out of the mammoth size of the problem but out of the puniness of purpose.

KOINONIA FARM, Americus, Ga.
Price list effective Sept. 15, 1965, subject to change without notice.

Here is a list of Koinonia Products for 1965. We have kept the price as low as possible consistent with high quality. We do not go in for fancy packaging. catalogs, etc. Most of you are our personal friends and we don't have the heart to charge you high prices for dime-store tinsel. Nothing is packed in decanters, jewel boxes or shaving mugs. We sell only good products, and that's all we charge you for. The odd weights of some of our items (e.g., fruit cakes, 2 lbs. 13 oz. net weight) is not to mislead you, but is carefully planned that way in order to save on postage. If we had made the cake an even 3 lbs net weight, its shipping weight would have been 3 lbs. 3 oz. and we would have to pay postage on a full four pounds. As it is, we pay on three.

Prices are postpaid except on orders going west of New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming and the Dakotas. On these, add 10¢ per lb on orders under 25 lbs; 5¢ per lb over 25 lbs. For all foreign orders, add 90¢ for the first two lbs; 35¢ for each additional pound.

S H E L L E D  P E C A N S - *Hand selected nuts of the highest quality and best varieties. Packed in attractive 1-lb cello bags.*

| No. | Halves | | No. | Pieces | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 500 | Box of one 1-lb cello bag | $1.85 | 501 | Box of one 1-lb cello bag | $1.80 |
| 502 | Box of two 1-lb cello bags | 3.50 | 503 | Box of two 1-lb cello bags | 3.40 |
| 504 | " " four " " " | 6.50 | 505 | " " four " " " | 6.25 |
| 506 | " " six " " " | 9.25 | 507 | " " six " " " | 9.00 |
| 508 | " " eight " " " | 11.95 | 509 | " " eight " " " | 11.75 |
| 512 | " " twelve " " " | 17.95 | 513 | " " twelve " " " | 17.50 |
| 512b | 12 1-lb bags each packed in a card-board box for re-shipping | 18.95 | 513b | 12 1-lb bags each packed in card-board box for re-shipping | 18.50 |
| 524 | Case of 24 1-lb cello bags | 34.75 | 525 | Case of 24 1-lb cello bags | 34.00 |
| 526 | Two or more 24-lb cases going to same address at the same time, each | 31.75 | 527 | Two or more 24-lb cases going to same address at the same time, each | 31.00 |

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SHELLED PECANS - BULK: Loose nuts packed in cardboard box with poly bag liner.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. 526 | Halves, 28-lb box | $36.75 | No. 527 | Pieces, 30-lb box | $37.95 |
| No. 528 | " , two or more, each | 34.25 | No. 529 | Pieces, two or more, each | 35.75 |

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P E C A N S  I N  T H E  S H E L L (Naturals, not polished)

*Carefully selected papershells, plump and well-filled. Schleys are medium sized, with paper thin shells and excellent flavor, the best of all varieties. Desirables and Stuarts are larger, with slightly thicker shells, very attractive but not quite as flavorful.*

| No. | Schleys | | No. | Desirables or Stuarts | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 570 | 4½ lb box (net wt. 4¼ lbs.) | $3.75 | 571 | 4½ lb box (net wt. 4¼ lbs) | $3.50 |
| 572 | 9-lb box ( " " 8½ lbs.) | 7.00 | 573 | 9 lb box ( " " 8½ lbs.) | 6.50 |
| 574 | 27 lb box ( " " 25 lbs.) | 16.00 | 575 | 27 lb box ( " " 25 lbs.) | 15.50 |
| 576 | Two or more 27-lb boxes, each | 15.75 | 577 | Two or more 27-lb boxes, each | 14.75 |

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F R U I T  C A K E S

We have spared nothing to make this the finest cake possible. It is loaded with fruit and nuts, with just enough batter to hold it together. Packaged in an attractive box, it makes an ideal gift. Or it may be dropped in the freezer for that extra special occasion.

| No. | | | No. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 551 | One 3-lb cake (net wt. 2 lbs 13 oz) | 3.90 | 554 | Box of four cakes | $14.75 |
| 552 | Box of two 3-lb cakes | 7.60 | 555 | Case of 12 cakes | 37.00 |
| 553 | Box of three 3-lb cakes | 11.25 | 556 | Two or more 12-cake cases, each | 34.75 |

(over, please)

(over, please)

SLICED FRUIT CAKE - The same high quality cake, but conveniently sliced for you. It is packed in a 1-lb box (net wt. 15 oz) with a cello window. Minimum order is two boxes.

| No. | | | No. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 590 | Two 1-lb boxes sliced fruitcake | $3.25 | 593 | Twelve 1-lb boxes sliced fruitcake | $18.25 |
| 591 | Four 1-lb " " " | 6.40 | 594 | Case of 30 1-lb boxes | 42.50 |
| 592 | Eight 1-lb " " " | 12.50 | 595 | Two or more 30-lb cases, each | 41.00 |

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PECAN-DY: *A truly delicious caramel-fudge jam-packed with pecan pieces. It is home-made, cut into squares and packed two layers deep in a half-pound (net wt. 7 oz) box.*

SPICED PECANS: *Halves sugar-coated with cinnamon and other spices, packed in the same half-pound box as pecan-dy.*

PECAN STUFFED DATES: *Plump pecan halves crowded into luscious dates, then rolled in powdered sugar. Half-pound box, two layers, each stuffed date individually packed in glassine candy cups.*

SELECT MAMMOTH HALVES: *Our best hand-selected halves, packed loose in a half-pound box with cello window. Very attractive.*

The price of each of the above items is the same. You may order any number in any arrangement you wish, but the minimum order is two half-pound boxes.

| No. | | | No. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 580 | Two ½-lb boxes your selection | $1.95 | 584 | 16 ½-lb boxes your selection | $13.95 |
| 581 | Four " " " " | 3.75 | 585 | 30 " " " " | 25.00 |
| 582 | Eight " " " " | 7.25 | 586 | Three or more 30-box cases going to same address at same time, each | 13.50 |
| 583 | Twelve " " " " | 10.75 | | | |

V A R I E T Y  P A C K S (In all packs below, the half-pound boxes of pecan-dy, plain and spiced nuts, and stuffed dates are interchangeable. Re-arrange to suit yourself.)

| No. | | |
|---|---|---|
| 560 | 1 lb select halves, ½ lb box pecan-dy, ½ lb box spiced nuts | $3.50 |
| 561 | 1 lb halves, 1 lb sliced fruitcake and ½ lb box of stuffed dates | 3.95 |
| 562 | 2 1-lb bags halves and one 3-lb fruitcake | 6.95 |
| 563 | 1 lb halves, 1 3-lb fruitcake, 1 box pecandy, 1 box spiced nuts | 6.95 |
| 564 | 2 lbs halves, 1 3-lb cake, 2 boxes pecan-dy and 2 boxes stuffed dates | 10.25 |
| 565 | 1 lb halves, 1 lb pieces, 2 3-lb cakes, 2 ½-lb boxes pecan-dy, 1 box spiced nuts and 1 box stuffed dates | 13.25 |
| 566 | 2 lbs halves, 2 lbs pieces, 1 3-lb cake, 1 4½-lb box nuts in shell, 2 boxes pecan-dy, 1 spiced nuts and 1 stuffed dates | 16.00 |
| 567 | 2 lbs halves, 1 lb pieces, 2 lbs Schleys in shell, 2 1-lb boxes sliced fruitcake, and 1 doz. assortment (your selection) of pecan-dy, spiced nuts and stuffed dates | 19.25 |

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K O I N O N I A "Cotton Patch" T R A N S L A T I O N S

No. 1 Ephesians-Philemon
No. 2 Hebrews
No. 3 Galatians-Philippians
No. 4 Sermon on Mount-James
No. 5 I Corinthians

*These booklets are 35¢ each, postpaid; packet of any 3, $1.00; four, $1.25; all five, $1.50; 25 or more booklets, your selection, 25¢ each. For information concerning Koinonia records, (RICH MAN AND LAZARUS and SERMON ON MOUNT) write to:* KOINONIA RECORDS, Box 1476, Evanston, Ill.

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*Koinonia gets its name from a Greek word which occurs in the New Testament and frequently refers to the intimate Christian fellowship in which the believers share all things with one another. It is a spiritual family. Koinonia Community has by no means attained to the ideal of the early Christians, but as a small group of men, women and children it has sought to bear witness for 23 years to Jesus' teachings on brotherhood, peace and sharing. We have nearly 1,100 acres, and make our living raising cattle and selling pecans and related products through the mail. At present three families and one single person are living here, while numerous guests are here for varying lengths of time. We average about 1,000 visitors annually. We also have wide contacts with churches and other groups in the U.S. and Canada.*

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
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Volume 10, No. 5 NEWSLETTER December 1965

SEQUEL TO GOULD STORY

In the last newsletter we reported on a demonstration before the Federal Building in Little Rock of high school students and adults from Gould protesting inequalities in schools. On November 24 before Judge Gordan E. Young at Little Rock Federal Court these facts were made clear:

The PTA of Field High School (Negro) has been ordered by school officials to cease meeting at the school.

The Field High School is unaccredited by any agency.

The Negro teachers' salary scale averages $500 less than the white teachers'.

"There is space for a library at the school," Superintendent Sage.

The students of Field High School have been charged an enrollment fee.

Field School has no vocational agriculture program.

The Negro schools have no hot lunch program.

GAZETTE COMMENTS ON GOULD CASE
(November 27, 1965)

"Nor was any firm evidence adduced even in the court testimony that anybody on the Gould School Board or any of the professionals in the administration of the Gould School District consciously set about to deprive the Negro children of their rightful share of the District's admittedly limited funds. Perhaps somebody did think of it in just those terms, but the likelier explanation is that nobody ... consciously thought about the Negro children of the District, a majority, in any terms." (Emphasis ours)

If we may be permitted to editorialize on an editorial: the affirmative action by school officials required to give Negro children the same opportunity in school as white children will come only when school administrators from the state to the local district level simply see all the children in a given district as their

GAZETTE COMMENTS (Cont'd)

happy responsibility to educate, fully mindful of the exceptional requirements of those crippled by past neglect. With some justification we Southerners claim our disposition is like our climate, warm and outgoing. Now like our climate our warm concern must blanket all our children. Given proximity of teachers and pupils it just might!

TWO SPECIAL REPORTS FROM SRC

Here are some excerpts:

Southern Justice, an Indictment, (31 pages)

"From the sit-in demonstrations of 1960 through the spring of 1965, at least 26 Negro and white civil rights workers died at the hands of racists in the South. Only one of the assailants was sentenced to prison, and he for 10 years. During the same period 'justice' was dispensed in double measure when white men were slain by Negroes. Two white segregationists died in the aftermath of racial demonstrations. Four Negroes went to prison, one of them for life.

"Dual justice survives because Presidents continue to treat federal judgeships as political rewards and pacifiers. It survives because the Justice Department fails to exercise the power that it has to correct abuses. ... It survives through a built-in discrimination in the selection of juries, state and federal, and through the ill-concealed contempt of many courts and police officers for the rights of Negro citizens.

"Despite the fact that more than half of all convicted rapists are white, 87% of all persons executed for rape between 1930 - 1963 were Negroes convicted and sentenced by Southern courts.

"Once the Negro is under arrest, he enters a world that is almost totally white, and every person he encounters could mean trouble.

"Nothing less than a public outcry against dual justice is needed,

SRC REPORTS (Cont'd)

coupled with a specific program to eliminate some of the most flagrant abuses.

"There is a desperate need for national and Southern bar associations to begin enforcing their ethical codes in a manner which will guarantee that Negroes will be able to choose from a broad range of attorneys."

School Desegregation: Old Problem under New Law:

"The disturbing fact is that the federal government, with all its vast resources, had not obtained the number of Negro children enrolled in formerly white schools by mid-October, 1965.

"At no time since 1954 has less factual information on school desegregation existed.

"The truth is that nearly 95% of the South's Negro pupils still are trapped in segregated and unequal schools.

"The tendency of the Office of Education (U.S.) to assume otherwise -- to expect normal forthrightness and good faith in the 'voluntary' compliance -- is perhaps its largest strategic error so far.

"There would have been no need for Congress to enact legislation if there had been any validity to the highly desirable premise that most school systems would (or could) act in good faith.

"When it became clear, for example, that 'freedom of choice' plans would be acceptable, most school systems took this plan.

"Contrary to the goals of the guidelines, choice of schools was not free for most Negroes. To many school officials, it seems to have meant a free choice to exclude Negro pupils for specious reasons, including 'bad manners,' 'bad character,' 'poor record,', etc.

"The 'freedom of choice' concept (as practiced) should not be accepted on face value as a method of achieving desegregation in the South.

"School Superintendents, if placed in the position of demonstrating to the satisfaction of federal agencies that funds are being spent without regard to race, would be found encouraging Negroes to attend formerly white schools in many instances.

SRC REPORTS (Cont'd)

"The responsibility to eliminate segregation rests with the school authorities and is not satisfied by rules and practices which shift the burden of removing discrimination to the class or classes of persons previously discriminated against."

MISTAKEN IDENTITY

Ozell Sutton, coming out last behind Dr. Townsend and Nat Griswold from the jet in Memphis, received a courteous go-first bow from a white passenger, who added: "How are you, Dr. King?" "Just fine," replied the confused Sutton.

HIGHLIGHTS ON LOCAL COUNCILS

North Little Rock. Mr. W. H. Williams was elected President of the Council succeeding the Rev. Donald Lightfoot who is working full-time with the Arkansas Youth Opportunity Center.

The Council is seeing favorable results from its activities in the recent school election, in which it supported millage increase but advocated spending the money for a new high school and making Jones a junior high school. Now two board members actively support this position and Superintendent Wright released a letter from Peabody Research Center to the effect that a new high school would be recommended. Much credit for the brighter outlook is due Mr. John W. Smith, Chairman of the Education Committee of the Council and recent candidate for the School Board.

Monticello. Dr. W. H. Townsend, vice chairman of ACHR, was guest speaker at an informal conference of citizens on November 10. His topic was ACHR, its work and the value of membership in it. The group decided to investigate and encourage formation of a Community Action Program against poverty. Director Nat Griswold accompanied Dr. Townsend in Mrs. Townsend's car!

Fort Smith. On October 19 Fort Smith formally reorganized its Council. Some 35 citizens including the city's mayor made it a broadly representative group which adopted a constitution and elected officers. George Tyson presided for his last time since he has gone to Baltimore with the Social Security Administration. The wrong people leave the state!

Fayetteville. A very successful Annual Meeting on October 20 focused on poverty in Washington County.

LOCAL COUNCILS (Cont'd)

The panel arranged and chaired by Edwin Greenebaum included the County School Supervisor and Fayetteville's Assistant Superintendent, in addition to Mrs. Lona Benedict, Mr. Bobby Lee Morgan, and Nat Griswold.

The subsequent newsletter from Fayetteville reports affirmative steps by county and city, public and private groups, to establish a Community Action Committee against poverty -- steps prompted by the Fayetteville Community Relations Association and Mr. Greenebaum's committee.

Jonesboro. The Council has been active on behalf of the school success of the more than 50 Negro students in previously white schools. Members, also, participated in a "first" interracial and interchurch Thanksgiving community service.

Colleges. The University Council on Human Relations is organized and sent sixteen memberships to ACHR. David Lyon, President, and Ann Valliant, Vice President, were at the Annual Meeting of the Fayetteville Community Relations Association. Keith Petersen is the advisor to the Council, by appointment of ACHR's Board. Ann Valliant has had responsibility in planning for the holiday "Conference on Meaningful Democracy" at Fayetteville. Sponsors were "Students for a University" and the Southern Student Organizing Committee.

Students at Little Rock University have organized a Council and have received press notice for their work on behalf of a fair deal for Brent Davis, dismissed professor of speech at A & M College. The members are also active in the sponsorship of a series of public lectures dealing with current issues.

ANNUAL ROUND-UP AT SRC

Arkansas had outstanding representation at the Annual Meeting of SRC, November 14-15: James E. Youngdahl, Dr. W. H. Townsend, Fr. Walter Clancy, Ozell Sutton, and Nat Griswold. Bill Becker, President of the Arkansas Council of AFL-CIO was elected a new member of SRC at this sesssion.

These changes in SRC staff were announced: Ed Stanfield, Presbyterian clergyman and native Arkansan, Executive Director of Alabama Council on Human Relations, will become Director of Field Services on January 1; Ed Lewis, Executive Director of the Florida Council on Human Relations, becomes Executive Assistant to Paul Anthony, with responsibility for raising funds;

SRC ANNUAL MEETING (Cont'd)

Emery Via has joined the staff to carry out a program of education of organized labor; Mr. Morland Smith, distinguished Birmingham architect, will head a new department of Urban Planning. Both the last programs will be funded from a large grant to SRC from the Ford Foundation.

WENDELL PHILLIPS

A recommended book, Wendell Phillips on Civil Rights and Freedom, relates how Phillips once lectured in Cincinnati against slavery at the same time a ministers' convention was in session. The next morning when Phillips boarded a train, an irate clergyman pointed a finger at him and cried in a loud voice:

"Are you trying to free the niggers?"

"Yes sir, I am an abolitionist."

"Well, why do you preach your doctrines up here? Why don't you go there?", pointing toward Kentucky across the river.

"Excuse me," said Wendell Phillips, "are you a preacher?"

"I am,sir."

"Are you trying to save souls from hell?"

"Yes, sir, that is my business."

"Well, sir, why don't you go there?"

OUT OF THE MOUTHS OF BABES...

From A Child's Garden of Misinformation, Harry Fleischman gleaned these juicy samples:

"Armistice is when countries signed a treaty and said they would never fight again, but they did."

"A prejudiced person is one who doesn't believe in the same things we do."

"A person who starts something is called a founder or trouble maker."

F.D.R., JR. OF EEOC

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission said that"EEOC was asking management for more than fair hiring practices; we are suggesting creative recruiting policies that actually seek out qualified employees among minority groups. If they do not come boldly to the table from which they have been barred for so long, then let them be invited and welcomed."

ARK - Publications

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12 January 1966

Mr. Harold Howe, II
Commissioner of Education
U.S. Office of Education
Department of Health, Education & Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20202

Dear Mr. Howe:

Attached is a Statement of Position and Concern of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations relative to desegregation in education in Arkansas. The statement is self-explanatory and addressed to you because the responsibility under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to effectuate genuine and meaningful desegregation rests with the Office of Education.

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations is an interracial organization working in the broad field of equal opportunity. The Statement of Position and Concern was authorized by the Board of Directors in its January 8, 1966 meeting.

Sincerely,

/s/ Ozell Sutton
Associate Director

OS:cit

Enclosure

"No person in the United States shall on the ground of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance." These words constitute the heart of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which forbids racial segregation and discrimination in federally financed programs.

With passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 came the hope, the expectation that the burden of school desegregation was at last about to be lifted from the shoulders of Negro children and their parents. It was thought that the responsibility for desegregation was about to be placed where it belongs, on the backs of school officials. Negroes in Arkansas were led to hope once again that equality of opportunity in education was within reach.

That hope, that expectation had been visited upon the Negro before. Ten years earlier he won a historic Supreme Court decision which declared "racial segregation in public education unconstitutional." It was thought then that racial segregation in public education had but a short time to live. It was instead the legitimate hopes and aspiration of the Negro for an education free of discrimination that were to be short lived. For Arkansas joined the rest of the South in amassing a campaign against desegregation seldom to be equalled in history. Mass resistance and legal circumvention became the marching orders of all the South. It is important to note here that the official attitude in Arkansas at first was to comply with the court's edict. The then governor of Arkansas,Francis Cherry, made a public statement relative to the decision placing the state on record for compliance. "We in Arkansas are law abiding citizens and we will obey the law," said Cherry. There was little or no opposition in the state at first to "abiding by the law", for officials and laymen resigned themselves to what they thought had to be done.

Later political and legal developments, however, gave encouragement to those forces opposed to desegregation. They soon learned that the "law of the land" was not going to be resolutely enforced. In fact, they discovered that they could disobey the spirit and intent of the 1954 decision with complete impunity. The time the Supreme Court in its 1955 decision had allowed for "good faith compliance" was instead used to devise methods of circumvention and defiance.

I recite this bit of historic insight only to remind those in authority at the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare that Arkansas school officials look upon delay as weakness -- a lack of the necessary resolution to insist upon meaningful desegregation. Again, the time is not being used to solve the problem, but to circumvent both the intent of the 1954 Supreme Court decision and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

School officials in Arkansas have shown no inclination to abandon the dual system. They are not convinced that HEW is going to be

resolute in insisting upon this. These officials, under "freedom of choice" will simply allow those Negro children who are brave enough to transfer to white schools to do so. This will leave the segregated structure still intact.

Should this occur, and this can only be the end result of freedom of choice, the legtimate hopes of the Negroes in Arkansas will again be frustrated. That which was conceived in 1954, fed and nurtured in 1964 will be doomed to still birth or miscarriage. History is full of examples of what can be expected when people are led to hope and this hope dies unborn -- when the avenues to fulfillment are closed to their legtimate aspirations.

Pursuant to its longstanding commitment to equality of opportunity in education, the Arkansas Council on Human Relations has sought constantly the elimination of all forms of segregation. Since 1954 ACHR, the only biracial statewide organization in Arkansas, has worked diligently to focus attention on integration as the "most compelling unfinished business in education" Arkansans and Americans face today. We address the officials of the Office of Education now because the issue is critical and you hold the key to its resolution.

Twelve years have passed since the U.S. Supreme Court first held racial segregation in public education unconstitutional. Eleven years has elapsed since the 1955 Supreme Court's decision on the "how" of desegregation. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is now almost two years in history. Yet only 6,217 Negro children (about 5% of the 110,755 enrolled in Arkansas schools) are reaping the benefits of a desegregated education. Even the 6,217 figure is the most liberal one that can be projected since it represents the total given by superintendents who seek to look as good on paper as possible. How long will HEW allow thousands of Arkansas Negro children to carry into adulthood and careers of work the demoralizing, dehumanizing and debasing consequences and crippling effects of a segregated education?

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations, burdened by its moral responsibility for equal educational opportunity and its commitment to the values of a desegregated education, wishes to make the following urgent plea to the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare:

1. <u>Abandon "Freedom of Choice" as a Method of Desegregation in Arkansas' Schools</u>.

It is plain for all who would see that freedom of choice is not and cannot become a true instrument through which complete integration can be facilitated. Freedom of choice has failed to bring necessary and desired results in Arkansas, and since freedom of choice places the burden of desegregation on the Negro alone, it cannot be expected to bring more than "token" integration in most school districts. We ask HEW officials to recognize these freedom of choice plans for what they really are -- endless schemes of circumvention. They are vociferous engagements in chicanery, latently and patently designed to reduce to the barest minimum the number of Negro and white students who will come to know each

other as fellow human beings.

Racial segregation is antithetical to democracy. To permit its continuation and cultivation under the so-called freedom of choice is a blatant repudiation of the root ideas of democracy -- equality and justice.

Nowhere in our society is racial segregation more destructive in its effects than in public schools. The very object of our public educational system is to lead children to develop their capacities to the highest and most satisfying degree and to prepare them to live harmoniously and effectively in a multi-cultural and multi-color world. The fostering of mutual respect among people of different ethnic and racial backgrounds is best promoted in a culturally and racially integrated setting. Racial integration and quality education are therefore mutually complementary and interdependent. An integrated school system is an essential component of good education.

We know we need not convince you of the logic of this position. We do feel compelled, however, to pass on to you the urgency we feel and experience as we work on the problems of human relations and education across the state. Statistics and observations leave us thoroughly convinced that freedom of choice can never be the instrument of transforming a dual school district, a district with color distincions into a unitary system.

If we were so generous as to give freedom of choice credit for all desegregation in Arkansas (5% of the Negroes in formerly all white schools), it would take 20 years at the present rate to fully desegregate by this method. A woeful situation exists here in Arkansas where thirty-seven districts with heavy Negro enrollment (according to a published survey of the Arkansas Gazette) that filed freedom of choice plans have no Negro students in desegregated schools.

Another 60 or more districts have 10 or less Negroes receiving a desegregated education. Approximately 40 more districts have less than twenty, but more than 10 Negroes enrolled in desegregated schools.

Some woeful examples of desegregation under freedom of choice:

1. Jefferson County, the state's second highest populated county, has 227 of 6,246 Negro children in desegregated schools -- just slightly above 3%.

2. Union County schools have only 28 Negroes out of an enrollment of 4,771, or .5 of one percent.

3. Mississippi County, 229 of 6,382 or 3%
4. Phillips County, 169 of 8,264 or 2%
5. Ouachita County, 50 of 3,672 or 1%
6. Ashley County, 21 of 2,863 or .7 of one percent
7. Bradley County, 11 of 1,405 or .8 of one percent
8. Chicot County, 21 of 3,313 or .6 of one percent
9. Jackson County, 23 of 1,055 or 2%
10. St. Francis County, 98 of 6,318 or .015%

2. Integrate Faculty and Administrative Personnel.

Compelled by the conviction that integration is not only a right but an educational good in itself, an ingredient of quality education and should be persued as such, the Arkansas Council on Human Relations calls upon you and your Department, Commissioner Howe, to include full faculty integration in your guidelines for the school year of 1966-67. ACHR is firm in its belief that there can be no meaningful integration as long as school systems have "Negro" schools and "white" schools. The stigma can only be removed when the faculties in all schools are fully integrated.

If integration is accepted as an educational good, a value to be achieved as quickly as possible rather than resisted as long as possible, then the integration of teachers is a primary prerequisite.

3. Provide Teacher Workshops for School Personnel in Human Relations.

One of the great needs in the school systems of Arkansas is to have administrators, faculty and students come to give proper respect to persons regardless of race, religion, or place of birth. Adequate techniques in human relations are as important to good teaching as knowledge of subject matter. The Commissioner of Education should take full advantage of Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, missing no opportunity to orient all professional personnel for integrated work experiences. Seminars on college and university campuses as well as inservice institutes and workshops should be used to up grade staff on human relations techniques. This vitally needed orientation should not be left to the discretion of school superintendents, but should be made available to teachers by HEW in cases where local school officials fail to act.

4. Insist on Interracial Advisory Committees.

The Commissioner of Education should give full and weighted consideration to providing for biracial advisory committees in guidelines for 1966-67. The value of such a committee has been demonstrated so many times we need not belabor the point here. An interracial advisory committee could work with the Board and staff on problems related to racial or ethnic groups.

Conclusion.

The time has now come when the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, must insist that the school districts of Arkansas and the South at large finally lay down the burden of race and move swiftly toward the challenging and noble objective of quality education for all children, free of the eroding effects of segregation. The four recommendations of this paper represent minimum action for the Commissioner of Education charged with the responsibility of effectuating the necessary change in policy and practice so as to give relief to those against whom segregation is perpetrated. "The responsibility to to eliminate segregation," according to HEW guidelines, "rests with the school authorities and is not satisfied by rules and practices which shift the burden of removing discrimination to the class or classes of persons previously discriminated against." This statement is the greatest indictment of all against freedom of choice.

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# NEWSLETTER

## Fort Smith Human Relations Council

JANUARY, 1966

The First Board of Directors meeting was held on November 8, 1965 at Saint Scholastica Academy. It was learned that due to other commitments, Dr. L. E. O'Conner could not accept the Vice-Presidency. After some discussion Rev. Jerry Canada was approached by his fellow Board members to serve as temporary Chairman; a position which he accepted. At the recommendation of the Board of Directors, Rev. Canada later asked Rev. West of Quinn Chapel to take the Vice-Presidency, which he accepted.

The final results of the Fort Smith Human Relations Council election of October 19, 1965, and appointments by the Board of Directors of November 8, 1965 were as follows: Temporary Chairman, Rev. Jerry Canada; Vice-President, Rev. West; Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Edwin Falleur. The members of the Board of Directors are Miss Floy Looper, Mr. Charles Nichols, Mr. Robert Cruse, Rev. Henry Tyler, Mr. Carl Shelby, Mr. Arthur Prichard, and Mr. Edwin Falleur. There are two vacancies on the Board which will be filled later this month.

The dues for annual membership were set at $1.00 per person and $2.00 per family. The nominal monetary donation was arrived at with the purpose of increasing each member's commitment to the aims of the Council. We all hope to see fairness and concern emanate from each of us to our fellows--yet not a ray of this can become real in our community without a vastly increased effort on the part of each and all. Dues may be paid at the January 10th organizational meeting.

Churches of the community were selected as places for future meetings, if possible, for it is from them and hopefully from the increasing leadership of our clergy that the truest values of human life can most rapidly embue each of us.

The importance of your participation in our January 10th meeting cannot be stressed too much. This meeting well be held at 7:30 p.m. at Roebuck Chapel, First Methodist Church, 200 North 15th. The election of permanent officers will take place and it is hoped that all members will feel free to nominate those persons they see to be qualified.

Rev. John Guthrie, the head of a team of missionaries in the Congo, will be the evening's speaker. He will relate to us the relationships between American discrimination and his missionary activity in the Congo as well as the way the Congolese view this discrimination.

Rev. Guthrie has been in the Congo, beginning in 1959, for a total of 4 years. He hopes to help us see how the African Christians witness for Christ in that turbulent land.

If you know of anyone else who might be interested, bring them along.

Newsletters


# ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

Volume II, No. 1 NEWSLETTER January 1966


RESERVE

ANNUAL MEETING DATE
Saturday, February 26, 1966
Details Later

## OPERATION FRIENDSHIP

ACHR, as a part of its creative programming in meaningful human relations activities, is promoting "Operation Friendship" on Sunday afternoon, February 13, 1966. All affiliates, associated groups, or interested organizations in Arkansas are invited -- no urged -- to participate.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in one of his most passionate pleas for interracial communication and understanding said, "One of the reasons Negroes and whites dislike and mistrust each other is that they don't know each other, and they don't know each other because they are separated from each other." Operation Friendship is designed to bridge the isolation of man from man because of race. It is a conversation in a living room setting, a conversation which affords white Arkansans an opportunity to engage in meaningful dialogue with Negro fellow Arkansans.

Mrs. Frank Lambright has accepted the responsibility of chairman of the Steering Committee for the project in Little Rock. Mrs. M. J. Caruth is co-chairman. The committee is now recruiting some 50 or more Negro families who will serve as hosts to approximately 400 whites for coffee, cookies, and conversation. If you are interested (and we hope you are) in promoting "Operation Friendship" in your community and need additional information, just call the office, FR 4-4521 collect, and we will be glad to help you get started.

## ACHR MEMBERSHIP DRIVE.

ACHR will make a determined effort to double its membership this year. Mrs. Frank Gordon, secretary to ACHR's Board, has accepted the chairmanship of a membership campaign in Little Rock. Mrs. James Youngdahl and Mrs. Booker Williams are co-chairmen.

## ACHR MEMBERSHIP DRIVE (cont'd)

The committee has organized and is planning an extensive campaign in March.

Ozell Sutton has visited the Human Relations groups in Fayetteville, Fort Smith, and North Little Rock. Each pledged to conduct a membership campaign for ACHR. These communities are now in the process of organizing their drives. Other associated groups and individuals are being asked to work.

Your help is badly needed if the goal is to be reached. When we talk to foundations about support for our work, they want to know how well we are supported by the home folks. We know there are hundreds of persons in our state committed to the cause of justice and equal opportunity. We need you to help us get them to join ACHR, where together we might seek the "good society". Here is how you can help as an individual. First mail your dues to the office today -- $5.00 for an individual, or $5.00 per couple. Then solicit dues from among your friends and neighbors. Remember, 1966 is the year of the "big push" for ACHR memberships, and we need the help of each of you.

## AUTHOR OF BEST-SELLER COMING

John Howard Griffin, author and lecturer (Devil Rides Outside, Black Like Me) will give an address at the National Investors Building, Broadway at 2nd, on Tuesday, January 25, 8 p.m., sponsored by the Catholic Interracial Council of Little Rock. Tickets are available at ACHR's office and from members of CIC, $2 for adults, $1 for students.

A white native Texan, Griffin to learn what it is like to be Negro in the deep South, asked a physician to darken his skin. Black Like Me is the story of his daring and skillful reporter's travels through four Southern states.

BLACK LIKE ME AUTHOR (cont'd)

The book has been a best-seller.

His lecture has the same title as this book, "Black Like Me". You may call for your tickets at FR 4-4521.

DIAGNOSIS OF SOUTHERN JUSTICE

Charles Morgan, Jr. of Atlanta will be featured at the public meeting of the Little Rock Conference on Religion and Race, Tuesday, February 15, at the Parish House of Trinity Cathedral, 310 W. 17th Street, 7:30 p.m. As Director of the Atlanta Office of the American Civil Liberties Union, Mr. Morgan, an attorney, will analyze "Southern Justice".

A panel of local attorneys will respond to Mr. Morgan's presentation, dealing with the plight of the South as to criminal law enforcement, the constitutional difficulties as between state and nation, and recommended courses of action.

All citizens across Arkansas who cherish law and order should attend. The attorneys will be dealing with such facts as this: Since 1960 at least 26 Negroes or civil rights advocates have been murdered in the South by racists. Only one assailant has been given a prison sentence and that for ten years.

Charles Morgan, a Birmingham attorney, refused to keep silent when the three children were killed in the church bombing. Because he spoke out, he was hounded from Birmingham.

TENTATIVE ACHR 6-MONTH CALENDAR

| | |
|---|---|
| February: | 13 Operation Friendship<br>26 Annual Meeting |
| March: | Month long membership campaign |
| April: | Student Conference on Human Relations |
| May: | Workshop on Minority Problems in Housing |

During this time a statewide voter registration campaign must be planned and executid, and "Project Catch-up" pursued. As you can see, your organization has planned some meaningful human relations work. Your cooperation and support is counted upon.

INJUNCTION SOUGHT IN GOULD

On December 16 Attorney John Walker for Gould school patrons filed a brief in federal court asking that the school district be enjoined against building a new high school on the site of Field School.

LRU COUNCIL SPONSORS MEMORIAL SERVICE

The Little Rock University Council on Human Relations sponsored a memorial service for Samuel Younge, murdered in Tuskegee, Alabama, on January 4, and for other martyrs to freedom and justice in the South. Service was held at Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Sunday, January 9, at 3:00 p.m. Between seventy and one hundred citizens participated. Leaders in the order of service were the Reverends Harold Wells, Tom Logue, Henry Parker, and Harold Hurst.

McNEIL TO STUDY ACHR

Elaine (Mrs. Gordon) McNeil, a former member of the Board and long time member of ACHR, plans to analyze ACHR and its membership as part of the requirement for her Ph.D. in sociology.

Little is known of the character of the biracial movement in the South, the character of its white membership, how many persons are involved actively. The present Board of Directors has endorsed Mrs. McNeil's proposed research and its members have been given a "pre-test" of her questionnaire. They took an average of ten minutes to check the questions.

To save time for everyone, Mrs. McNeil will be at the Annual Meeting with copies of her questionnaire and members can check them on the spot. Members not present will be mailed copies to check.

Board members and staff are very interested in this project and assured Mrs. McNeil that everyone would cooperate. Of course, these kinds of studies are done anonymously, that is, no one signs questionnaires. Results are reported statistically and by categories.

"FIXED" I.Q.

Seventy six boys from tough poverty areas constituted the pre-college training by the University of Oregon under an anti-poverty grant. One boy, a slow student in public school, with an established I.Q. score ranging from 80 to 90, was discovered to have a natural and ready ability in mathematics. Before the summer program was half over, he was doing complicated calculus problems, and was helping his fellow students. His I.Q. score jumped more than 30 points!

AS OF FEBRUARY 1, 1966, ACHR'S NEW OFFICE ADDRESS:

1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS.

## COMMISSIONER FORD URGES SUMMER PROGRAMS

Mr. Arch W. Ford, Arkansas Commissioner of Education, said that a crash program would be started January 10 to interest local schools in summer programs to help under-achievers in the schools. "A summer program will reduce the gap in the desegregated classrooms this fall," said Ford. Not all Negro children are under-achievers, Ford said, but many are as products of the dual school system. Cost of such programs would be covered by federal funds under Title I of the Secondary and Elementary Education Act.

## DOES 2nd SOUTHERN RECONSTRUCTION WAVER?

In April, 1965, C. Vann Woodward wrote a disturbing article in Harper's, "First Reconstruction to the Second." As you know, he is the Sterling Professor of History at Yale, a native Arkansan, and a recognized historian of the South. In this article he wrote:

"The search for a new compromise /by the South in the sixties/ began early and with plausible expectations of success. ... The prospects for an accommodation were not discouraging. In far weaker circumstances, after a crushing defeat, years of military occupation, and extensive disfranchisement, the South /earlier/ had been able to negotiate on favorable terms a compromise that outlasted all the others, the Compromise of 1877. Why not another? Say a Compromise of 1964.

"This one might be known informally and privately as the Compromise of Tokenism. It would assume, in the classical manner, nominal compliance without fundamental change. ... It was an old American tradition to appease reformers with impressive statutes and then neglect or forget about their implementation. After ten years of school desegregation at 'deliberate speed' only 2 percent of the Negro pupils in the old Confederate states were in schools with white children. Yet all these states were now proudly marked on the newspaper maps as 'desegregated'. It was surprising how much approval and congratulation these minimal gestures won from outside. Perhaps token desegregation, Southern style, or perhaps de facto segregation, Northern style, would do. Or perhaps an ingenius blending of the two models. ...

"Had it been left up to the white man, North and South, the Second Reconstruction possibly would have already gone the way of the First /that of 1877/. The way of compromise, conciliation, and appeasement into frustration and failure. It would have been the old story of white men resolving their

## SECOND RECONSTRUCTION (con'd)

differences at the expense of black men. The will was present on both sides, and incentive and opportunities abounded. But this time it was not left up to the white man. The Negro himself was the decisive participant, not an instrument of white purpose. ... He was better led and better organized and, what was more important, the leaders and organizations this time were his own."

The above analysis frightens us. In towns and country communities of Arkansas is it true that the Negro himself is the decisive participant? Is he not an instrument of white purpose still? What organizations does he have? What leaders? Only the Negro citizen can answer these questions with reassurance. The burden of initiative is still on him. We are frightened.

## CANCELLATIONS AGAINST INTEGRATED TEAM

The Arkansas Gazette reported December first that seven southeast Arkansas schools have cancelled scheduled basketball games with Wilmar which has three Negroes on its starting team. Negro students constitute 58% of the seventy-three students in Wilmar High School. A white player, Jerry McLemore, is quoted as saying: "If it wasn't for them, we wouldn't have a team. Since they are here, I am glad they can play ball. After you play with them a while, they don't seemed colored"

## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS STUDY

On December 16 the Little Rock League of Women Voters released conclusion of a study of school opportunities for Negroes. Among other things it recommends fixed attendance zones or neighborhood schools, compensatory education for Negro children, more faculty integration, extension of extra-curricular programs for Negro children.

## UNUSUAL UNICEF VENTURE

Two hundred and seventy-six dollars were collected for UNICEF at Newport on Halloween. The story and picture of the children who did this special "trick or treat" has appeared in the Arkansas Methodist and the Arkansas Christian. The variety of faces in the picture make it appear to be a junior United Nations. This variety is explained by the variety of churches which co-sponsored the project: The First Methodist, First Baptist (Negro), The First Christian, St. Paul's Episcopal, St. Paul's AME, First Presbyterian, Umsted Methodist, First Freewill

UNICEF VENTURE (cont'd)

Baptist. The story came to us at the Christmas season, long after Halloween; but it was still good news, timely news, and especially appropriate to the Christmas season.

FORT SMITH DESEGREGATION ORDERS

On December 6, the U.S. Supreme Court ordered Fort Smith to integrate its high school. (The district had followed a freedom of choice stair step plan beginning with grade one in 1957 and had reached grade eight.) The Court said, "We have emphasized that delays in desegregating of school systems are no longer tolerable." The suit began on complaint of the mother of two girls in September, 1963.

BOYS', GIRLS' STATES INTEGRATION

ACHR was gratified by the announcement on December 8 by the American Legion officials that Boys' and Girls' States would be integrated next summer. ACHR in May had issued an appeal to the Legion to end segregation in these programs.

This policy paper was reissued in November after Everett A. Tookes, Commander of Stanfield-Grady Post 401 (Negro) moved to have these programs integrated. Mr. Tookes had directed the programs before. He simply resigned as director and called for integration.

DEMOCRATS FOR ARKANSAS

Two state church leaders made public attacks on the state administration, Dr. Erwin L. McDonald, editor of the Arkansas Baptist, and Dr. T. Chalmers Henderson, Executive for the Arkansas Synod of the Presbyterian Church, US. Both men said they spoke as members of the group called "Democrats for Arkansas," a group lead by Dr. Luck of Arkadelphia. On December 13 Mc Donald emphasized 1) the practice of "political favoritism" that has increased each year under the present administration, and 2) economic opportunities for Negro citizens: "It is time for our Democratic Party to make a complete break with bigots and racists"

On December 16 Dr. Henderson, before a civic club, dwelt on the pattern of power in the state government because of the long tenure of the present administration and said change of the administration would be made only if "more and more people became concerned and involved."

LITTLE ROCK ARK. JAN 20 PM 3 1966

FIGHT INFANTILE PAR JOIN MARCH OF DIMES 4¢ U.S. POSTAGE

Mr. Ed. Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

# ANNUAL MEETING

PLACE: Hotel Albert Pike, parlors, A,B,C, and Tiki Terrace Room
Seventh and Scott Streets, Little Rock

DATE: Saturday, February 26, 1966, 2 p.m. to 9 p.m.

COST: $3.00 for dinner (Reserve before February 22 on enclosed blank.)

SCHEDULE:

2 p.m. - 4 p.m. Advisory Council with the Board of Directors: Panel of members with Edwin Stanfield as resource leader. (Members of ACHR will be welcomed.)

4:30 p.m. - 6 p.m. Membership Meeting: Report of staff, resolutions, democratic deliberation, business.

6:30 p.m. - 9 p.m. Dinner: Tiki Terrace Room

Address: Vernon E. Jordan (Mr. Jordan will direct a vigorous campaign of voter education in Arkansas and other Southern states in 1966.)

WHO'S WHO: Edwin Stanfield, Director of Field Services of the Southern Regional Council; native of Dardanelle, Arkansas; past Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations; Presbyterian minister.

Vernon E. Jordan, A.B., LL.B., Atlanta, Director of Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council; member of the American and Arkansas Bar Association; former Attorney-Consultant, U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, Atlanta; former Georgia Field Director of NAACP.

(Travel for members of the Board and Advisory Council will be paid.)

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 Wright Ave ~~1220 WEST CAPITOL~~
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR ~~4-4521~~
6-3541

14 February 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

We are pleased that you are going to be with us at our Annual Meeting, February 26. We want you to speak to members of our Advisory Council and Executive Board at 2 p.m., addressing yourself to local programming -- what is needed and possible. A panel of local citizens will follow you in discussion of what is needed in their individual communities.

February is planning month for our membership campaign which will be conducted during March. I would like you to meet with a membership committee Friday night, February 25, if you could get here in time. Such a meeting with you, I think, would encourage the committee. Drop me a note saying you can get here, and I will set it up.

We will make reservation for you at the Albert Pike Hotel. Send us your arrival time, two glossy prints and your biography.

Sincerely,

Ozell

Ozell Sutton
Associate Director

File

OS:cit

ATL 4:15 – 6:47 L.R.
Δ 844Y – 4:19 Memphis
TTA #177 – 5:15 – 6:47
L.R 5:39 – 10:15 ATL Δ 456

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REVEREND A. M. ROBERTS, JR., TREASURER • MRS. FRANK N. GORDON, SECRETARY
STAFF – NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

ES

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

Volume 11, No. 2 NEWSLETTER March 1966

## YOU MISSED IT

To those who were not at the Annual Meeting on February 26, at the Hotel Albert Pike we can only say, "You missed it." No resume will be attempted here. Even if we were so disposed, it is simply not possible to transmit substantively those sessions -- the esprit de corps, the overtones and undertones, the information from the grass roots, the pervasive warning against optimism, the inspiration to "do something," the suggestions on how to do something. How can one transmit the quiet resolution and insights of Reverend Jamison with his cigar from Monticello? Or the dry flat humor of Ferris Baker of Conway? Or the steady words and trembling hands of Mrs. Laird of Jonesboro? Or the cascading speech of Father Clancy? Or the impressive person and sensible eloquence of Vernon Jordan? Or the I've-been-there counsel of Ed Stanfield? Or the dozen other persons and aspects which crowd the memory? It's no use. You should have been there.

One fact of note: new people from new places came -- England, Crossett, Hope, to name a few. One suggestion to interest you: that ACHR have quarterly meetings of its Advisory Council and members at different towns in the state. Sounds good.

## THE IMPERATIVE OF NEGRO ARKANSANS

The new guidelines for school desegregation recently released by the U.S. Office of Education leaves intact the freedom-of-choice plan for school officials. Most schools in Arkansas are following this plan. This means the initiative for ending segregation is still the responsibility of Negro leaders, Negro parents, and Negro students ("young heroes").

At its annual meeting in February, ACHR went on record as follows: "That this Council urges, that in school systems in which one or more schools are rated superior and others inferior, any freedom-of-choice plan be abandoned and that pupils be assigned by other criteria which will

## IMPERATIVE OF NEGRO ARKANSANS (cont'd)

result in an educationally valid, unified system, since there is no real 'choice' in such a situation."

The Council recognizes that to give Negro parents a "choice" between a white superior school and a Negro inferior school is in itself raw discrimination, given economic and social pressures plus historical residue of ignorance and custom. Nevertheless, for the present Negro parents must act with insight and courage for the good of Southern society as well as for their children.

## CHOOSING THE BETTER

In making school choices for their children in many situations parents will find an objective basis for choosing. The Arkansas Department of Education has a school directory which exhibits the rating of all schools in the state.

Below are some better school districts and the choices which Negro parents are required to make. (NC = North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges; A,B,C are ratings given by the Arkansas Department of Education in the absence of any national rating.)

| | Negro | White |
|---|---|---|
| Dermott | A | NC |
| Lake Village | B | NC |
| Magnolia | A | NC |
| West Memphis | A | NC |
| Wynne | B | NC |
| Fordyce | A | NC |
| McGehee | A | NC |
| Monticello | A | NC |
| Conway | A | NC |
| Malvern | A | NC |
| Newport | A | NC |
| Marianna | A | NC |
| Star City | B | NC |
| England | X | NC |
| Blytheville | A | NC |
| Osceola | C | NC |
| Brinkley | A | NC |
| Bearden | B | A |
| Camden | A | NC |
| Forrest City | A | NC |
| Smackover | B | NC |
| Fairview | B | NC |
| Cotton Plant | C | NC |

CHOOSING THE BETTER (cont'd)

We urge each parent to learn from local school officials the ratings of the white school and Negro school and make his choice for the superior school. In cases where the official ratings may be the same, still choose the white school for the sake of all children.

School officials and administrators, by their own admission, know something about educating the young not known to Negro parents. They should take initiative in giving handicapped Negro children the best educational opportunities. Their record to date indicate they will continue to do the opposite. It appears, at this moment, that the initiative for sound and adequate education for all Arkansas children must come from Negro parents. If they falter, we all fail. If they act, all Arkansans in retrospect will be grateful.

RECENT HISTORY TEACHES

Harry Fleischman (Let's Be Human) would make Caroline Bird's The Invisible Scar "compulsory reading for everyone under forty, and required reading for everyone older." It deals with what the Great Depression did to American life until now. She describes also how America met the challenge of labor shortage in World War II, lessons which might be useful in retraining and training unskilled workers today.

"War proved," wrote Caroline Bird, "that the poor were willing to work if given a chance. It proved that the uneducated could learn if they were taught. ... But it also proved that it took a lot more spending than the New Deal had ever suggested to get the economy moving."

Fleischman comments: "Miss Bird's prescription is as valid for Watts, Harlem, Rochester, Chicago, and the other centers of frustration and rage in the nation today as it was for the war years. If we could do it then for bombs, tanks and planes, we can -- and we must -- do it for books, hospitals, and homes."

TWO RELEASES FROM SRC

Members may ask ACHR for two research and policy documents from the Southern Regional Council: "Southern Justice, An Indictment" -- a very hard-hitting bundle of facts and interpretations; "School Desegregation -- an Old Problem Under a New Law" compares

SRC RELEASES (cont'd)

SRC's statistics with those of the U.S. Office of Education and makes recommendations. We have a supply of both releases.

ECUMENISM

Is the ecumenical movement going too far? Hyman Goldberg's Our Man in the Kitchen Cookbook features a chapter entitled "Kosher Cooking for Our Catholic Cousins on Friday and Lenten Days".

WORLD'S PEOPLES IN MICROCOSM

If all the people in the world could be reduced proportionately into a theoretical town of 1,000 people, its picture would look like this. There would be 60 Americans and 940 "foreigners". The sixty Americans would have half the income of the entire town. About 330 persons would be classified as Christians; 670 non-Christians. White people would total 303; non-white 697. Since most of the 940 non-Americans in the town would be hungry most of the time, it would create some ill feelings toward the 60 Americans who would seem enormously rich and overfed. Of the 940 non-Americans, 200 would have malaria and three leprosy. None of the sixty Americans will ever get these diseases or probably ever be worried about them.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

On February 15 at Trinity Cathedral the Little Rock Conference on Religion and Race focussed the minds of some 200 participants (not all from Little Rock) on the injustice for Negro citizens perpetuated by the segregated society, especially in the South where a "double standard of justice" operates.

"In many areas of the South dual justice is a standing abuse to all Negroes. ... It exists from birth to death and the knowledge of it comes so early that a man may think he received it in his genes. ... More than any other factor it is responsible for what the white South views as increasing 'radicalism' and 'anarchy' in the civil rights movement." (From the document mentioned above.)

Charles Morgan, Jr. of Atlanta led four local lawyers (Sid McMath, Gaston Williamson, John Walker, Edward Lester) in exploring this double standard of justice. The enclosed reprint

SOUTHERN JUSTICE (cont'd)

of unpunished crimes were supplied to the audience by ACHR.

NEW NEW SOUTH

With this newsletter comes a flyer describing a new publication from SRC, New South. The first issue we have. This is a magazine of substance, style, and, above all, interest. Please, please send your subscription today. The second "please" is yours: you'll be pleased you did!

NEW CAMPAIGN

A campaign by the Advertising Council of America, "the most important public service campaign every conducted," aims "to draw Negro and other Americans into fuller participation in our economy and our society -- to enable them to share in our abundance and make their contribution to the general good."

The theme of the project, "Things Are Changing", will appear on its posters, advertisements, and bill boards. It underscores the change that means an "equal chance to get a good job -- no matter one's race, color, religion, or country of birth."

The campaign is not government sponsored. It is an effort of American business leaders toward solution of this foremost domestic problem.

AN AD OF OUR OWN

ACHR has a one room RCA Whirlpool air conditioner still at its old office. It has been in service two summers only. Price $55. cash. Call or write FR 6-3541, 1310 Wright Avenue.

TWENTY THOUSAND PER CENT!

Would you send a $5 membership for you and your spouse if it meant $1,000 for ACHR? That is possible. A super-duper drive for members directed by Dr. Townsend and Mr. Sutton aims at winning the George Mitchell Award from SRC, $1,000 for the state council gaining the highest percentage of members. Put your $5 on the line; it could mean $1,000 for ACHR, a 20,000% return on your investment! Join through your local council or use the membership blank below.

---

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Believing in the purposes and methods of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, I want to be enrolled as:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Full member, | Individual | $5. ( ) |
| | Husband-wife | $5. ( ) |
| Student member | | $1. ( ) |
| Organizational | | $20 ( ) |
| Century Club | | $100 ( ) |

Contribution in addition to membership fee _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

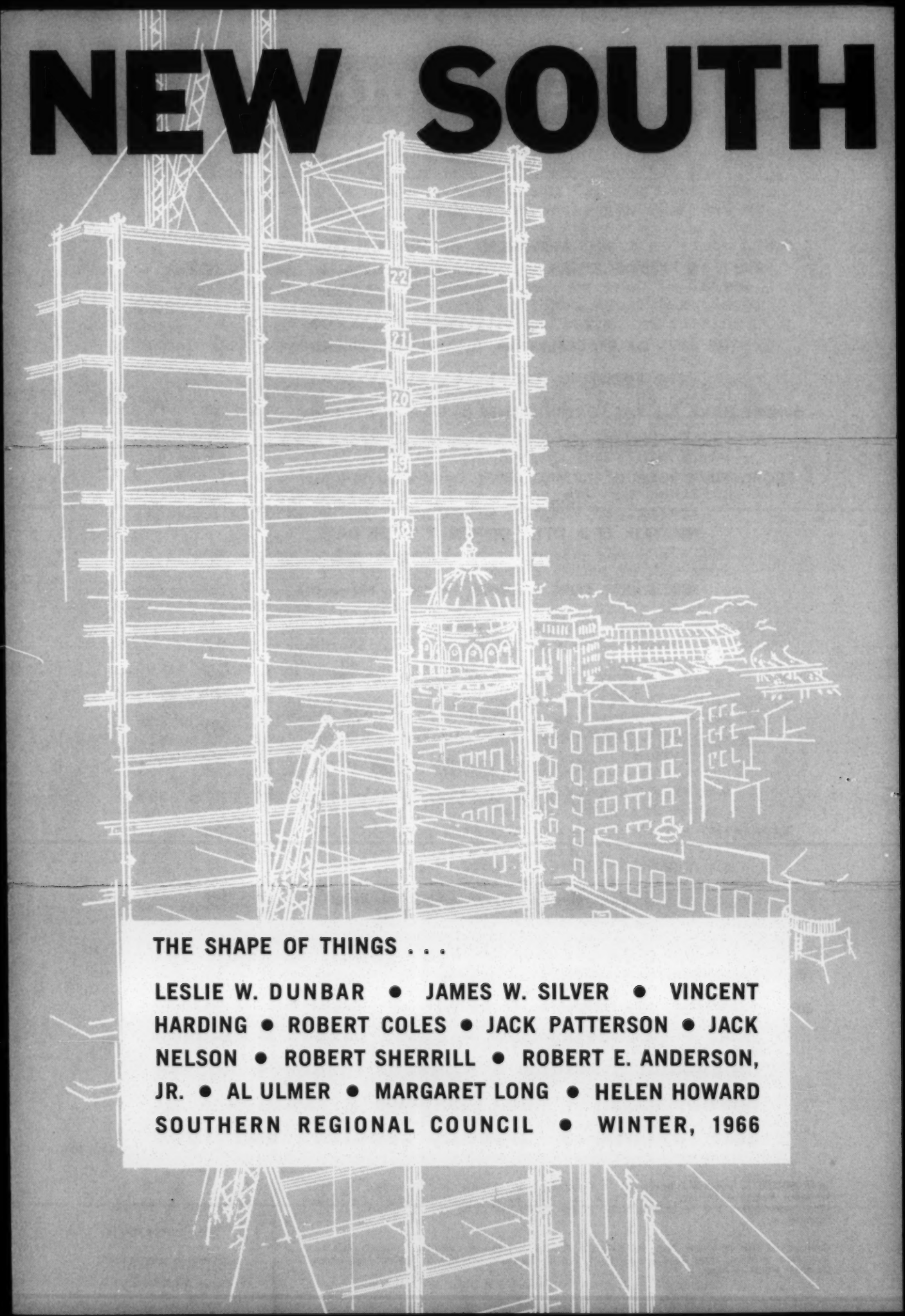
(Membership dues and gifts are tax deductible.)

* * * * * * * * * * * *

MARK YOUR CALENDAR

ACHR has planned a Student Conference on Human Relations Saturday, April 16, at Philander Smith College. Students from all Arkansas colleges are being invited to participate in an all day workshop on problems related to human relations. The Conference will climax with a public address by James Farmer, the former director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and now Director of the Center for Community Action Education, Inc. Mr. Farmer is one of the "Big Three" leaders in civil rights, and one of the movement's most articulate speakers. Our membership is invited -- no urged -- to come and hear him. His new work as head of the Center of Community Action Education sounds exciting. The agency plans literacy projects, training and retraining for jobs and other creative measures to bring Negroes to actual equality. The Center expects a $900,000 grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity and considerable funds from foundation grants.

# NEW SOUTH



THE SHAPE OF THINGS . . .

LESLIE W. DUNBAR • JAMES W. SILVER • VINCENT HARDING • ROBERT COLES • JACK PATTERSON • JACK NELSON • ROBERT SHERRILL • ROBERT E. ANDERSON, JR. • AL ULMER • MARGARET LONG • HELEN HOWARD

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL • WINTER, 1966

# NEW SOUTH

A QUARTERLY
REVIEW OF
SOUTHERN AFFAIRS

Vol. 21 • No. 1
Winter, 1966

## CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS: 1

1. THE MOVEMENT, by Margaret Long 1
2. ENFORCEMENT, by Robert E. Anderson, Jr. 103
3. POVERTY, by Al Ulmer 107

PUBLIC POLICY AND THE ARTS OF PEACEMAKING, by Leslie W. Dunbar 2

THE EMERGING NEGRO, by James W. Silver 11

WHERE HAVE ALL THE LOVERS GONE? by Vincent Harding 27

IS THERE A MIND OF THE SOUTH? by Robert Coles 39

PROPOSED: A KIBBUTZ IN MISSISSIPPI, by Marian Wright, Henry Aronson, and John Mudd 42

THE TALK IS A LITTLE DIFFERENT THESE DAYS, by Jack Nelson 47

THE DAY BEFORE PAYDAY, by Helen Howard 54

EXPOSE OF TEDIUM, TERROR AND FISCAL TRICKS AT HUAC, by Robert Sherrill 57

MISS SMITH ON SNCC 64

BUSINESS RESPONSE TO THE NEGRO MOVEMENT, by Jack Patterson 67

TALMADGE TWENTY YEARS LATER 75

STATE OF THE SOUTHERN STATES 77

ESTIMATED NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH 88

RECENT BOOKS ON RACE AND THE SOUTH 91

RECENT PAMPHLETS ON CIVIL RIGHTS 92

POETRY:

TO THE HUNGARIAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS, by F. C. Campbell 53

ODE ON THE DEATH OF MEDGAR EVERS, by F. C. Campbell 53

NO CHANCE FOR THE NEGRO, by C. W. 115

ON THE SECOND RECONSTRUCTION, by F. C. Campbell 116

BUS STOP: AUGUSTA, GA., by Esta Seaton 116

Cover Drawing by Marge Manderson

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Officers of the Southern Regional Council: President, John H. Wheeler; Vice-Presidents, Josephine Wilkins, Paul R. Christopher, Rufus E. Clement, Stephen J. Wright. Executive Director: Paul Anthony.

DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION:
Pat Watters

MANAGING EDITOR:
Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT:
Marge Manderson

# We have to confess . . .

. . . this is a commercial, straight and unfiltered. Hard sell they call it on Madison Avenue, we believe.

Maybe you know us already and we surely hope you do. Maybe you have sent in your subscription for the next five or ten years. If so, we're humble and we're grateful and we thank you.

But maybe you've never heard of us. (That's hard to take, but we recognize the possibility) If so, we want to introduce ourselves and in the process tell you about our winter issue, which we modestly admit is penetrating, refreshing, stimulating and provocative.

NEW SOUTH, now issued quarterly by the Southern Regional Council, used to be pretty much of a loner in the South. We stood for (and still stand for) such unique and unpopular notions as equality and brotherhood and against such sacred Old South cows as segregation and racial discrimination. We're not alone anymore. A good portion of the more enlightened Southern press has come to accept the positions we espoused some years ago, and we're frankly delighted.

All of which is by way of leading up to the fact that NEW SOUTH is now shifting focus. We're going in for more in-depth articles now -- the sort of things you might find in The Nation, the New Republic, The Progressive. And, in fact, our winter issue features some of the writers you see in those magazines. Robert Sherrill, for instance, a regular contributor to the Nation, reports in this issue of NEW SOUTH on the HUAC Ku Klux Klan hearings. Pulitizer prize winner Jack Nelson, now head of the Los Angeles Times southern bureau, offers up an incisive view of current Southern viewpoints, both the changing and the unchanged. Margaret Long, SRC staffer, novelist and frequent contributor to the Progressive, reports provocatively on activity within the Movement. James Silver, professor of history at the University of Mississippi for 28 years and author of MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY suggests that the door to that society may be opening a bit in excerpts from his new book to be published soon by Harcourt, Brace and World. Leslie Dunbar, former executive director of the Southern Regional Council and now director of the Field Foundation, probes with the philosopher's instinct for the truth behind current, popular concepts toward a realistic solution of America's racial inequities. Jack Patterson, southern correspondent for Business Week, writes a penetrating analysis of the southern businessman's reaction to the Negro Movement. Vincent Harding, chairman of the Department of History and Social Science at Spelman College, author of MUST WALLS DIVIDE? and articles on the southern scene in national magazines, writes eloquently, movingly of the erosion away from redemptive love within the Movement. Dr. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist with the University Health Services of Harvard University and contributor to the Atlantic, Harpers, New Republic, Nation, The New York Times Sunday magazine; author of ''The Desegregation of Public Schools: a Psychiatric Study,'' published by SRC in 1963, evaluates the Southerner and his unique and tragic heritage against the backdrop of today's vast social changes.

Combine these articles with a quarterly state-of-the-southern states round-up of developments and trends in civil rights from the eleven state councils on human relations and it all adds up to the fact that NEW SOUTH is ''must'' reading for all who wish to be informed of what is going on in Southern race relations today.

But don't just take our word for it. Fill out the coupon below and mail it back to us with your 1966 subscription -- and find out for yourself.

## QUOTED FROM THE WINTER, 1966 ISSUE, NEW SOUTH

**"Perhaps it was all too wild a dream in the first place, this hope of redemption. Perhaps it was a child's fantasy in the sleep of night, or another Negro folk tale dredged up from the long dead age of faith. But if it was, then, who shall preserve us from the day, from this age, from the sudden blaze of fiery light?"—Vincent Harding.**

**"That Negro girl I heard talking in Harlem was a Southerner, even as Faulkner was, or Ralph Ellison in many ways still is. Their minds have all taken in the region's warmth, openness, and really splendid countryside. Most of all they have all shared the pitiable self-consciousness that allows neither exploiter not exploited whatever sanctuary the one thinks the other has."—Robert Coles.**

**"The tensions of the early sessions (of the HUAC hearings on the KKK) lasted only until one realized he was watching an encounter, complete with grunts and fierce chattering, analogous to the formalized grimacing and posturing of enemy savages, met in a deep wood, who do not mean to attack but only to save face."—Robert Sherrill**

**NOTICE:** Copies of recent SRC publications are available without charge with each new subscription of NEW SOUTH.

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Read 5/9/66 ARK - PUBLICATIONS

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

Volume 11, No. 3 NEWSLETTER May 1966

Hear ye! Hear ye!

Citizens of Pulaski County
Hear

EUNICE GRIER

"Segregated Housing and
the Great Society"

New Bethel AME Church
1601 Izard, Little Rock
Thursday, May 12, 7:30 PM

## MRS. GRIER VISITS ARKANSAS.

Mrs. Eunice Grier will speak May 11 and 12 in Arkansas. On Wednesday, May eleventh she will be consultant with the Fayetteville Community Relations Association, and on Thursday, May 12, will participate in Little Rock in plans made by a joint committee of the Conference on Religion and Race, the Catholic Interracial Council and ACHR. Her field of special competence is problems of urban housing. She is Director of the Division of Research of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, formerly was consultant for the National Commi[redacted]gainst Discrimination in Housing.

In the evening of both days Mrs. Grier will give a public address. In Little Rock this will be at Bethel AME Church, 1601 Izard. During the day she will confer with individuals and committees most concerned with the problem of ghettoizing trends in housing patterns.

With her husband she is the author of a new book, Equality and Beyond, Housing Segregation and the Goals of the Great Society. In describing the task at hand they write:

> "The task of overcoming and reversing the accumulated racial inequities of generations, and of eliminating the growing racial segregation which accompanies and helps perpetuate them, is not yet hopeless. But each year in which effective action is delayed, the task becomes less and less manageable. To eliminate segregation now calls for national resolve and sustained effort of many years. ... Do the American people possess the will and the courage to go beyond nondiscrimination and to move into a realm of positive programs for undoing the harm that segregation has already brought the country? And if they do not, are they prepared to accept the profoundly deleterious consequences that are bound to fall on American society?"

## EDITOR'S NOTE

The Arkansas Gazette in its editorial on April 25, brought up to date "the task at hand" in housing at Little Rock. In part it says:

"But there has been a clear trend, a trend toward the concentration of Negroes in one large area centrally located, and of whites in newer residential areas to the west and southwest. The movement is away from the 'pepper and salt' pattern in which Negro and white neighborhoods are interspersed.

"In appraising measures to modify the residential trend, the Arkansas Council on Human Relations is planning to organize a Fair Housing Association to work principally in providing nondiscriminatory residential listings and more opportunity for Negroes to escape the confines imposed by deeply established custom. This is one

EDITOR'S NOTE (cont'd)

"substantial area of action. ... but the directions of residential development in Little Rock suggest forcefully that it is time, or past time, for the work to begin."

JAMES FARMER AND STUDENT CONFERENCE

Our first statewide Student Conference on Human Relations was held on the campus of Philander Smith College on April 16. About 50 students came from seven Arkansas colleges: Arkansas State Teachers College, Hendrix, Little Rock University, Philander Smith, Shorter, State College, and the University of Arkansas.

Nat Griswold, in his "Purview of Problem Areas" challenged the students to more concern and greater effort in the field of human relations. Workshop sessions were conducted by Atty. John W. Walker: Southern Justice; Al Ulmer of the Southern Regional Council: Organizing for Community Action; Miss Joanna Edwards, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund: School Desegregation; and Ozell Sutton, Voter Registration.

The Conference was climaxed with a literate and moving address by James Farmer, the former national director of CORE, prssently head of the Center for Community Action Education.

MEMBERSHIP RENEWALS

A combined drive for members and contributions for ACHR was in process in March and April. Results are still being totalled.

Have you sent your renewals? Remember: your $5. can mean $1,000 for ACHR. The George Mitchell award for membership increase is $1,000. Send it now.

UNTIMELY DEATH COMES TO TREASURER OF ACHR

On April 20 in the midst of a busy useful life death came to A.M. Roberts, Jr., minister of Allen Temple AME Church in Pine Bluff and treasurer of ACHR. Memorial service at the church was in charge of Bishop Collins.

Father Walter B. Clancy, chairman of the Board of ACHR, gave a tribute on behalf of the organization. Ozell Sutton and Nat Griswold, directors, were present as were John W. Smith and U.S. Brown, both members of the Board.

DEATH OF REV. A.M. ROBERTS, JR.

It seems to us that the many words in tribute to him can be summed up in this: a man of integrity. The Psalmist spoke of such a man who "sweareth to his own hurt and changeth not": makes an agreement, a contract, and stands on it though he is hurt by it. Mr. Roberts long ago made an agreement with himself that he would act first as a human being and a child of God. He stuck by this agreement even to his own hurt.

The presence at the service of the leaders of SNCC testifies to his integrity. His church was used by them for meeting when others refused. Mr. Roberts belonged to the generation that naturally feels uneasy with rambunctious generation of student protestors. Yet he found common cause with these protestors in their deeper purposes which he was alert enough to recognize and courageous enough to pursue.

A man of integrity is hard to find. We have lost one. Many of us are called by him to make new agreements with ourselves as human beings and children of God. Only thus can his loss be restored to the forces for good.

QUOTABLES

"The real value of freedom of speech is not to the minority that wants to talk, but to the majority that does not want to listen." -Zechariah Chafee, Jr.

Gems from children's essays: "One of the rights people enjoy is the right to bare arms." "The Mediterranean and the Red Sea are connected by the Sewage Canal." "The climate is hotter next to the Creator."

UNEMPLOYABLES BECOME EMPLOYABLES

Joseph Ross, President of Federal Department Stores, comments on the company's training program for some applicants who failed standard employment tests: "Yet when these umemployables, as they are called by society are given specially designed counselling and training and placed in an atmosphere of acceptance, they prove to be productive, dependable employees." The basis for his opinion is this: all sixteen had failed standard employment tests and were automatically discarded as unemployables by other employers; but after completing Federal's training and counselling programs 14 of these became permanent employees of the company and two were employed elsewhere.

DO YOU KNOW THESE PUBLICATIONS?

The American Negro Reference Book, edited by John P. Davis, Prentice Hall, Inc. 991 pp., $19.95 (Ask your library to get it.) Work of twenty six authorities subsidized by the Phelps-States Fund.

Case Study of a Riot, the Philadelphia Story, Lenora E. Berson, Institute of Human Relations Press, 165 East 56th Street, N.Y., N.Y. ($0.75) An analysis of the violence which shook North Philadelphia in August, 1964.

The Tyranny of Poverty, a selected bibliography of books, pamphlets, articles, and memoranda. ($0.25) same source as above.

Ark - PUBLICATIONS

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

Volume 11, No. 5 NEWSLETTER September, 1966

## DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY AND AFTER

We do not care to join the Monday morning quarterbacks on this summer's election. The enveloping gloom over the nomination of Jim Johnson was blown away from us by the gentle breeze of the memory of another year. We had smug satisfaction in 1956 when we decisively defeated the "racist" Jim Johnson and renominated his moderate opponent, Orval E. Faubus. We have second thoughts over this "victory" for progress in race relations. Was that election the shortest path to the promised land?

Another thought bolsters our optimism. What could freshman Governor Jim Johnson do with his new legislature? Many of them will not go along with his pronounced anti-LBJism, his anti-federal aid, his anti-educational progress.

Will Mr. Johnson accommodate his views in the interest of legislative action and economic progress or will we have a legislative impasse? Should we elect Winthrop Rockefeller in the hope he cooperates with the new legislators? Whatever you think, throw your weight around with your vote in November.

## NEW ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Elijah Coleman, fresh from a summer of study at the University of Oklahoma, reported to ACHR office for duty on August 5 and has been "on the road" or "on the ropes" since. He attended the meeting of all the directors of councils on human relations at Atlanta, August 10-11. He made exploratory trips to Arkadelphia, El Dorado, and Camden. He met with the Fort Smith Council on August 26 and expects to meet with all local councils soon. His trip to Arkadelphia included a session of school administrators.

## FROM ELIJAH COLEMAN:

Greetings: It is indeed gratifying to me to become more closely associated with the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

## FROM ELIJAH COLEMAN (cont'd)

During my short time here I have found my work exciting and challenging. I have also found my co-workers and ACHR backers to be more than cooperative and deeply concerned about the problems and goals of the Council. Surely with such support and enthusiasm we can further the progress of the Council.

I hope I will have the opportunity to visit each local chapter in the state in the near future, in order to better acquaint myself with Arkansans who are concerned about improving human relations.

## LITTLE ROCK PLANS FOR GREETING COLEMAN

Invitations have been mailed (or will be shortly) in the Little Rock area to the reception for Mr. and Mrs. Elijah Coleman. The event will be at the Loggia Room of the Sam Peck Hotel on Sunday, September 11, 4-6 p.m. Members of ACHR outside Little Rock and North Little Rock are hereby cordially invited to attend.

The following committee planned and arranged the reception: Mrs. Sara Murphy, chairman; T.E. Patterson, Mrs. Catherine Lambright, W.H. Williams, Ozell Sutton, Rev. Walter Clancy, Rev. Harold Jackson, Mrs. David Boswell.

## THE FAITH OF A REAL LIBERAL

"All great reforms, great movements, come from the botton and not from the top. ... Wherever there is wrong, point it out to all the world and you can trust the people to change it." John P. Altgeld who as Governor of Illinois risked his political career to free the innocent Haymarket anarchists.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

PLEASE: RENEW YOUR ACHR MEMBERSHIP!!

If your mailing label on this newsletter has a small "r" on it, you have not yet renewed for this year. We do need your support! Thank you

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## ACHR VEP PROJECT

The ACHR Voter Registration Project has completed eight weeks of work in 14 Arkansas counties. Rev. Ben Grinage, Director, and field workers Jim Jones and Robert Whitfield have registered approximately 2,000 voters thus far. They hope to increase this number to 50,000 before the November general election.

According to Grinage, the difficulties encountered in registration efforts are due mainly to the lack of previous local community organizing. "It is our desire to stimulate the residents to commit themselves to organizing around voter registration and voter education as well as to participate in every election." Grinage has found members of ACHR across the state very useful contacts. He asks that members let him know what is going on in the various parts of the state, and how the ACHR Voter Education Project might be of help.

## HOW ABOUT THIS CONSERVATIVE LIBERAL?

James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond News-Leader, is a segregationist and self-styled conservative. But he has established the Beadle Bumble Fund "devoted to the alleviation of occasional palpable miscarriage of justice and to other imprudent causes." The Hanover County, Va., School Board banned as "immoral" the prize winning novel, To Kill a Mockingbird, the story of a white lawyer's attempt to obtain justice for a Negro client. Kilpatrick offered copies of the book free to the first fifty Hanover High School students requesting them, charging the board with exhibiting "the kind of small-bore stupidity that deserves to be roughly condemned." The author of the book sent ten dollars saying, "I feel the problem is one of illiteracy. Therefore I enclose a small contribution to the Bumble Fund that I hope will be used to enroll the Hanover County School Board in any first grade of its choice."

## BUILDERS PUBLICATION ON OPEN HOUSING

In a full page editorial in House and Home (July, 1966) published for building industry, Richard O'Niell says that without new legislation immediate progress can be made toward eliminating housing segregation. He declares: "Integrated housing is as sure as death and taxes, but hardly in the same unpleasant category." He makes this point: "Aside from the obvious moral issue, as a practical matter the housing industry's business could almost double if housing were freely available on equal terms to everyone able to pay for it. There is a potential market right now among

## OPEN HOUSING (cont'd)

minorities and lower income families for 12 million homes. By 1970 the industry should be producing 3 million homes annually." Experiences of builders selling on an open basis should reassure those who have not. He lists four pieces of good news from such experiences:

"1. Honestly offered open housing has not resulted in overwhelming number of sales to Negroes.
2. Sales to Negroes do not end sales to whites.
3. Upper middle and high income groups are the strongest non-white housing market.
4. When a fair housing law affects all builders equally, there is no problem in open housing."

## "THE ACCIDENTAL CENTURY"

Michael Harrington's newest book, like his first, The Other America, makes real the hazards hanging over Western man and the alternatives now open to him. It is another either/or dilemma. Either man becomes conscious of the revolution (accidental), already achieved by the new technology, and restructures institutions in response to it or he must suffer through an "inhuman collectivism without rational human direction; the accidental revolution is not moving toward a rebirth of poetry but toward an inhuman collectivism... In short if the new society is blundered into, then all the decadences described in this book will come roughly true... And yet there is the possibility that the West will freely choose a new society."

The radical nature of the problem must be understood: "It is rather a problem of transforming [not seizing] power, of changing it, of making new institutions. ... to marry engineering and philosophy."

"But if the accidental century were to become conscious of itself, the West would then stand on the eve of its fulfillment and could, humanely and democratically, once more become the promise of the entire world." Most people will wish to do as I did with this book: Begin with the last chapter.

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## REGISTER NOW!

DEADLINES:

SEPT. 6 - School Board Elections

OCT. 18 - November General Elections

...AND THEN VOTE!

Ark - PUBLICATIONS


# ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

Volume 11, No. 6 NEWSLETTER November, 1966


## YOUR VOTE DOES COUNT

It is often said by the apathetic and indifferent, "Why should I bother to vote, my vote doesn't count." If you have been one of those citizens who has used this as an excuse for not casting your ballot on election day, you might need to study the election returns for Arkansas of November 8th.

It appears from our observation that your vote did count during this last general election. We have noted that there were a number of local offices that were decided by a very few votes. In fact, we've been told that one majority office was decided by one vote.

For those of you who have been concerned about a two party system for the state of Arkansas, your vote counted, too.

## ACHR WINS $1,000 AWARD

At the annual SRC meeting held in Atlanta on November 16-18, it was announced that ACHR had won the $1,000 George Mitchell award for the greatest percentage of increase in memberships. ACHR had a 91% increase over last year.

The staff and Board of Directors thank each of you -- as a renewed or new member -- for making this award possible. This is a tribute to the concerned citizens of Arkansas. There is a great deal of work ahead of us, and we hope to expand our membership even further in 1967.

## UP COMING EVENTS

December 3, Saturday. Regular meeting of the ACHR Board, 1:00 p.m., ATA Board Room.

December 6, Tuesday. Annual meeting of the Little Rock Conference on Race and Religion. Topic: Housing. Time: 7:30 p.m. Place to be announced.

December 19, Monday. Meeting of Pine Bluff Council on Human Relations. Time: 7:30 p.m. Place: Simmons National Bank.

January 11, 1967, Wednesday. Fayetteville Community Relations Association will meet. Time and place announced later.

NOV. 30 FAYETTEVILLE COMMUNITY REL. ASSOC. ANNUAL MEETING 6:30 pm BAPTIST STUDENT UNION — DINNER MEETING.

## UP COMING EVENTS (cont'd)

January 14, 1967, Satuday. ACHR Annual Membership Meeting to be held in Little Rock. Make plans to be here.

## VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Rev. Ben Grinage, Director of VEP in Arkansas, recently expressed his thanks to friends of the Project who took interest in its activities.

Because of the interest and support the Project has been funded for continuing work. Rev. Grinage stated that he and the staff will now move toward setting up permanent machinery on the local level.

## PRISON REFORM

On Monday, October 24, a group of interested citizens, representing different groups, organizations, and communities, held a meeting on penal reform. Mr. John Boone, Director of the Criminal Rehabilitation and Penal Reform Project of the Southern Regional Council, was present.

During the course of the meeting a number of facts were brought out concerning the situation at the prison farms and the judicial process by which criminals are placed there. A former prison farmchaplin and a former inmate were present.

Up to this time there has been no group acting as a "watchdog" on the state board and penitentiary keeping the public informed and working for improvement and reform.

It was felt that a permanent group was needed to bring about lasting improvement. For this reason the Ad Hoc Committee on Penal Reform in Arkansas was formed with Rev. Walter Clancy as Acting Chairman and Elijah Coleman as Acting Secretary. Officers will be elected at a later date.

A brief report on the state penitentiary was prepared by the ACHR staff for this meeting. The office has a limited number of these reports left. If you would like one, just write.

## T.E. PATTERSON ELECTED TO SCHOOL BOARD

On the Sept. 27 School Elections Mr. T.E. Patterson, Executive Secretary of the Arkansas Teachers Association, was elected to the Little Rock School Board. This is less than 10 years after Central High School.

## YOUR DUES

Your dues and donations are most important for two reasons:

First, the obvious one: they provide real aid in meeting current expenses (mounting all the time as we expand our work).

Second, they help when we ask for a grant from a private foundation. One question that is almost always asked by foundation boards is, "How much money do your members provide?" It's a basic standard, and it means what it appears to mean: the larger the percentage of members' dues and donations the greater are the Council's chances of securing the foundation grants so necessary to full-scale projects.

So thanks for your support. Keep it up, and next time bring along a friend.

## A REVIEW -- by Beverly J. Hart (Neighborhood Youth Corps clerical aid working in the ACHR office.)

"Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program" published by Southern Regional Council

With the aid of recent legislation, increasing education, and greater financial security Negroes are restive at being confined to areas of old and poor housing. They are moving more frequently into formerly all-white neighborhoods.

Community groups formed to articulate these demands or to resist exploitation by unscrupulous real estate speculators have become units with great political potential.

Neighborhoods are particularly apt units in which to foster a strong community voice; common problems create common bonds. Neighborhood associations have developed in neighborhoods facing the fact or possibility of their first Negro family; neighborhoods which have been short-changed or ignored by city governments or federal agencies; neighborhoods which want to expand equal opportunity to include housing in their own area.

Neighborhoods that are cramped are inhabited by Negro citizens, cramped because the city lacks fair housing laws combined with prejudice or governmental inertia which has allowed housing discrimination to operate for years offering Negroes little possibility of escape into more comfortable, less crowded sections of the city.

This neighborhood with its many advantaged is marked. Real estate dealers view it as speculative property; they hope to buy very low and sell high. A middle income Negro family perhaps will purchase one of the houses owned by an old resident who wants to move to an apartment. When this occurs, or simply by suggesting it might occur, real estate speculators "block bust."

## REVIEW (cont'd)

Their aim is to change a block from white to Negro within a few weeks and to realize a large profit from the rapid change. So a house properly assessed at $20,000 may be sold for $14,000. This house will be resold at $25,000 to a Negro family desperate for housing.

White property owners have managed to cheat themselves by fright and foolishness. And neither does this aid Negroes, for they are victimized by the real estate brokers. Everyone loses except the speculators.

This is the picture, as dark as it can be made. There is hope, but only if the community will take action itself. No one else is going to save it; no one is directly concerned about stabilizing the neighborhood.

*** The Council office has a limited number of this SRC report. If you would like one, just write to the state office.

## NEWS FROM OTHER COUNCILS

The Virginia Council on Human Relations, in cooperation with leaders of the statewide religious community is holding a "Conference of People, Religion and a Changing Virginia," November 28-29, at Richmond.

## A STUDENT IDEA

A national "Thanksgiving Fast for Freedom" is again being sponsored this year on November 17 by the U.S. National Student Association. It will be the fifth year that college students voluntarily give up their evening meal to help needy Southern Negroes. The money saved is contributed to a central fund which last year went to the Poor Peoples Conference in Mississippi; paid for food distribution programs in 20 South Carolina counties; supported a cement block cooperative in Green County, Ala.; and paid for lunches for over 300 children in preschool centers in Sunflower County, Miss. The students' 1965 fast raised over $26,000, and the goal has been set higher this year.

Please renew your ACHR membership! If there is a "r" on your address label - you haven't renewed - We'll look forward to your renewal. Thank you!

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**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

20 February 1967

The Honorable John W. Gardner, Secretary
U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
330 Independence Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20201

Mr. A. W. Ford, Commissioner
Arkansas State Department of Education
State Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Secretary Gardner and Commissioner Ford:

The writer of this letter is the Executive Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, a private agency which is a state affiliate of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Georgia. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations (ACHR) has been involved in intergroup relations activities since 1954 and during that time has devoted much attention to the attainment of equal educational opportunities and equal justice for all.

Although significant improvements have been made in the quality of education in Arkansas, by and large we find that Arkansas remains near the bottom on the list of states when a nationwide comparison is made. The disparity still remains between the quality of education afforded white pupils and that afforded Negro pupils throughout most of the state. That this disparity and the economic disparity were sufficiently significant to warrant federal concern has been long manifest, and at last recognized by the United States Congress when it passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. That legislation, as you well know, was designed to upgrade the quality of education for all, but with particular and special emphasis

OFFICERS — FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • RICHARD GROEPPER, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOHN SAMUEL, 2ND VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. JOHN GRAY, SECRETARY
WILLIAM T. KELLY, TREASURER
STAFF — ELIJAH COLEMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • MRS. CAROLE TAYLOR, OFFICE SECRETARY

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all people*

offered to the economically deprived children, many of whom, of course, are Negroes. The hope, therefore, is that at last all children -- Negro and white, poor and rich -- will receive equal educational opportunities.

We understand it to be the function of your offices to implement the Elementary and Secondary Education Act through the various state and local educational agencies and to take necessary steps, in cooperation with these agencies, to insure that inclusive and imaginative plans are submitted by local school districts, and that these school districts carry out their plans in good faith and in the interest of all concerned, keeping in mind the intent of Congress at all times.

We are writing you because it is our belief that at least one school district in Arkansas has not fulfilled its obligation to your offices and more importantly, to the pupils in the district with regard to plans for and use of Public Law 89-10 funds. That district is the Palestine, Arkansas School District #18 in St. Francis County.

The Palestine School District has historically operated and maintained a dual school system for Negro and white pupils and faculty. That pattern continues, to a great extent, dispite an HEW approved "freedom of choice" desegregation plan. Significantly, Negro pupils in grades 9 - 12 continue to be "bussed" into the Negro school in the adjacent Forrest City, Arkansas school district; and those in the elementary grades of the Palestine Negro school receive grossly inferior education. Moreover, as an investigation will reveal, the district is using 89-10 funds not only to perpetuate racial segregation, but to widen the already existing gap between the education afforded Negro pupils and that afforded white pupils.

A group of parents approached our office for advice regarding the situation in Palestine. Because our organization is dedicated to working with state and federal agencies and with local people in helping them amicably and equitably resolve their differences, we are writing to your respective offices.

Several members of my staff investigated the Palestine situation and the following statements are based on their reports and on my general observations and experiences in the field of education in Arkansas.

A. <u>Cafeteria Construction and Food Lunch Program</u>

In 1965 the Arkansas State Department of Education approved a proposal from the Palestine School District #18 for funds under Title one of Public Law 89-10. The proposal included $31,500 ($19,211 from federal funds and $12,289 from school district funds) for the construction and equipping of a cafeteria to be located at 105 E. Wood

Street, Palestine, Arkansas, the site of the predominantly white Palestine School. The seating capacity of the cafeteria was planned for 150. A list of moveable equipment for the lunchroom is as follows:

| | Estimated cost |
|---|---|
| Serving counter | $ 1,450. |
| Clean and dirty dish table | 850. |
| Dishwasher | 1,500. |
| Cook table | 445. |
| Baker's table | 600. |
| Mixer | 600. |
| Refrigerator | 1,000. |
| Freezer | 1,500. |
| Oven | 435. |
| Range | 633. |
| Cooling rack | 125. |
| Tables | 650. |
| Chairs | 600. |
| Plates, silverware, glasses | 375. |
| Silverware baskets and dispenser | 75. |
| Pots, pans, cutlery | 350. |
| Dish racks and washing trays | 150. |
| Garbage recepticles | 100. |
| Taxes and freight on the above | 900. |
| | $ 12,338. |

In its proposal the school board maintained that Palestine School was serving hot lunches in a classroom in 5 shifts and that Palestine Training School (Negro) was serving no hot lunches. It further stated that the Negro school had a building used as an auditorium which could be converted into a cafetorium. The School Board proposed that lunchroom facilities be built at Palestine School with a kitchen large enough to cook food for both schools.

Upon inspection, the contrast between the two lunchroom facilities is striking. The Negro cafetorium is a low, wooden structure placed on concrete blocks. It has been recently repainted. Inside there is a small stage at one end of the room; a galvanized sink, a refrigerator, a chest for milk, an unuseable, corroded steam table, and a wooden counter are at the other end. Tables and folding chairs are stacked on either side of the room. Plastic dishes and bowls are placed on shelves under the counter. There are no doors on the low shelves, and the Negro parents state that after sweeping the floor the dust settles on the dishes. They also maintain that the water heating system is inadequate; often the water is not hot enough to

effectively rinse off the dishes before serving the children. There are no screens on either the windows or doors. It is alleged that the old dishes, bowls, silverware, tables, chairs, and refrigerator from Palestine School were given to the Negro school.

The low, brick cafeteria at the Palestine (white) School was added on to existing classrooms. A window view of the Palestine School cafeteria revealed a modern, well-equipped kitchen area with a stainless steel serving counter. There were screens on all the windows and doors.

In 1966 the Arkansas State Department of Education approved another proposal for Palestine School District #18 which included $15,700 for a Food Lunch Program. The following is the general description written by the Palestine School Board for this program:

> We propose to feed 100 needy children meals each day; these children otherwise would not be able to eat a hot lunch each day. The amount of money in the Food Lunch Program is large because of the need for equipment for the lunch room which would be a continuation of the 1965-66 project program. There is great need for this equipment because 200 more students would be able to have hot lunches. Under this equipment would be a pick up truck which would allow hot lunches to be carried to 200 students who otherwise would not have hot lunches.
>
> The Food Lunch Program would affect approximately 400 children 2½ hours each week for 36 weeks.

The Negro parents were told that 90 children would be eligible for free hot lunches, 60 at the Negro school and 30 at Palestine School. Since the first day of school when 60 hot lunches were served, the number of meals served there has varied from 25 to a maximum 54, with approximately half of these lunches served free.

The meals are prepared at Palestine School and taken to the Negro school on the rear of a pick-up truck. The trays of food are covered with a cloth or with waxed paper and are transported approximately three-quarters of a mile across a railroad track and over a dusty, gravel road. One parent stated that she saw an uncovered tray of cupcakes delivered by the truck. Much of the food is spilled during transport. The food served to the Negro children is generally in smaller portions, with "never enough to go around, maybe one tablespoon of vegetable," according to one parent. The food is always cold before all the children are served. The number of meals transported to the Negro school and the number of students anticipating a hot lunch are often unrelated.

The Negro parents are unanimous in their insistence that food transported in this manner is unsanitary and ask that some arrangement be made so that all the children can eat together in the cafeteria built at Palestine School.

B. Section 205(a) (7) of Title I, Public Law 89-10.

The Negro parents are very much interested in a personal services program which would include clothing, textbooks, and eye glasses. However, the Palestine School Board presented as its first priority of the most pressing educational need the statement that "both schools need lunchroom facilities" and that "all students would be involved" by the construction of a new cafeteria. The fact that personal services was listed as third priority seems to point out a lack of communication between the Palestine School Board and the Negro school patrons. The Negro PTA maintains that it has asked to meet with the School Board and superintendent but has been constantly refused. It, therefore, seems that the Palestine School Board did not work with the local community action agency in planning their proposal. However, it was written on the proposal that there is "no CAP in the district." Perhaps the Palestine Board was unaware of it at the time, but there is a CAP which has responsibility for the Palestine area. It is named The Eastern and Central Arkansas Economic Opportunity Council, 320 N. Rosser Street, Forrest City (St. Francis County), Arkansas (some eight miles east of Palestine.)

C. Location of the 1965 summer remedial program.

In the proposal for funds for 1965 a provision was made for an eight week summer remedial program to begin on June 13, 1966. The Palestine School Board wrote that it would "use the existing facilities of the school", implying the white school, to house the summer project. However, the program was conducted at both the Negro school and at Palestine School.

D. Discrepancy in school enrollment figures.

Under "Total School Enrollment" in the 1966 proposal the following figures were listed:

Total School Enrollment: 661

Palestine High School [white] [rated B by the Arkansas State Department of Education]
149 (60 educationally deprived, 40%)

Palestine Elementary [white] [rated B]
233 (98 educationally deprived, 42%)

Palestine Training (7-12) [Negro] [unrated by the Arkansas State Department of Education]
114 (60 educationally deprived, 53%)

Palestine Training [Negro] [unrated]
165 (92 educationally deprived, 56%)

Total for Palestine School (white): 382
Total for Palestine Training (N) : 279

The Arkansas Gazette of December 26, 1966 reported that the total enrollment for Palestine School is 361; and for Palestine Training School, 233; with 21 Negro students in the white school.

Palestine Training School has grades 1 through 8 only and does not offer classes as represented by the 89-10 proposal above the 8th grade level. Each day a bus load of approximately seventy seven Negro junior and senior high school students, grades nine through twelve, are taken to Lincoln High School (Negro), in the Forrest City, Arkansas school district #7.

We have brought the foregoing complaints and observations to your attention in all good faith because we are concerned that effective measures are adopted and taken to insure that all pupils in the Palestine school district receive equal educational opportunities and equal justice under the law. To this end we reiterate our offer to serve in any way to achieve these objectives.

Very truly yours,

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:cit

cc: F. Peter Libassi, H.E.W.
Derrick A. Bell, H.E.W.
Wiley A. Branton, Dept. of Justice
Herbert C. Kane, H.E.W.
W.H. Moore, Arkansas State Dept. of Education
Lamar Barber, Superintendent, Palestine School District

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**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

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Volume 12, No. 1 NEWSLETTER February, 1967

MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCE CAMPAIGN

The Executive Board, office staff, and Advisory Council of ACHR would like to express their thanks and appreciation to the more than 1,000 members throughout the state for their support during 1966. It was because of this support that the Council has been able to improve programming in human relations in Arkansas.

Since our membership and financial campaign will get under way in a few days, we thought we should explain some minor changes in procedure made by the Finance Committee and approved by the Board.

One of the most important changes is the setting up of a definite time limit for the purpose of soliciting members and contributions. The Finance Committee has blocked out a time span of 45 days, from February 15 to March 31. If we can reach our budgeted goals during this time, the staff and local councils would be free to get on with the business of organizing and programming.

Another change recommended by the Committee is a new dues category -- Associate membership with dues of $2 a year. It was felt that there are a large number of potential people in the lower income brackets who would like to be involved with the work of the Council.

The staff is asking each member of ACHR to bring in one new member. This way we could easily double our current membership. REMEMBER! EACH ONE BRING ONE!

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Membership Blank

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip code _____

| | |
|---|---|
| Full member: | $5. |
| Associate: | 2. |
| Student: | 1. |
| Organizational: | 20. |
| Century Club: | 100. |

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We would like to urge all those who have received renewal requests to send in your 1967 dues. Because we want to have one annual dues date, that is, in March of every year, we want to encourage the rest of the membership to send in your dues now rather than wait until June when we will have to send out a second batch of renewal requests.

1967 ANNUAL MEETING

We wish that all the ACHR members could have joined us at the well attended and enthusiastic Annual Meeting. At the meeting the theme of more and better jobs for all people was stated by our keynote speaker, Stephen N. Shulman, Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Chairman Shulman termed jobs and better paying jobs for minority group members "a crucial factor not only in the South, but throughout the county," and suggested that ACHR act as a catalyst for a statewide cooperative effort to achieve this objective.

As a beginning to this, but only a beginning, the Council is listing below the names of the Republican committeemen in several counties. Their

office will receive applications for state jobs which are vacant.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COUNTY REPUBLICAN RECOMMENDATIONS COMMITTEE

ACHR has received a number of requests for information on how to obtain a job with the state government. At the same time we have heard that only a few Negroes are applying for state jobs. The following people can help if contacted.

ARKANSAS COUNTY, W.H. (Bud) Cormier, 135 S. Tyler, DeWitt
ASHLEY COUNTY, Gordon Hartrick, Route 3, Box 194, Hamburg
COLUMBIA COUNTY, Ralph C. Weiser, P.O. Box 457, Magnolia
CRAIGHEAD COUNTY, James S. Grimes, 1201 Robin Road, Jonesboro
CRITTENDEN COUNTY, Dr. David James, 514 Roosevelt, West Memphis
DALLAS COUNTY, B.A. Drake, 210 W. 8th, Fordyce
DESHA COUNTY, Dr. J.D. Bilberry, Drawer 350, McGehee
DREW COUNTY, Jerry T. Davis, 509 N. Boyd, Monticello
FAULKNER COUNTY, Joe E. Leonard, Damascus
HEMPSTEAD COUNTY, Wayne Russell, Oakhaven
HOT SPRINGS COUNTY, George Eyerly, 1315 McBee St., Malvern
HOWARD COUNTY, Neal (Sox) Johnson, 311 W. College, Nashville
JEFFERSON COUNTY, William H. Dunklin, 4501 Elm, Pine Bluff
LAFAYETTE COUNTY, Harold Beasley, Stamps
OUACHITA COUNTY, J.C. Russell, Box 425, Camden
PHILLIPS COUNTY, Bankston Waters, 201 N. 10th, West Helena
ST. FRANCIS COUNTY, Dr. Reece Phillips, 2400 E. Broadway, Forrest City
SALINE COUNTY, George Smith, 1224 Jamison, Benton
SEBASTIAN COUNTY, J.C. Patterson, Lavaca
UNION COUNTY, Fred Wiedower, 1601 W. Black, El Dorado

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Recently, Rev. Ben Grinage, Director of the ACHR Voter Education Project received the following report originally given before the Pine Bluff Council on Human Relations. It is reprinted below at his request. Rev. Grinage hopes that other local groups will be able to use this report as a basis for work in this area. Interested organization may contact Rev. Grinage for further information.

"The Voter Registration Committee realizes that the right to become informed on public issues, the right to discuss those issues in public, and the right to vote are all the very life blood of democracy. These are the great privileges of free men. And of these, voting is most fundamental, for without the right to turn ideas into action, study and discussion become futile. But voting is not a privilege to be exercised only when convenient, as a hat is worn or left off, as the mood suits us. Voting is a solemn obligation.

"In a democracy the people are the rulers through their elected representatives, but if the people give up and refuse to rule, then someone else will step in -- a political boss, a dictator, or an organized, selfish group. The privilege of voting may be compared to a muscle in the human body; if this privilege is not exercised, it may wither away until it finally disappears altogether..

"Therefore, during the next two years, this Committee pledges to devote every effort toward the following objectives:

1) Leadership training
2) Citizenship education
3) voter registration

"Under leadership training we feel the need to develop or encourage a core of people who will take the time to become informed on procedure, on issues, and on candidates, and to prepare themselves to transfer this information to the less informed.

"With citizenship education every effort will be made toward teaching voter education, and first-class citizenship to those who do not know. We would like to somehow make everyone feel the importance of voting. Also, to inform the public through leaflets on the mechanics of voting. In addition, the use of the voting machine will be offered to PTA groups and other organizations (as soon as models or films are available.) We feel that some people are a little afraid of something so complicated looking as a voting machine. They don't understand it and fear that they never will. We feel that it is not too soon to start this training now.

"Under voter registration we plan to make an intensive effort to develop a survey canvass in order to obtain an accurate record on registered persons in each precinct. We intend to keep a card file on every registered voter, and on every eligible unregistered voter.

"We propose to organize streets into areas and have an area leader for each precinct, and captains for each block. Each captain will be responsible for not more than 30 persons. The captains will be responsible to the area leader in reporting every unregistered voter.

"The names of eligible A.M.& N. College students will be obtained through the IBM machine, and these prospective voters will be urged to register. A card file will also be kept on those who are already 21, and those nearing the age of 21.

"This is, of course, a mammoth job for a small committee, and we are in need of many more volunteers.

"These are our objectives. With your approval, we shall strive to accomplish these goals. We may be successful with some of them and fail in others, but we solicit your help and cooperation."

Committee on Voter Registration
Jane Ramos, Chairman

PAMPHLETS AND REPRINTS OF INTEREST

The ACHR office has a number of pamphlets and reprints. Rather than just throwing them out, we thought there might be some members who would like to have copies. True, some are dated,others are very current, but either way, you may find them useful and interesting. They are all free, but should you wish a large number of copies, we would appreciate a small contribution to take care of postage.

CHECK THE NUMBER OF COPIES DESIRED BY EACH TITLE.

_____ NASHVILLE, 1961, Equality between Negro and white reported by the Nashville Community Relations Conference

_____ THE PRAYER PILGRIMAGE TO THE 60th GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, the forming of a message to the convention and the church at large, Sept. 1961

_____ THE MUMMIFICATION OF OPINION, by J. William Fulbright, reprint from The Saturday Review, Feb. 12, 1955

_____ THE CHURCH SPEAKS ON RACE, official statements of the Episcopal Church and the Anglican Communion, The National Council of the Episoopal Church, 1959

_____ A PASTORAL LETTER ON RACE AND CONSCIENCE, The Greater Little Rock Conference on Religion and Human Relations, November, 1963.

_____ THE PASTORAL LETTER, The House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church 1958

_____ LET'S GET DOWN TO CASES, Jean E. Alexander; to help young people develop intelligent attitudes toward the problems arising in race relations, ADL, 1957

_____ WHAT SAITH THE SCRIPTURE? Rev. Richard C. Jahn, What the Bible says on race as set forth by a Lutheran minister, Arkansas Council of Churches, 1957

_____ RACE, RELIGION, AND REVENGE, William Stringfellow; Negroes in New York's Harlem; What do they say, as they look ahead to tomorrow?, reprint from The Christian Century, Feb. 14, 1962

_____ TURNING POINT FOR DESEGREGATION, G.W. Foster, Jr., Saturday Review, Dec. 17, 1960.

_____ A GOVERNMENT LAWYER LOOKS AT LITTLE ROCK, reprint from the Congressional Record, March 24, 1958

_____ ROLE OF THE NAACP, Harry Emerson Fosdick; Letters to the Times, The New York Times, Feb. 15, 1959

_____ McCARTHYISM UNDER THE MAGNOLIAS, Wilma Dykeman and James Stokley; reprinted from The Progressive, July, 1959

_____ THE BIBLE SPEAKS ON RACE, a statement of the Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church, Sept. 1957

_____ HOW TO WRITE A LETTER TO THE EDITOR, J. Stuart Innerst, Friends Committee on National Legislation

_____ THIS I BELIEVE, Haywood Hill, an Atlanta doctor talks to a Sunday morning class about the South, race, and Christianity

_____ SOME STERN WORDS OF JESUS ON RACE RELATIONS, Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright

_____ A BURNING BUSH, Jonathan M. Daniels, reprinted from The New Hampshire Churchman, June, 1965

_____ THE LUNCH COUNTER SIT INS, The Presbyterian Outlook, March 21, 1960

_____ WHAT RESEARCH SAYS ABOUT UNDERSTANDING INTERGROUP RELATIONS, Jean D. Grambs, reprinted from the Journal of the National Education Association, Dec. 1960

_____ METHODISM'S PRESENT TASK, A SOUTHERN VIEW, Bishop William T. Watkins, reprint from World Outlook, August, 1960

_____ THE AGONY OF THE SOUTHERN MINISTER, Ralph McGill; "he is pressed between his conscience, which dictates racial tolerance, and members of his congregation, who have set their faces against even token integration" reprint from the New York Times Magazine, Sept. 27, 1959

_____ JEFFERSON AND THE RACISTS, reprint of an editorial from The Washington Post, July 5, 1964

_____ TEXT OF THE SPEECH GIVEN BY STEPHEN SHULMAN, CHAIRMAN, EEOC. ACHR Annual Meeting, Little Rock, January 14, 1967.

Please return the checked list to our offices along with the following,

Name _____

Address _____ City _____ Zip Code _____

**********

MISCELLANEOUS:

A report by the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights revealed that it investigated 319 new complaints during 1966. Of these 250, or 78%, were of alleged discrimination in employment practices and public accommodations.

Legislation to repeal old Missouri laws that prohibit the marriage of white persons and Negroes or with Mongolians was introduced in the Missouri legislature by Rep. Harold Holliday of Kansas City. A companion measure would repeal felony provisions on miscengenation.

Ark.- PUBLICATIONS

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

Volume 12, No. 2 NEWSLETTER April 1967

Dear ACHR Members:

Since our last newsletter the staff has divided its time between our annual membership and finance campaign and organizing local councils. Fund raising is a necessary chore, for in order to program effectively we need a sound financial base. The annual membership dues of $5 provide an important portion of these funds. Dues are also essential because large, out of state foundations are insistent on evidences of greater local support before they fund any project.

Last year ACHR won the George Mitchell Award from the Southern Regional Council for the greatest percentage increase in membership. This year we hope to at least double last year's 1,000 membership total. Each of you can help out if you will bring one member to the Council.

Now about local organizing. I was very pleased to find that so many people in Arkansas are interested in the ACHR program and who are concerned about setting up local councils in their communities. El Dorado is our most recent affiliate with about 25 persons who regularly attend the meetings. Rev. Lymell Carter is the temporary chairman and Mrs. Virginia Green is the temporary secretary.

Magnolia, Hot Springs, Camden, and Arkadelphia will soon be ready to organize local affiliates. If you have friends in other cities, especially in eastern Arkansas, who would be interested in organizing local councils in their communities, please let me know.

This year I hope to bring the Council program out into the state, and during my visits I look forward to meeting you.

Sincerely,

Elijah Coleman

Elijah Coleman

## WHAT HAPPENS TO 89-10 MONEY IN YOUR LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICT?

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-10) is potentially one of the most effective tools for closing the educational gap between the culturally advantaged and disadvantaged children. It was the intent of Congress to offer a means by which equal educational opportunities might become a reality. Yet in too many cases funds authorized under Title I of this act have been mishandled, and the educationally deprived children are still hungry, ill-clothed, undereducated, and segregated.

Early this year the Arkansas Council received a letter from a group of parents in Palestine (St. Francis County, 8 miles east of Forrest City) concerning the lunch program in that school district: "The way District 18 is doing the program we feel that it is not right. We do not have a cooking place at our school. The food is cooked at another school about 3/4 miles and brought down about 11:30 o'clock in a truck and most of the children are not fed and they are really in need of food. Could you tell us why. They are not feeding pigs but they are helpless children. I think someone ought to speak out against the way it's done. Will you please send someone to help us, not only my children but the others in our community are in need."

89-10 FUNDS (cont'd)

An investigation by the Council revealed that Title I funds were apparently used by the Palestine District to build a cafeteria at the white school and to purchase a pick-up truck to transport food to the Negro school. The contrast between the two lunchroom facilities was striking: a poorly equipped, unsanitary wooden building and a modern, well-equipped brick cafeteria. The investigation also brought out a variety of other issues in this historically operated dual school system.

The findings were gathered in a seven page letter and sent to John W. Gardner, Secretary of HEW, and to A. W. Ford, Commissioner of the Arkansas State Department of Education, with copies to the appropriate state and federal agencies. Both offices have promised prompt investigations.

The other day the Council received a call from the Office of Equal Educational Opportunities in Washington. The representative assured ACHR that Negro high school students will no longer be bussed into Forrest City in the 1967-68 year (the bussing situation was brought out by our investigation), and that both the Forrest City and Palestine school officials were made aware of the position of the U.S. Office of Education on this matter. Of course, it is up to the Council and its members to maintain a close watch this fall and to see if these students do attend the white high school in Palestine. The portions of our letter dealing with 89-10 funds are still being investigated, and we will keep ACHR members informed about the results.

What about your school district? How are funds being spent there? Did you know that your district's proposal for federal funds are public documents and that you have the right to see them? It is up to the local communities to see that Title I funds are being used to benefit those children who are in great need of personal and academic services.

ARKANSAS COUNCIL WELFARE SURVEY.

In a report issued by the President's Advisory Council on Public Welfare it is stated that "Public assistant payments are so low and so uneven that the Government is, by its own standards and definitions, a major source of the poverty on which it has declared unconditional war ...

"Large numbers of those in desperate need, including many children are excluded even from this level of aid by arbitrary eligibility requirements unrelated to need such as those based on age, family situation, degree of disability, alleged employability, low earnings, unrealistic requirements for family contributions, durational residence, and absence of provisions for emergency assistance ... Neither the war on poverty nor achievement of the long range goals implicit in a Great Society concept can succeed so long as the basic guarantees of a practical minimum level of income and social protection are not assured for all."

The Arkansas Council has recently concluded an eight-week preliminary survey in St. Francis and Phillips counties concerning the public welfare program there. As a result of Howard Himmelbaum's interviews, discussions, and meetings, the Council believes that too many persons are receiving inadequate attention from the county offices of public welfare. Take the case of Mrs. Jones, 60 years old, living in a one room shack with no facilities for running water and no indoor bathroom. She has no source of income and must live off what people give her or what they throw out. Despite her arthritic condition which does not allow her to work, Mrs. Jones has been notified in writing that she does not qualify for welfare assistance on the grounds that she is able-bodied.

We have found that too many people are afraid of the welfare workers, anticipating embarrassment and rejection, and hence do not apply for assistance. Too many are unaware of their rights and responsibilities under the exisitng welfare system. That 6.1% of Arkansans are on public welfare (as compared to 4.4% for the U.S. as a whole) may not reflect the actual number of those who qualify or who are in need. The Council hopes to obtain funds to involve itself more extensively in the area of welfare, and to work with the poor in this state.

NOTICE TO ALL JAZZ BUFFS
**********

BENEFIT JAZZ CONCERT

For the Arkansas Council on Human Relations

SUNDAY, APRIL 30
4 p.m.
Fine Arts Auditorium
Philander Smith College
Little Rock $1 donation

Henry Shead Trio, Art Porter Trio, Fabulous Playboys, Rythmaires, Tasty Bagful, Inc., and others

ARKANSAS VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT.

Because the Council believes that citizens must not end their participation in democracy with registering and voting, the Council, in cooperation with the Southern Regional Council, will continue to work in the all vital area of citizenship education during 1967. Rev. Ben Grinage is attempting to establish local voter education programs throughout Arkansas in an effort to create a better informed and active citizenery.

On March 28 a statewide meeting of county representatives was held in the conference room of the Arkansas Teachers Association. Thirty one persons, representing 13 counties, attended. The representatives ratified a constitution and adopted the name "The Arkansas Council on County and Community Affairs." One of the main purposes and goals of this organization is to create in every county a council of organizations that would work together in their local counties and across the state.

The Arkansas VEP will lend its support to ACCCA with technical and coordinating assistance in the areas of community organizing, research, and educational information.

SERS REPORT ON DESEGREGATION.

Sixteen percent of the 3 million Negro students in the South are now attending desegregated schools, the Southern Education Reporting Service said Sunday, April 2, 1967. The pace of desegregation was up sharply over last year, when only 6% of the Negro students in the region attended schools with white students. During the current school year 305,665 Negroes were placed in desegregated schools while Negro enrollment increased by 74,790. However, more Negro students are enrolled in all-Negro schools than in 1954 when the Supreme Court handed down its first school desegregation decision. The South now has 2.6 million Negroes in all-Negro schools and less than 500,000 in desegregated schools. In 1954 the 11 Southern states had 2.2 million Negro students enrolled in completely segregated school systems.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE NEGRO.

According to the U.S. Department of Labor the 1966 unemployment rate for Negroes of 7.5 percent was the lowest since the Korean war. Still, "there was a slight slowdown in the rate of improvement for Negroes compared with that for whites." The jobless rate of nonwhites has averaged at least twice that of whites during the past decade. Secretary of Labor Wirtz said that reaching the hard core unemployed means "not waiting for the umemployed to come to us, but going out to reach them." Local councils should know what the employment status is in their communities. The council can undertake a statistical survey of the industrial potential in their area. The state office will assist interested local chapters in programming and research in employment.

SUGGESTION FOR LOCAL COUNCIL PROGRAM.

Very often documentary films can be used to motivate a group toward action, or at least discussion. The following may be useful to your chapter:

The Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice has produced and is distributing a 25 minute, 16 mm film titled The Mercer Project: A Path to Peaceful School Desegregation. This film, produced in Macon, Georgia, is the story of the efforts of the Macon Council on Human Relations to organize and conduct a project that would help smooth school desegregation in the city. It is available through Media Relations, Dept. MP, Community Relations Service, Washington, D.C. 20530. Films, which are "issue oriented" can be obtained from the National Education Television Film Service, Indiana University, Audio-Visual Center, Bloomington, Indiana. Ask for a copy of their catalogue.

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
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Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

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Volume 12, No. 3 NEWSLETTER June - July 1967

FROM THE DIRECTOR . . .

## Law Enforcement and Community Relations

Several years ago, a well-known and sometimes controversial national organization came up with an often seen and repeated slogan, "Support Your Local Police."

To the average American citizen this slogan is probably all too obvious because it is doubtlessly assumed that we as Americans do, as a whole, support and respect our local law enforcement official. We do not, of course, in the absence of certain research, attempt to validate or invalidate this assumption, but it can be argued that the Negro community would be less likely, because of past experience to have any real concern for the support of local law enforcement officials. This is not to suggest that the Negro community, or the Negro as an individual, does not have respect for law and order, because they do. The difficulty comes, as we see it, from the lack of communication between the Negro community and the local law enforcement agency.

For example, would the local police know that the Negro child has been brought up, if indeed not taught to fear, rather than respect, his patrolman; or does he know that in many Negro communities the local lawman is considered to be an oppressor, and not a community helper as is taught in elementary school. It may be concluded that the Negro child has been taught his attitudes toward all law enforcement officials by his parents. And if he has, it is because they were taught these attitudes by their parents and nothing in terms of communications has changed since their childhood.

The Negro parent would recommend and welcome a change of attitute toward the local law enforcement official, but he has not found a way of successfully communicating with those who are responsible for enforcing the law. Those communities wanting to move forward with a far-reaching program on law enforcement and community relations might well consider a proposal as drawn out by Mr. Harry Fleischman, Race Relations Coordinator for The American Jewish Committee. This proposal is being recommended to our state council for consideration by John Boone of the Southern Regional Council:

"1. Review their community police department budget requests and be represented at municipal hearings in order to support, where indicated, recommendations for salary increases and enlargement of staff to make police work attractive enough to compete with other professions.

2. Meet with police officers to get theri suggestions as to how the intergroup relations agencies can be helpful to them in the overall administration of their responsibilities and particularly in increasing two-way communication between the police officer in the neighborhood and local citizens.

3. Urge all civic-minded groups to aid in recruiting Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans into the police forces so that the latter may adequately represent their total communities.

4. Participate in efforts to secure additional public or private funds for intergroup training of police officers.

5. Work with other community orgainzations to develop support for the above programs.

6. Bring your supportive community position to the attention of the Policemen's Benevolent Assiciation and other organizations of law enforcement officers in the community and offer to work with them to achieve common objectives."

The Arkansas Council would be happy to cooperate with any community desiring to further explore this plan.

Elijah Coleman

STUDENTS IN URBAN AFFAIRS

For ten weeks this summer, June 9 - August 18, there will be a STUDENTS IN URBAN AFFAIRS seminar in Little Rock, Arkansas sponsored jointly by The Arkansas Council of Churches, The Arkansas Council on Human Relations, and The Arkansas Methodist Student Movement. It will attempt to provide 12-15 students with a maximum exposure to the major problems of an urban enviroment. Through an investigation of the local community institutions, the church, and the state and federal government, the participants will try to discover how these problems can be resolved.

To those of us living in an age of tremendous social and technological change, it has become increasingly clear that there is an imperative change, for a new understanding of the responsible stance in our secular age. This project is uniquely designed to provide real-life laboratory experiences in which students can learn to live in response and with responsibility in our urban technological society.

How Does It Work

The project is based on the daily involvement in the community of the participating students. Students will work in a specific area, i.e. public welfare, community service, United Fund, voter education and registration, tutoring, governmental functions, and housing.

Seminars will take place in the evenings with study and discussion. These sessions will include group discussions, lecture, films, and forums. Prominent leaders of the community and state will be resource persons. Most of these sessions will be open to 50 additional persons.

The group will live in cooperative arrangements with room and board provided for each participant.

Finances

A budget of $5,000.00 has been set up for the project. Each student is being provided with room and board. In addition scholarships of up to $300 will be given to each student at the end of the project. Funds will be coming in from a few of the jobs in which students are placed. Several groups and individuals have made pledges or contributions to the project. However a large part of the program remains to be financed in order to assure the students of full scholarships. Contributions are tax deductible and any amount will be greatly appreciated. Make checks payable to Arkansas Council of Churches-SUA.

ACHR ACTIVITIES.

Organizing Local Affiliates.

Organizing activities over the past several months have resulted in the formation of two local affiliates -- Wynne and Forrest City. Rev. C. M. Kennedy is the president of the Wynne Council on Human Relations. Rev. J. F. Cooley and Fr. Joseph Biltz are temporary co-chairmen of the Forrest City Council. We are especially pleased with the results of the ACHR's first move into eastern Arkansas.

On June 20 one of the "best organizational meetings," according to Elijah Coleman, was held in Camden. We hope that the Council will become active very shortly in that part of the state.

News from Local Affiliates.

North Little Rock. The Health and Welfare Committee of the North Little Rock Council will hold the first of a series of panel discussions on "Poverty and Community Affairs" on Thursday, June 29 at 7:30 p.m. at Laman Library, 28th and Orange Streets.

Conway. The Conway Council held its annual banquet in May with 75 members attending. Mrs. Robert Goodloe, Jr., president, presided at the meeting, and Fr. Clancy, chairman of the ACHR Board, was the main speaker.

Fayetteville. The Fayetteville Community Relations Association held its annual pot-luck supper meeting with the Southeast Fayetteville Neighborhood Council and the Community Club on June 1. The Fayetteville Association is currently informing its members about the use of federal funds for housing in the Fayetteville community. FCRA puts out an excellent newsletter which is very informative. We suggest a newsletter to all affiliates interested in broadening their contact within the community and in keeping their own members up to date on activities.

Welfare Project.

With the aid of a grant from the Southern Regional Council, ACHR is currently developing a simplified welfare manual for use by local affiliates and welfare recipients. Howard Himmelbaum is going through the material in the Arkansas Department of Public Welfare Manual gleaning the pertinent information which can then be put into a simplified format. Some interesting statistics which show how much more work and attention have to be focussed on the welfare situation in Arkansas:

1) The average monthly payment for old age assistance for 1965-66 was $64.93; for aid for families with dependent children, $71.87 (with maximum set at $115 a month regardless of the number of children); for the blind, $72.5; and for the disabled, $67.74. These figures reveal that welfare payments keep those in need far below the poverty level as defined by the federal government - $3000 a year for a family of four.

2) As of June, 1965 Arkansas ranked 48th among the states for monthly payment for AFDC (Adi to Families with Dependent Children); in 1966 Arkansas also ranked 48th.

3) In Arkansas 6.1% of the people are dependent on public welfare, while the average for the U.S. as a whole is 4.4%. This figure does not take into account numerous persons who do not qualify, at the present time, because of the stringent interpretation of eligibility rules; or who are fearful of applying for welfare.

ARKANSAS VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT.

In its initial attempt at creating a statewide, nonpartisan organization, the Arkansas VEP met with 30 leaders of statewide groups on May 21 in Little Rock. The conferees supported the plan to establish the AVEP on a permanent, statewide basis.

To further this goal Arkansas VEP, under the directorship of Rev. Ben Grinage and the AVEP temporary steering committee, is planning a statewide conference for Saturday, July 8, in Camden. The keynote speaker will be Wiley Branton, formerly of Pine Bluff, who is Special Assistant to the U.S. Attorney General. Workshops will be held in the three areas of Voter Registration, Citizenship Education, and Leadership Training.

The AVEP steering committee is composed of George Howard, Jr., chairman; Mrs. Maxine Collins, secretary; C.H. Jones; Rev. C.K. Yarber; and F. L. Curry.

On June 10 - 12 Rev. Grinage attended a conference for the advisory committee and staff of the Voter Education Project of SRC at Capahosic, Virginia. In addition to the two-day staff meeting, a meeting of civil rights leaders active in voter registration was held. Bayard Rustin addressed the opening session. Representatives of foundations, labor unions, and both political parties attended the VEP meeting.

RIGHTS OF JUVENILE DEFENDANTS.

On May 15, 1967 the U.S. Supreme Court declared that children are entitled to the basic protections of the Bill of Rights. The decision provides that children must receive proper notice of the charges against them. It further provides that children have the right to have a lawyer. "The child 'requires the guiding hand of counsel at every step in the proceedings against him.'"

The youth also has the right to confront and cross-examine those who have brought the charges against him. The decision also requires that "the child and his parents or guardian be notified, in writing, of the specific charge or factual allegations to be considered at the hearing." The child must receive proper warning that he does not have to say anything that may incriminate him and that he has the right to remain silent.

This important decision means that the U.S. Constitution guarantees the child rights and protections with regard to arrest, search and seizure, and pretrial questioning. He is assured the right to have specific notice of the charges and adequate time to decide his course of action and to prepare his defense. He is entitled to be advised that he can be represented by a lawyer, and if a felony were involved, the state would be required to provide a lawyer if his parents or guardians could not afford one. When a youth confesses to a crime, the court must make sure that the confession was given voluntarily and not through force or suggestion.

If ACHR members know about cases in which a child was not notified of his rights, or who has suffered at the hands of the police or court, please notify a lawyer or contact the office of the Arkansas Council.

THE NEW SOUTH.

We urge the members of ACHR to subscribe to New South magazine, published quarterly by the Southern Regional Council. The New South is a must for those who wish to remain well informed on current affairs in the southern region.

In addition to the regular features, "New South Notes" and "State of the Southern States," the Spring, 1967 issue included an article by Dr. Robert Coles entitled, "The Protesters" -- a sensitve interview study of several young participants of the civil rights movement. A comprehensive article about the Child Development Group of Mississippi, "CDGM: Who really Won?" by Pat Watters, is also in this issue.

Be sure to check the form on the last page of this newsletter if you wish to subscribe to New South.

## USE THIS MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION AND RENEWAL FORM

Make checks payable to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, 1310 Wright Ave., Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

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_____ Check here if you wish to subscribe to NEW SOUTH at $3.00 per year. You will be billed by the Southern Regional Council.

# The Language of Human Relations

**By Ozell Sutton**

It has never been so urgent for Americans to guard their speech about various religious, racial, and ethnic groups. Too often we give offense in our speech when we intend no ill-will. A conscious bigot uses all sorts of opprobrious expressions and does so deliberately. But many fair minded people of good will are unconsciously offensive. The latter is the group about which we are concerned. To hurt others by careless and unthinking remarks is one of the practices every civilized person seeks to overcome. Good human relations simply means good relating to humans.

### AVOID THESE SLURS

People who are chock full of animosity continue to use ugly substitutes like "papist" for Catholic, "Kike" for Jew, "greaser" for Mexican, "nigger" for Negro, "paddy" or "cracker" for Caucasian, "dago" for Italian.

The word Negro often is a tongue twister for those who are inexperienced in intergroup relations. A tip from the Fort Smith Council on Human Relations: Rhyme "Negro" with "hero" and you won't go wrong.

### IDIOMS TO AVOID

A treacherous heritage of prejudice is often found in such objectionable phrases as "Indian giver", "Chinaman's chance", "That's the Scotch in him", "Jew him down", "nigger rich" or "nigger in the wood pile".

### REFINED SLURS TO AVOID

In addition to vulgar words of contemptuous slang there are expressions which can be called sophisticated slurs. These too are to be avoided. For example, in speaking to or about Negroes, the word "blacks" is entirely unwarranted. Insiduous emphasis on breeding by use of terms with overtones such as "pedigree", "mongrel" and "half-breed" is never in good taste.

Sexual differentiations in labels are absolutely taboo for the intelligent. Nouns like "Jewess" and "Negress" are never to be used. Such distinctions of gender should not occur in English except in reference to poultry or cattle.

### INSULTING TERMS

Terms that generalize and stereotype a group of people, unfairly characterizing each individual in that group, are especially harmful. Minorities are never to be referred to as "they". "They want this" or "They want that" implies an isolated group of people, all of whom like or dislike the same things. There are just as many diverse interests among minorities as there are among the majority group. Similarly, bad usage in the racial pronoun: "you people", "your people" or "my people". "You boys" or by just "boy" to a man of a minority group is also detestable. Exceptions exist, of course, among close personal friends.

Likewise, jokes and jests which picture any racial, religious or ethnic group in a derogatory fashion are never to be used, neither in or out of the presence of its members.

### SKIP SELECTIVE TRIBUTES

The selective tribute is also out of taste. Negro athletes deserve praise as individuals, not as representatives of their race. Joe Louis was no more a "credit to his race" than was Jack Dempsey to his. This "credit to your race" phrase is at best a thorny bouquet. The speaker who refers to Marian Anderson as a "credit to her race" would never say the same of Lily Pons or Marjorie Lawrence.

ARK - Publications

# Watch Your Language!

II

**new ways for new days**

arkansas, u.s.a.

THE ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE, LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
FRANKLIN 6-3541

## BE ALERT

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations welcomed enthusiastically the "Revised Policies for School Desegregation Plans", popularly called the "Guidelines", from the U. S. Office of Education. The key provisions for the interest of school patrons are these:

1. The pivotal provision is that the dual school system must disappear. A school will no longer be identifiable as "white" or "Negro", either by the teachers employed or by the proportion of the student body which is white or Negro. In most towns in Arkansas it means only one high school. It means abandonment of obviously inferior buildings rather than rebuilding them.

2. The "free choice plan", so called, actually is not a plan at all but is a method for ending the dual school structure, a means to the desired end. When school officials elect the free choice plan, they supposedly already have accepted the goal – a unitary school system. If the method works the number of Negro children in formerly white schools and the number of Negro and white teachers integrated in the system rapidly change to such proportions that the schools lose their identity as "white" or "Negro".

3. School officials are "responsible for preparing students, teachers and all other personnel, and the community in general" for the changes. School administrators are to use their knowledge of educational methods to plan for their preparation. Title IV in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides federal funds for use in these plans. If local school administrators are not asking for and using these funds for preparation of all concerned, their good faith may be questioned.

## DO SOMETHING

1. Take a hard look alone or with other associates at what is happening in your school district. Get answers to these questions:

a) Do events indicate officials aim to end the dual school system or to continue schools for Negro children and schools for white children? How many white teachers are in formerly Negro schools? Do these teach full-time? How many Negro teachers are in formerly white schools as full-time teachers?

b) How has the free choice method worked? What per cent of Negro children were and will be in formerly white schools? ?% in 1965? ?% in 1966? Will this procedure ever end the dual school system? How many whites are in formerly Negro schools?

c) Are school buses integrated completely?

d) Have school officials used the help of the U. S. Office of Education in prepartion of teachers, students, and parents for change? Why have they not done so?

e) Do Negro teachers and principal(s) favor the present school system?

2. Get together a group of other school patrons and go over your observations and your concerns. Form a simple organization, if you do not have one, such as a committee for better education.

3. Go with a committee of your group to talk over your concerns with the most sympathetic school officials, superintendent or members of the Board.

You go not simply as a grievance committee, but as a committee for better education for all the children. You are ready to help school officials make the change with a minimum of discord. But you are committed first, last and always to the changes required.

You go with complete assurance that officials

Ark - PUBLICATIONS

need not fear the changes. To date all experience shows that an overall plan for system desegregation put into operation promptly causes fewer headaches and quicker adjustments by the community. Point out that the "bogeys" schoolmen feared in the changes of 1965 vanished when the steps actually were taken. Schoolmen need to be reassured and pressured to do what they must.

4. Have the same committee confer with Negro teachers and principal(s) to get their support for the changes, for the good of children and of the teachers themselves.

If you do not get satisfactory results from your efforts, notify the following giving exact information on the status of local school desegregation:

Equal Educational Opportunities Program
U.S. Office of Education
Washington, D.C.
Attention: Dr. John Hope, II

Mid-South Field Office
U.S.Commission on Civil Rights
167 N. Main
Memphis, Tennessee
Attention: Jacques E. Wilmore

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

# SOME SIMPLE SUGGESTIONS *on* SCHOOL DESEGREGATION *by the* NEW GUIDELINES *to* CONCERNED SCHOOL PATRONS

THE ARKANSAS COUNCIL
ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

## OFFICERS

FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY
DR. WILLIAM H. TOWNSEND
MRS. FRANK N. GORDON
REVEREND A. M. ROBERTS, JR.

## STAFF

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

OZELL SUTTON
Associate Director

CAROLE I. TAYLOR
Secretary



### ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 W. CAPITOL, LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Believing in the purposes and methods of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, I want to be enrolled as:

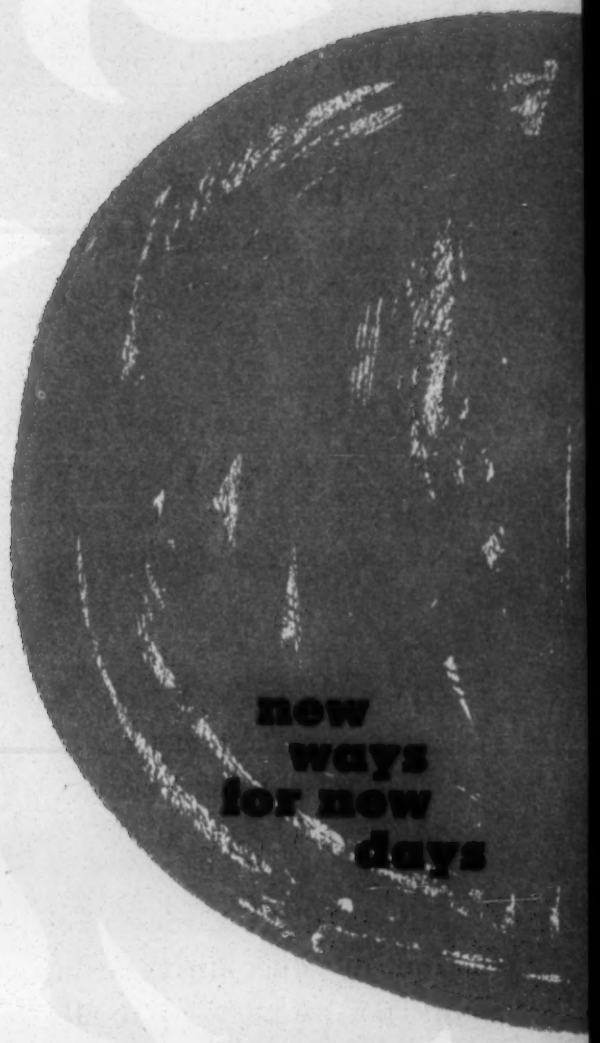
| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A full member | ☐ | Individual | $ 5.00 |
| | ☐ | Husband-wife | $ 5.00 |
| Student member | ☐ | | $ 1.00 |
| Organizational | ☐ | | $ 20.00 |
| Century Club | ☐ | | $100.00 |
| Contribution in addition to membership fee | ☐ | | $ |

Name _____

Address _____

Send _____ copies of this folder to me.

(Membership dues and gifts are tax deductible)




# arkansas, u.s.a.

THE ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL, LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
FRanklin 4-4521

***"All our studies come out at the same place: We are entering a totally new world and we are not very well prepared for it."***

*—Robert Hutchins*

**ACHR** would unite the energies of all Arkansans who accept the new day in human relations and would prepare for it, who would walk straight forward into the sixties neither pushed nor dragged by the forces of history.

**ACHR** would have Arkansas end racism, "our most serious domestic evil," by opening the same opportunities for individual colored citizens as for individual white citizens—in education, in politics, in employment, in housing, in religion, in art, in recreation, in health.

**ACHR** exerts its energies that citizens committed to new human relations may find united ways of acting, that the aspirations of Negro Americans may become articulate and understood, that the surge toward new freedoms by minorities may be strengthened, that officials may act with knowledge to open opportunities to all.

**ACHR** works for the new day through public meetings, through speakers and consultants, through conferences, by furnishing facts and interpretations to newsmen and editors, through literature and newsletters.

**ACHR** needs you to help press toward an Arkansas that emphasizes human resources and human values during its rapid economic growth, "where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where there will be no double standard in housing, in health, in education or other public services; where every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and respect in recognition of his creation in the image of God."

**ACHR** urgently needs the help of all who seek new ways for new days. Please join and contribute.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## ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1310 WRIGHT AVE., LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
Telephone FR 6-3541

Believing in the purposes and methods of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, I want to be enrolled as:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A full member | ☐ | Individual | $ 5.00 |
| | ☐ | Husband-wife | $ 5.00 |
| Student member | ☐ | | $ 1.00 |
| Organizational | ☐ | | $ 20.00 |
| Century Club | ☐ | | $100.00 |
| Contribution in addition to membership fee | ☐ | | $ ..... |

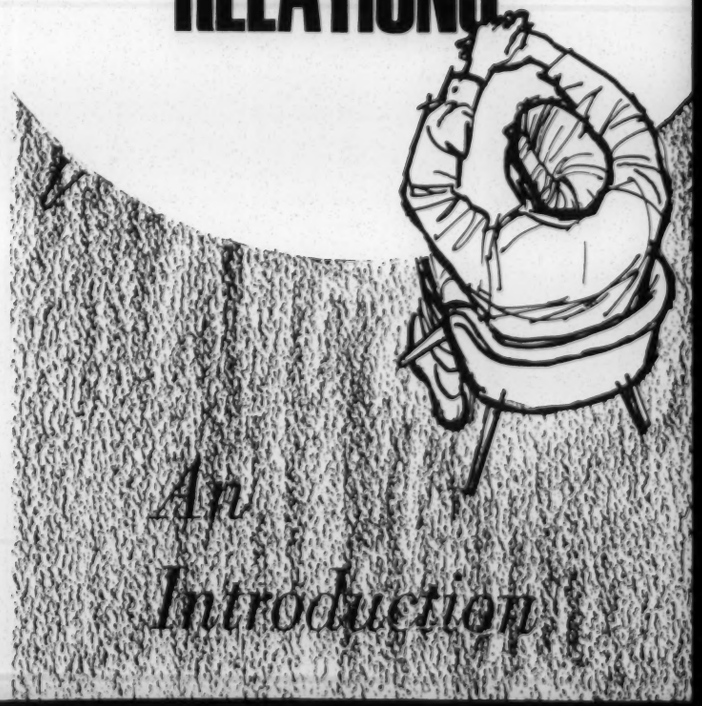
Name _____

Address _____

Send _____ copies of this folder to me.

(Membership dues and gifts are tax deductible)

# ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS



*An Introduction*

## What Is ACHR?

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations is a voluntary, non-profit, non-political, and non-sectarian association of Arkansans of all races and creeds who seek equal opportunity for all citizens. It is a private (non-governmental) organization, incorporated under the laws of Arkansas.

## What Is The Purpose Of ACHR?

The Council seeks to improve human relations by working to secure equal opportunity for all people. Good human relations simply means relating well to others. ACHR works toward the day "when the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race, when all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement, when there will be no double standard in housing, in health, in education or other public services, when every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and respect in recognition of his creation in the image of God."

## How Does ACHR Work?

The Council seeks "transition without tragedy" and uses and advocates the conference table and workshop to achieve its purposes. It uses imagination and creativity to bring people together across racial, ethnic, and religious lines in search of answers to the problems which separate them. Its methods are negotiation, mediation, and persuasion.

## How Is ACHR Organized And Who Decides Policy?

The Council is an autonomous body governed by a Board of Directors elected by the membership at its annual meeting. The Board meets monthly, sets policy, and generally oversees the work of the staff. Local councils exist in a number of cities through which programs seeking equal opportunities for minorities in housing, employment, education, etc., are carried on.

The Council is associated with the Southern Regional Council headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia. SRC assists ACHR financially through grants-in-aid and in programming through research materials and information.

## What Is The History Of ACHR?

The Council was organized in December, 1954, incorporated and staffed in 1955. Its predecessor was the Arkansas Division of the Southern Regional Council. Among ACHR's incorporators were Harry Ashmore, then the Executive Editor of the Arkansas Gazette; the late Reverend Charles C. Walker, and Fred K. Darragh, Jr., a Little Rock businessman.

The Southern Regional Council traces its history back to 1919 when a group of the South's leading churchmen formed the Commission on Interracial Cooperation to encourage the interchange of ideas and mutual understanding between Negroes and whites. The Commission was succeeded in 1944 by the Southern Regional Council, organized by a group of distinguished Southern leaders.

## How Is ACHR Financed?

The operating costs of the Council are underwritten primarily by its members and contributors with some assistance from foundation grants and the Southern Regional Council.

## Who May Join ACHR?

Persons who believe in ACHR's philosophy and who wish to support its cause of equal opportunity are invited to become members. Simply fill out the application form and mail it to the state office. You may send dues or contributions by check or money order, or be billed later.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

March 26, 1965

The Rev. Walter Clancey
President
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Father Clancey:

Les has discussed with me your interests in seeking funds for a special project. If you will send us a brief written proposal we will be happy to rework it and put it in the shape of a foundation request. This we'll return to you along with suggestions of appropriate foundations.

Incidentally, all of us are pleased and grateful that you have taken on the presidency of ACHR. We are eager to be of any possible help.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 Wright Ave ~~1220 WEST CAPITOL~~
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR ~~4-4521~~
6-3541

4 March 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed.:

This is just a note to thank you personally for your part in our annual meeting last week.

I especially appreciated the opportunity to talk personally with you and to profit from your very considerable experience in the work of human relations. As I remarked to you Saturday, we do tend to feel isolated and far away here in Arkansas. Your being at our meeting and speaking to our concerned people was a big boost to us here, and I just wanted to let you know I appreciate it. I discussed the business with Nat, and I really believe we can work out something here. We still need some help, of course. What about the possibilities of our obtaining an Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation grant for an apprentice staff person? Is there any possibility?

You will be hearing from me from time to time about the ongoing work of the Council here. Again, thank you for your help in coming here to be with us.

With the very kindest of personal regards, I remain

Sincerely,

Walter B. Clancy, jr

(Rev.) Walter B. Clancy
Chairman

WBC:cit

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

March 10, 1966

The Reverend Walter B. Clancy, Chairman
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Ave.
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Father Clancy:

Paul says that no grant-request should be sent to Taconic Foundation. They provide a big part of our regular grant-in-aid money and have specifically said that no requests from individual state councils will be considered.

There can be no harm in asking Field for, say, $3,600 directly. If Les asks Paul about it, as he almost surely would, Paul would give a favorable response. Although he could not honestly give such a project an enthusiastic endorsement, he could point out that it would have some helpful side-effects. Incidentally, Les was sent a copy of Nat's Original letter.

As I said, there is very little likelihood that Field Foundation will buy any of this, but there is always a chance.

There is no chance of getting additional money from SRC for this purpose. Sorry about that. Paul sees no reason why, if local support even continues at the presently-expected level, you cannot set aside $3,300 of the $8,000 Ford grant for Nat, raise Ozell's salary as planned, and, with the remaining $3,000 (approximately), plus Nat's old salary, employ an assistant at a respectable salary. I guess the problem is that you had some additional program

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

15 March 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director, Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Thank you for your kind letter. I talked to Nat, and he is preparing a proposal to send to the Field Foundation. We will send the first draft to you for comments. Then, as I understand, you want us to apply directly to the Foundation with a copy to you for your endorsement. This is what we will do.

If we are unsuccessful here, we will get our pencils out and do as you suggested in your letter.

Thanking you again for your many personal efforts on our behalf, I remain

Sincerely,

Walter B. Clancy

(Rev.) Walter B. Clancy
Chairman

file

WBC:cit

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

May 4, 1967

The Reverend Walter B. Clancy
St. John's Seminary
2500 North Tyler
Little, Rock, Arkansas

Dear Father Clancy:

This letter is prompted by a general concern, which Paul and I have been discussing from time to time, that the staff of the Arkansas Council may not fully understand the limitations under which the Council must operate under the terms of their charter as a tax-exempt organization. I am writing at Paul's suggestion; we thought it might be best to share this concern with you, as head of the policy board, and leave it to your judgment whether the matter needs further attention and, if so, how best to attend to it.

We understand, of course, from Vernon Jordan, that the specific case of the VEP has been satisfactorily resolved, with a "meeting of minds" all around. Thus we are no longer anxious about that case; it enters in, here, only as one more instance of a general lack of awareness of the rules of the game for an "eleemosynary organization."

Other than the VEP business, a case in point is a bit of lobbying that Elijah did for the human resources bill. Under the circumstances it may not be of any consequence--probably is not. But were the circumstances different, it could be detrimental. Also, once or twice we have noticed phrases in reports like the one in a recent proposal for a welfare project: "We also think that the materials already gathered can be used by civic groups as a basis to propose some liberal legislation in the state legislature."

While those of us who more or less follow these developments aaaaware that such activities of the Arkansas Councill are generally in the nature of providing information when called upon, a hostile interpretation could be that more and more attention is being given to lobbying. The distinction is sometimes difficult to draw. I suppose the point is that it is best not to get too close to the line too often.

Perhaps I could talk to Elijah about this at our next state council directors' meeting, but that will not take place for some time. Paul and I just thought that if, intthe meantime, you should find an appropriate occasion to discuss it with him, it might be helpful.

With all good wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/cl

June 19, 1967

Father Walter B. Clancy
St. John's Seminary
2500 North Tyler
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Father Clancy:

We have now completed arrangements for our meeting of the state council chairmen on July 7 and 8. I hope that you are still planning to attend.

We shall begin our meeting in the SRC conference room at approximately 2:00 P.M. on Friday, July 7,1967. We can take care of some of the less important matters at this time and meeting in the SRC office will give you opportunity to meet and consult with various members of our staff.

That portion of the meeting will break up at about 5:00 P.M. and we will go to the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel for a dinner togehher at 6:30. We can continue our discussions for a time after dinner. We plan to reconvene at the Biltmore on Saturday morning and continue our meeting until about 12:30 or 1:00 P.M.

A room reservation has been made for you at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel.

This will be a very important meeting. We shall be discussing matters of viatl interest to both the councils on human relations and the Southern Regional Council. I am looking forward to seeing you.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/cl

October 2, 1967

Father Walter B. Clancy, Chairman
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
St. John's Seminary
2500 N. Tylre
Little Rock, Arkansas 72207

Dear Father Clancy:

This is to invite you to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel on November 1, 2, and 3, 1967.

We anticipate that this meeting will be of unusual importance in the formulation of the future program of the SRC and its relationship to the councils on human relations. We think it will be more than ordinarily helpful to have you, as chairman of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, on hand as the members of the Southern Regional Council consider these matters. Therefore, we are this year making an exception to our usual policy and are able to pay travel and entertainment expenses for state council chairmen and executive directors, as well as for members of the SRC.

Enclosed is a form on which you may indicate your acceptance of this invitation and the accommodations you need.

As last year, the dinner on November 1 will be in honor of the state councils. We want you to sit at a table on the dias, and the program that evening will be devoted to the councils.

With all good wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:rh

Enclosure

January 24, 1968

AIR MAIL

The Rev. Walter B. Clancy
St. John's Seminary
2500 North Tyler
Little Rock, Arkansas 72207

Dear Father Clancy:

I just received a note from Carole telling me that you are assigned to a parish at Eureka Springs. Needless to say, she is more than a little distressed on behalf of the Arkansas Council, because you won't be on the Board. (I don't know why not, unless you just don't want to be.)

Let me take this occasion to thank you for your long and unstinting service to and through the Arkansas Council. Also, I wish you all the happiness in Eureka Springs, which of course will never be the same again.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/cl

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

12 August 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Somehow I misplaced the notes I had on the paperback book program. Please send me information on both book projects.

Sincerely,

Elijah Coleman

Elijah Coleman
Associate Director

EC:cit

file
New file under Arkansas

Done 8/18/66

OFFICERS – FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN
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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

October 10, 1966

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Acting Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Elijah:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $1,150.00. This is the quarterly payment of our regular grant-in-aid to the Arkansas Council. Thank you for the good quarterly report.

At your convenience, please sign the enclosed receipt carbon and return it to me.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES/km

Enc. Check
Carbon Copy

October 11, 1966

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Acting Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Elijah:

I want to elaborate a bit about the good report mentioned in my letter transmitting our quarterly-payment check.

Your quarterly report was interesting reading. It is especially encouraging to know that you and Fr. Clancy are actually working on organization of new council affiliates in so many places. Your day-by-day outline of your activities was helpful (not too detailed, which is good) and the brief summary of the more important relevant news items also good. What I liked most of all was the section where you stated a problem, told what action you took (or the council or a member of it took), and what the results were. That <u>really</u> helps us to get the picture, and I hope you will keep it up.

It would be helpful if you would send us two (2) copies of these reports, so that one can go into my files at once and one can circulate to certain staff members here.

If you have not yet sent a financial report and membership report this should be done. You can see about what we want by checking your files

there. These statistical reports are supposed to be sent every month. If you mimeograph them and send a copy to each of your Board members, it helps to keep them informed right up to date, too.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES/km

November 15, 1966

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Acting Director
Arkansas Council on Human
Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Elijah:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $2,000.00, the quarterly payment due on this date on our expanded grant-in-aid to the Arkansas Council for 1966.

Please sign the enclosed receipt copy of this letter and return it to me at your convenience.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

Enclosures: check
receipt copy

November 29, 1966

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Acting Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

You are already aware, I am sure, of the approval by the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council of a grant-in-aid of $13,600 to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations for 1967.

The amount combines our regular and expanded grants, which were separate in 1966. As noted in the "Grant-in-Aid Conditions," a copy of which is enclosed, one-fourth of this sum will be remitted, subject to fulfillment of the requirements, on or after the first of each quarter of the calendar year.

Please read carefully the grant conditions, especially the reporting requirements in item 3 and the general purpose stated in item 4, to which they are directed.

We are gratified by the response of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations and of the state councils generally--to the purpose of the expanded grant-in-aid program in 1966, and we are happy to be able to continue our financial support at this high level for another year. We are compelled to reiterate, however, that support of general operations at this level cannot be regarded as likely for more than one additional year.

Be assured of our good wished and all possible assistance for the Arkansas Council in 1967.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

Enclosure

December 7, 1966

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Acting Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

Mrs. Tilly was enthusiastic about her meeting in Little Rock and high in praise of the work of the Arkansas Council staff. Congratulations.

She mentioned Mr. Williams as your assistant. It seems to me that I had heard, vaguely, that you had added someone to your staff, but with my illness during the annual meeting I failed to get details. Could you send me some information about Mr. Williams, his background, title, date of employment, etc., for my newsletter.

Let me take this opportunity to thank you and the Arkansas Council for the good work you have been doing, particularly in developing local councils, programming for and through them, and building sources of local support.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

file

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

12 December 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Thank you for your letter of December 7th.

We enjoyed having Mrs. Tilly with us and hope that some good will come out of the meeting.

About Mr. Paul Williams, he joined the staff on September 26th as Research Assistant. Born and raised in Fort Smith, he recently graduated from Hendrix College in Conway, Arkansas. His major was history and political science. This last summer he was in the Council's student project, Students in Urban Affairs and was very active in the political campaigns. He has done research on The Background Report on Arkansas Prisons and continues to work with our penal reform group. Also, he does student work and local council work.

I hope that this will give you some information on Paul.

Sincerely,

Elijah Coleman

Elijah Coleman
Acting Director

EC:cit

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II

file

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

13 December 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

I have been notified by the National Education Association, Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the meeting to be held in Washington on February 9 and 10, 1967.

Since receiving this letter from the Commission, I had wondered how I would be able to attend in light of our finances.

I do feel it is important that all state councils would have representation at this meeting, and I can think of no better way than what you have suggested in your memorandum.

Thank you for your concern.

Sincerely,

Elijah Coleman

Elijah Coleman
Acting Director

EC:cit

OFFICERS – FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN
REVEREND A. M. ROBERTS, JR., TREASURER • MRS. FRANK N. GORDON, SECRETARY
STAFF – NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

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ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

15 December, 1966

It appears that Human Relations are improving in Arkansas.

What about Georgia?

A.C.H.R.

OFFICERS – FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN
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# Prosecuting Attorney-elect Names Negro as Deputy for Pulaski, Perry

Christopher C. Mercer Jr., 42, of 2200 Rice Street, a Negro lawyer, will be appointed a deputy prosecuting attorney for Pulaski and Perry Counties January 1, Prosecuting Attorney-elect Richard B. Adkisson announced Wednesday.

Adkisson said Mercer would be the first Negro deputy prosecuting attorney in history for the two counties, which comprise the Sixth Judicial District, and that he probably was the first Negro deputy prosecutor in the South in modern times.

Adkisson made the announcement Wednesday night in a speech before the Roundtable Fellowship, an organization of Negro civic leaders in the community, held at the Arkansas Teachers Association building at 1310 Wright Avenue. Mercer also attended.

Mercer, a native of Pine Bluff, was the third Negro to enroll in the University of Arkansas School of Law in 1949, but lack of finances kept him from going through the School without interruption. He was back in the School in 1954, when he passed the state bar examination, making the highest score in the group of 37 students who took it. He was admitted to the bar on May 17, 1954, the day the United States Supreme Court handed down its famous "Brown" decision holding that no child could be denied entrance to a white school because of color.

Staff Photo.

CHRISTOPHER MERCER Jr.

Mercer received his law degree in January 1955 and set up private practice at Pine Bluff. Two years later, he came to Little Rock in an executive job with the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. From November 1957 to June 1958, he was Arkansas state field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. After that, he resumed private law practice, staying at Little Rock.

Mercer and his wife, the former Miss Inez Le May of Little Rock, have seven children. Mercer is an elder in Allison Presbyterian Church.

Adkisson said he would announce other deputy prosecuting attorney appointments before January 1. This was his second announcement. A few days ago, he announced that James R. Howard would be his chief deputy.

file

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

20 December 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

I have just finished talking with Fr. Clancy concerning our fund raising activities for the 1967 year.

In the past we have not been quite as successful as we would like to have been. It is felt by some members of the Board, and I share this feeling with them, that we have not programmed in such a way as to get the desired results.

Father informed me that you are probably the best source of information on this kind of activity. Could you please forward me any information that you might have that would assist our organization in structuring a more successful fund raising project.

Sincerely,

Elijah Coleman

Elijah Coleman
Acting Director

EC:cit

P.S. If your schedule permits I would like to ask you to come to Arkansas during the month of January to meet with our fund raising committee. Our annual meeting will be January 14, perhaps you can visit then.

OFFICERS – FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN
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STAFF – NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

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December 23, 1966

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Acting Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

In reply to your letter of December 20 I am enclosing a copy of the mimeographed plan and schedule that we devised for our fund-raising campaign among members and friends of the Alabama Council. Some adaptation of it might serve your needs in Arkansas. The basic scheme is the same, I think, for any similar fund-raising effort by a membership organization.

I would be happy to come to Little Rock to meet with your fund raising committee sometime in January. Unfortunately I am committed to attend the Virginia Council's annual meeting on January 14. The whole week January 16-20 is also filled for me, but other than that my calendar for January is clear at the moment. Let me know as soon as possible if and when you would want me to come.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

December 27, 1966

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Acting Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Elijah:

Thanks for sedding me a copy of "A Handbook for Local Councils on Human Relations." It was an excellent idea to draw the information together in a neat package. Well done.

I assume that you have sent a copy to each of the state councils. If not, please do so. Also, could you send me about a dozen copies to keep on hand here?

You guys are doing a good job.

Best wihhes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

December 30, 1966

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Acting Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little,Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

We are happy to respond favorably to the request of the Arkansas Council for $885.00 to conduct a welfare study in two or three eastern counties of Arkansas. Our check in that amount is enclosed.

Please sign and return to me the enclosed receipt carbon of this letter.

Thank you for the careful, thorough preparation of this proposal. Very impressive.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

Enclosures

P. S. Would you send me more information about Mr. Howard Himmelbaum? Is he a permanent employee of the ACHR?

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

6 January 1967

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

First, please allow me to express my appreciation to you and Paul for approving our request for funds to do this much needed study in eastern Arkansas.

This office can assure you that we shall do the best possible job of researching conditions there and will keep your office informed as to our progress.

About Mr. Himmelbaum. Howard is not a permanent employee of ACHR, but he has done much free "leg work" for our organization and the NAACP Inc. Fund here in the state. As for his background, he came to the state as a SNCC field worker, and since that time has left the organization but continues to do work when called upon. Howard is a good organizer, and has extensive contacts throughout Arkansas, especially in eastern Arkansas.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

Elijah

Elijah Coleman
Acting Director

EC:cit

Enclosure

P.S. Good things run in the same family; see enclosed clipping.

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January 6, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

Thanks for the very good quarterly report and for sending two copies of it. I have marked the extra copy and circulated it to the special project directors and others in the office here for their information.

I think you guys deserve special commendation for your work on prison reform, school desegregation, and efforts to organize new local councils, as well as to develop the programs of existing ones.

We will send the quarterly payment on your grant-in-aid as soon as we get your statistical reports on membership and finance. If you need an exception to this rule, however, just let me know.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

January 13, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Acting Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $3,400.00, the quarterly payment on our grant-in-aid for 1967 to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Please sign the enclosed receipt copy of this letter and return it to me for our auditors' records.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

Enclosures (2)

January 16, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Elijah:

Thank you for the statistical reports for the last quarter of 1966 and congratulations on the growth of the Arkansas Council revealed by them.

A membership exceeding a thousand in Arkansas is indeed amazing. I also note that the total funds raised from local forces in business contributions, individual contributions, and memberships exceeds thirteen thousand dollars. A little more intensive cultivation of individual contributions, together with the normal growth of the council, should put the Arkansas Council well on the way to a basically self-sustaining foundation.

All good wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

26 January 1967

Mr. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Enclosed are reports 1 and 2 of our welfare investigation project. We apologize for being late, but we've been under an extremely heavy work load. The accounting of the grant will be submitted at the end of this month along with the ACHR financial statement.

I think the reports are self-explanatory. We are pleased with Howard's work and hope these investigations lead to further intensive study and organization. I am sure you understand that at this time these reports are for your own information. The less publicity we have, the more freedom Howard will have in conducting his interviews.

We welcome any suggestions or criticisms about the reports.

Sincerely,

Elijah Coleman
Acting Director

EC:cit

Enclosures

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February 13, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

Thanks for sending so promptly your financial report for January and the current list of names and addresses for your officers. It just seems to me that you are using your administrative skillsand experience well in your position, and we do appreciate it.

Sincerely,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

February 14, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

Please let me know as soonnaaspossible the date of the meeting you want me to attend. As I told you, I could come on March 16, but it would require some re-arranging of a previous engagement. Irreally would prefer another date.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

17 February 1967

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your letter concerning our financial report. Your words of encouragement help us feel that we are making a contribution to the whole program. We are fortunate to have an excellent secretary in our office who tries to keep us up to date.

We are delighted that you can meet with us on March 13 for a financial planning meeting. The meeting has been set for 4 p.m. Please inform me of your flight schedule.

Sincerely,

Elijah

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:cit

Enclosure

OFFICERS — FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • RICHARD GROEPPER, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOHN SAMUEL, 2ND VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. JOHN GRAY, SECRETARY
WILLIAM T. KELLY, TREASURER
STAFF — ELIJAH COLEMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • MRS. CAROLE TAYLOR, OFFICE SECRETARY

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February 20, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

Thanks for your letter of February 17. I shall arrive in Little Rock on Delta Flight 793 at 3:07 on the afternoon of March 16.

I plan to catch a 3:55 P.M. flight out of Little Rock the next day and will be available for as long as you need me during the interim. Let me know, if you will, how long we may be in session on Monday night. If we are going to get through by nine or ten o'clock, I might want to drive over to Dardanelle to see the Mayor.

Warm regards,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

March 1, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

I was just re-reading the four reports from Howard Himmerlbaum on his welfare study. They are very interesting and well-done.

In your letter sending the first two, you indicated that these were preliminary reports and that a complete one would be coming out later. I shall be looking forward to it. Meanwhile, would it be all right to mention the project in my newsletter? --or are you still needing to keep it under wraps?

I hope to meet both Himmelbaum and Williams when I am out there on the 13th of March.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

f

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

1 March 1967

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Enclosed are two copies of a letter resulting from extensive investigation into the use of 89-10 funds in Palestine, Arkansas.

We are hoping that this situation will be remedied as quickly as possible by both Washington and the Arkansas State Department of Education. Of course, we realize that this sort of thing is going on all over the state, and we think this initial investigation might tighten up procedures in Arkansas. I wish that we had the time to research other school districts so that more pressure could be brought upon the state.

Just wanted you see some tangible things we are trying to do.

Sincerely,

Elijah

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:cit

Enclosures

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STAFF — ELIJAH COLEMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • MRS. CAROLE TAYLOR, OFFICE SECRETARY

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

March 3, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

Thanks for sending me copies of your letter to Secretary Gardner and Commissioner Ford concerning the school situation at Palestine. I do appreciate your keeping me informed about things like this that the ACHR is doing.

I think the letter itself and the care and thoroughness with which you all evidently conducted the investigation are impressively well done. Bringing facts to light in this manner and getting them to the attention of such people is, in my opinion, an important and effective function of state councils. I shall be interested to know what results you get.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

15 March 1967

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is our financial report for February. We are in the midst of our financial and membership campaign and wonder if we could submit our membership reports for February and March at the end of this month. As you can imagine the membership situation is a bit chaotic right now, and the staff is concentrating all its efforts on organizing the campaign.

Just as soon as we catch our breath, we will send you Howard's final report, and also we shall write to all the participating schools and organizations in the Paperback Book Project and send you that evaluation.

After April 1 things should settle down to normal.

Sincerely,

Elijah Coleman

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:cit

Enclosure

P.S. The temporary loan from our savings, as shown in our February report, was necessary because we had not received our grant money from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. On March 6, 1967 we paid back this loan.

OFFICERS — FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • RICHARD GROEPPER, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
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STAFF — ELIJAH COLEMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • MRS. CAROLE TAYLOR, OFFICE SECRETARY

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II

March 20, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

Thanks for your letter of March 15 and for the financial report for February. It will be quite all right to delay until the end of the month themmembership reports for February and March.

Good luck on the membership and financial campaign.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

April 5, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $3,400.00, the quarterly payment on our grant-in-aid for 1967 to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Please sign the enclosed receipt copy of this letter and return it to me for our auditors' records.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

Enclosures (2)

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

12 April 1967

Mr. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is a copy of our proposal for an expanded welfare program. Please note that there are some important changes and additions in this latest report and proposal.

We feel that continued work in the welfare area is a vital part of the Council program, and we look forward to a favorable reply.

Sincerely,

Elijah

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:cit

Enclosures

OFFICERS — FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • RICHARD GROEPPER, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
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**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

April 25, 1967

Mr. Edward Standfield
Field Actvities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ed;

We would appreciate it if you can provide us with information concering the RAP program. Is it possible for Arkansas to participate in the R. A. P. program?

With the decline of SNCC in Arkansas , there is no longer anyone working in Eastern and Southern Arkansas, and we are searching for ways to fill this vacuum .

Respectfully yours,

Elijah Coleman

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

OFFICERS — FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • RICHARD GROEPPER, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOHN SAMUEL, 2ND VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. JOHN GRAY, SECRETARY
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STAFF — ELIJAH COLEMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • MRS. CAROLE TAYLOR, OFFICE SECRETARY

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April 27, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

This is in reply to your letter of April 25 concerning the Rural Advancement Project.

The R.A.P. was begun in 1965 and 1966 as a cooperative venture involving the SRC, the National Sharecroppers Fund, and four state councils selected jointly by the two larger organizations. It was limited to four simply because there were not sufficient funds for more. At that time the N.S.F. had no tax-exempt arm, therefore could not receive foundation funds. The arrangement, consequently, was that we would administer the funds and the R.A.P. directors would serve on the staffs of the state councils, while the N.S.F. would provide technical advice and assistance. The Sharecroppers Fund now has a tax exemption, with the result that they are no longer interested in such a joint effort, preferring to use whatever funds can be obtained to employ field men for their own staff and directly under their supervision.

The upshot of this is that we do not anticipate expansion of the Rural Advancement Project, or even continuation of the existing ones after the present three-year grant period runs out. Given the experience of the National Sharecroppers Fund in dealing with the problems of rural poverty, it seems to me

that the Arkansas Council might best serve the purpose by presenting to them, or to a similar organization, the need in Arkansas and strongly urging that services be provided as soon as possible.

It would be great if we had enough money to provide each state council with a staffer to work on rural problems, but I suspect that it would be wise for us to use our available funds for other purposes, deferring to the greater experience of other organizations on farm problems.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/cl

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ES

April 29, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Acting Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Mr. Coleman:

This is to inform you that the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council is rescinding the suspension of payments to the Arkansas Voter Education Project and our request that no funds be disbursed from the Arkansas VEP account.

We are rescinding the suspension of payments and disbursements as set forth in our letter of April 20, 1967, as a result of the meeting held on Wednesday, April 26, in the Conference room of the Arkansas Teachers Association. I am confident now that the Arkansas VEP, the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, the persons directly involved in helping to determine the future of the Arkansas VEP, and the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, have come to a meeting of the minds as to the program objectives and modus operandi of the Arkansas VEP.

Our meeting on Wednesday was a good one. It helped, I think, in effecting accord and satisfaction between all parties concerned. It is my hope that the Arkansas Voter Education Project can now move full-speed ahead to do the job that we all know needs to be done in Arkansas.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

VEJ:nm

cc: Father Clancy, Rev. Grinage
Messrs. W. H. Townsend,
T. R. Patterson,
Paul Anthony
J. Edwin Stanfield

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

file

1 May 1967

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

We appreciate your recent visit to Little Rock re the Arkansas Voter Education Project. It was most helpful. I feel certain that we now more clearly understand SRC's concept of the Arkansas VEP as being one of providing technical assistance, coordination, and stimulation to the various Arkansas organizations working to involve citizens in the political process.

In line with your recommendations, we are compiling an inclusive list of leaders of existing Negro organizations throughout the state; and we plan to invite them to a statewide meeting on Sunday, May 21. The initial letter of invitation will be issued from our office with a follow-up letter from your office. Basic costs (meals and travel) of this meeting will be borne by SRC-VEP.

Three areas will be emphasized and discussed at this meeting: voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training. An objective we hope to achieve at the meeting will be the affiliation of the invitees with Arkansas VEP into an advisory council. It is our hope that the advisory council will evolve into a working group and thereafter, with our assistance, lay the groundwork in each county and community for a statewide meeting from which would come a permanent

organization.

While we understand that the advisory council, in its initial stages, may be made up of the established state Negro leadership, Rev. Grinage will work to organize in the counties to insure the maximum participation of grassroots citizens. At the time of our statewide meeting we hope to include the widest possible representation throughout Arkansas in a show of unity of purpose, cohesion, and strength under the leadership of the Arkansas VEP.

Our office will advise you on the progress being made both in terms of the May 21st meeting and the continued organization of county VEP groups. We hope that you can be with us for the May 21st meeting.

Sincerely,

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:cit

cc: J. Edwin Stanfield
Paul Anthony

May 5, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

I have your letter of May 3 concerning the possibility of a grant to sponsor a summer project, "Students in Urban Affairs."

The donor of the fund we have for work with students has recently altered the terms under which it may be used, so that it is in effect an "emergency fund" which is not even close to the use you have in mind. Actually, I doubt that this project would have come within the limitations we had before, since the fund was, as we understood it, for the use of student human relations organizations in <u>their</u> projects.

No hope here. Sorry about that.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/cl

May 8, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

I have read, thought about, and discussed with Paul and others here the Arkansas Council's recent proposal for a 10-week project for the purpose of writing a simplified welfare manual. After mulling it over, we have some apprehensions about it which I would like to share with yourfrankly.

First, we have some doubt that a matter as complicated as welfare policy and administration can be reduced very helpfully to a relatively short, simplified manuel. It could be useful, but after thinking it over, we see its usefulness as quite limited.

Second, some of the staff question whether a person eligible for welfare who has been refused or discriminated against would be very much better armed to do battle, even if he clearly and accurately understands his rights under the law. The deviousness of welfare officials who are so disposed can hardly be overcome by so simple a measure.

Third, the proposal makes no provision for printing the manual. I had indicated to you that we might be able to help with that, but such does not appear to be the case.

Fourth, the proposal states that one purpose of the manual is "to increase the understanding and involvement of the various local councils," but does not give details as to how this is to be done. It seems to us that the best chance to remedy the plight of welfare "victims," given our limited resources, lies in enlisting the aid of others. We would like to see an outline of specific ideas for doing so.

Would it be possible (1) to reduce the time of the project to six weeks, (2) to consult with local councils and persuade them formally to adopt welfare concerns as a major program emphasis for at least a year, (3) to prepare a guide for local groups in mounting such a program, in addition to the simplified manual--including, perhaps, a more detailed mimeographed manual of welfare rules, etc., and (4) to use at least $400.00 of the proposed amount for printing of a couple thousand copies of the simplified manual--with the idea that additional printings would be sold at printing cost?

Admittedly, that is quite an order, but it probably could be done, if you used the materials already prepared by the Georgia and Tennessee Councils.

To sum up, our thinking is that the mere preparation of a simplified manual will have little durable impact on the program and that some such scheme as I have outlined would be of more value in return for the potential investment. One implication of that statement, which it might be well to point out, is that the possibility of cranking up ad hoc welfare rights groups appears to us to be rather slim; if that be true, it would seem best to plan systematically to utilize what forces you already have.

Let me know what you think.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/cl

cc: Father Walter Clancy

May 15, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

This will acknowledge your letter of May 11 and revision of the request for funding of your welfare project. I will pass it along to Paul Anthony for his decision. He will be out of the office, however, until the end of the month.

It does seem to me to be a good proposal, and I am hopeful that it will be satisfactory with the revisions you have made.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/cl

May 25, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Coleman:

This is in reply to your May 19 letter to Jac Wasserman telling of the need for a technical assistance field man for the rural areas of Arkansas. We are well aware of the great poverty in your state and the need for programs to help meet the needs of rural people.

One of our contributors is interested also in our placing a field representative in Arkansas and has provided a small sum toward the salary and expenses of such a person, provided we can find matching funds. I wonder if it were possible for the Arkansas Council on Human Relations to share the expenses of having a field person in the state. This would be similar to the arrangement worked out with the South Carolina Council several years ago and which proved to be very successful and led to the development of the Rural Advancement Project. I expect to be in Atlanta early in June and hope to discuss with Paul Anthony concerning the future of the Rural Advancement Project.

Meanwhile, it would help if the Arkansas Council could share in the cost of having a field man in the state who would be jointly sponsored.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:iwp
Enclosures
cc: Jac Wasserman
Ed Stanfield

P.S.: Enclosed are several items concerning our work which I am sure will interest you. The Seesaw Training Program was developed by NSF's Southern Rural Training Project financed by a Labor Department contract.

Annual Report
Christian Science Monitor
Seesaw

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

f

19 May 1967

Mr. Jac Wasserman
Field Director
National Sharecroppers Fund
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Jac:

This is an exploratory letter about the possibility of a National Sharecropper Fund staff man in Arkansas.

We in Arkansas have long lamented the fact that, except for the 1957 Little Rock crisis, the situation here has been generally neglected by the rest of the country. Other Southern states have the services of SCLC, SNCC, the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., and various multi-county poverty programs, while the ACHR is the only statewide organization in Arkansas.

As you well know, there is a great need for educational and organizational programs in rural eastern and southern Arkansas. Although the Farmers Home Administration has been active, we know that there remains an important role for non-governmental projects. Last month Governor Rockefeller state that growing numbers of Negro sharecroppers in Arkansas delta counties were being displaced.

I asked Ed Stanfield about the possibility of a Rural Advancement Project; Ed replied that SRC does not anticipate expansion or renewal of R.A.P. As you may know, Howard Himmelbaum has recently concluded an 8-week survey for us and SRC in Phillips and St. Francis counties concerning the welfare situation there. In the past he was

director of a 3-county organizational program in Phillips, Lee, and Monroe counties for SNCC. Howard is vitally interested in farm problems -- cooperatives, the effects of the minimum wage law, the unfairness of the present welfare system.

The Arkansas Council does not have the facilities to expand these interests in rural Arkansas; this would require a full-time, experienced staff person. We urge the National Sharecroppers Fund to consider a project here in Arkansas.

Sincerely,

Elijah Coleman

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:cit

Enclosure

cc: Ed Stanfield
Mrs. Fay Bennett

Esleeck
Fidelity Onion Skin
100% COTTON

ARKANSAS GAZETTE, Thurs., March 30, 1967.

# WR Says Negro Tenants Near Hunger; Asks for Aid

Growing numbers of Negro sharecroppers in Arkansas delta counties are being displaced by the federal minimum wage law and face immediate hunger, Governor Rockefeller said Wednesday.

Mr. Rockefeller decided on two courses of action to deal with this, his first non-legislative significant problem in three months in office. He called on Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman for food for the families. He also asked state agencies for long-range job assistance programs as quickly as possible.

According to a survey by the state Employment Security Division and reports by the state Welfare Department, more than 1,000 families will be unemployed in 12 East Arkansas counties by the end of the year, Mr. Rockefeller said.

Planters and farmers are not hiring family units for cotton chopping because of the minimum wage law. They are placing able-bodied men in these jobs. Also hurting the sharecroppers is a federal law prohibiting youths under 18 years of age from operating hazardous equipment, the governor said. As a result, women over 40 and youpg people under 18 are not being hired.

An ESD survey between February 24 and March 6 in Phillips County is indicative of the situation, the governor said. It showed that about 60 sharecroppers, all Negroes and 46 years of age or older, were released by eight planters. Similar conditions exist in Ashley, Desha, Chicot, Drew, Lee, St. Francis, Poinsett, Mississippi, Crittenden, Craighead and Cross Counties, he added.

"This is a serious situation. The traditional method of farming and the (sharecropper) family unit are disintegrating," Mr. Rockefeller said. He said that food is needed now with job training to follow to keep these families together and off public welfare programs.

The governor asked Freeman to consider providing the unemployed families with free food stamps. The government now requires persons to buy a certain percentage of food stamps and they get the others free. The amount is based on the size of the family unit and income.

If this can't be done, Mr. Rockefeller told Freeman, he wanted more federal surplus commodities sent to the 12 counties. He said that a dual surplus commodities and food stamp program must be considered. Right now the federal government allows either food stamps or surplus commodities in a county, not both.

The governor said that

State Welfare Commissioner A.J. Moss said that the problem was not new but was growing and that he had on at least five occasions asked Freeman to consider the plight of the families. He said he had had no success.

## Tenants

(Continued From Page 1)

housing was not an immediate problem because the plantation owners were allowing the families to stay in their homes. But, Mr. Rockefeller said, the planters did not intend to assume long-range responsibility for these families.

State Welfare Commissioner A. J. Moss said that the problem was not new but was growing and that he had on at least five occasions asked Freeman to consider the plight of the families. He said he had had no success.

f

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

5 June 1967

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

We greatly appreciated the support of the Southern Regional Council in the continuation of our welfare project. We will comply with your request concerning a progress report at the end of the six week grant period and additional reports covering subsequent local council seminars. Howard Himmelbaum will start work immediately on this program. It it our intention to use this $1,200. grant efficiently and in a manner which will benefit and inform as many people as is feasible.

We wish to notify you of a change in office staff. Paul Williams has taken a position with a Pine Bluff newspaper. Mrs. Carole Taylor has been promoted to Administrative Assistant, and we are presently interviewing for a secretary.

Thank you for your continued interest in the Council.

Carol - please note

Sincerely,

Elijah

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:cit

Enclosure

cc: Paul Anthony

OFFICERS — FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • RICHARD GROEPPER, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOHN SAMUEL, 2ND VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. JOHN GRAY, SECRETARY
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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

file

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

6 June 1967

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is a copy of the correspondence between Nat Griswold and Fr. Clancy concerning Nat's support by the Council.

Last year Nat received a $500 travel grant from SRC. Of this amount he has spent $188.39, for his trip to confer with C. Vann Woodward, leaving a balance of $311.61. Earlier this year the Board of Directors of ACHR voted to budget $300 for clerical help for his research project. To date he has spent $48, leaving a balance of $252.

I hope this information will clarify the financial aspect of Nat's research project.

Sincerely,

Elijah Coleman

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:cit

Enclosure

OFFICERS — FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • RICHARD GROEPPER, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
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**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

May 23, 1967

Dear Father Clancy:

After some calculations followed by conferences with the Office of Social Security and Mr. Kelly, I believe an arrangement for my subsistence is possible to the advantage of ACHR and us.

I can ask for maximum social security (c.$130) if ACHR pays me only $125 permonth.

OAS of course needs to know what part time work I am being paid for and, therefore, that the pay is legitimate. That my work is to the interest of ACHR.

So, a letter from you such as that enclosed would be needed to satisfy them.

I hope to get the plan confirmed before the end of May. At any rate I feel sure enough to advise you not to pay me more than $125 this month.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. PLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to obtain equal opportunity for all people*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

26 May 1967

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat Griswold:

As I have indicated to you more than once, the Board of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations wishes to continue some support to enable you to complete your research and writing begun last year. A well-written story based on your experience of ten years as Director of the Council will be of real help to our continued work.

Of course, the substantial support given you for six months ending in February cannot be continued. Our budget simply will not permit it. However, we will undertake to pay you as much as $125 per month beginning in May, 1967 and continuing through this calendar year or until your project is completed, whichever is the shorter period, provided, of course, the funds are available.

We deeply hope this will be enough help to enable you to subsist and to work energetically.

Sincerely,

(Rev.) Walter B. Clancy
Chairman, Board of Directors

WBC:cit

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

file

June 6, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Elijah:

Fay Bennett has shared with me her letter of May 25 to you suggesting a jointly sponsored rural work in Arkansas, somewhat along the lines of the Rural Advancement Projects about which you inquired originally.

As I have indicated, the SRC cannot anticipate funds which would permit us to expand the R.A.P. program -- or even to continue the existing projects beyond the period of the current grants. Therefore the Arkansas Council's portion of the funding of any joint project would have to be from other sources. In considering that possibility I think you would have to give thought to (1) the possibility of unavoidable curtailment of our grant-in-aid program after 1968 and (2) the status of the Arkansas Council's current funding directly from foundations (the "B-Fund"). It was all of these reasons -- together with the newly-inaugurated tax-exempt arm of NSF, their acqaaintance with potential sources of donations to rural work, and their clear competence in this program area -- which prompted me to raise the possibility of their placing one of their field men in Arkansas.

The idea of a jointly-sponsored, R.A.P.-type operation is, of course, the one you had in your original letter to me, and it still seems to me that the Arkansas Council would have to be careful about commiting itself to such a program.

Cordially,

cc: Bennett, Wasserman J. Edwin Stanfield

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

9 June 1967

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Thank you for your letter of June 6 concerning the RAP program and its relation to the Arkansas Council. However, what we really had in mind was trying to match Sharecroppers Funds with local fund raising here in the state. We have found that by presenting a specific program to various donors, the likelihood of generous contributions is greater.

This is why we wanted to find out from Mrs. Bennett the exact sum NSF had in mind. Perhaps a local matching arrangement would not be feasible, but we would like to know the possibility of a direct working arrangement between ACHR and NSF.

Sincerely,

Elijah Coleman

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:cit

cc: Mrs. Fay Bennett
Jac Wasserman

OFFICERS — FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • RICHARD GROEPPER, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

June 8, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Coleman:

national board

FRANK P. GRAHAM
*chairman*

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
*vice-chairman*

ELIOT D. PRATT
*secretary-treasurer*

ANGELA BAMBACE
BETH BIDERMAN
ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE
MAX DELSON
EVELYN DUBROW
MANET FOWLER
MARTIN GERBER
I. CYRUS GORDON
SHIRLEY E. GREENE
ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON
SIDNEY HERTZBERG
ROBERT W. HUDGENS
LEWIS W. JONES
JAMES LIPSIG
FRANK McCALLISTER
EMANUEL MURAVCHIK
PAULI MURRAY
ARTHUR RAPER
IRA DeA. REID
VERA RONY
LEON SCHACHTER
CLARENCE SENIOR
PATRICIA CAYO SEXTON
NORMAN THOMAS
ROWLAND WATTS
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

•

FAY BENNETT
*executive secretary*

JAC WASSERMAN
*field director*
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Thank you for your May 30th letter. I have just returned from Atlanta where I had a talk with Paul Anthony about the financial problems which do not permit SRC to expand the Rural Advancement Project program. Ed Stanfield's letter to you of June 6, with a copy to me, gives some of these reasons. Apparently it is very difficult for all of us to convince foundations that they ought to support programs which fight poverty at their roots, namely in the rural areas and not concentrate so heavily on the big city problems.

The approximate cost of a full-time field worker including travel expenses, etc., averages about $12,000 in each of the states where we have such a program shared with the State Councils on Human Relations. The breakdown is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Field Representative's Salary | $ 7,500 |
| Fringe Benefits at 10% | 750 |
| Travel Expenses at $200/month | 2,400 |
| Administrative Expenses (Shared by State Council and NSF regional office) | 1,000 |
| Miscellaneous | 350 |
| | $12,000 |

We simply do not have the funds to cover this full amount, and we also will have difficulty raising $6,000. However, I do believe that we can raise perhaps $4,500 very shortly, and if the Arkansas Council could raise a similar amount or at least enough to begin the program and ensure its continuance for three or four months, that would give us a chance to get the program rolling and give additional time to raise the required funds for the full year. Does this make sense to you, and do you believe the Arkansas Council can commit itself to such a program? If so, please let me hear from you soon. We would then like to canvass the field for the best possible person to take on this job, and we would of course consider Howard Himmelbaum along with others who may be interested and well qualified.

Sincerely,

FB

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:jw
cc: Jac Wasserman
Ed Stanfield ✓

201

VPA
CL-file

20 June 1967

Mrs. Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 E. 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Mrs. Bennett:

Thank you for your letter of June 8th in which you sketched the approximate cost of a full-time field worker.

At this time we are still trying to raise funds for the Council budget, and we are not yet free to solicit matching funds for a new project. For this reason we would like to wait a few months before giving NSF a definite answer.

Meanwhile, could you clarify one point for us. We feel that, were the Council to provide matching funds, we should participate in the selection of the field person for Arkansas. What would be the administrative relation between the Council, NSF, and the field worker?

We do hope that something can be worked out; however we will have to delay making a decision for awhile.

Sincerely,

Elijah Coleman

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:cit

cc: Jac Wasserman
Ed Stanfield

July 6, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

According to my records, and after checking our files, it appears that we have not yet received a copy of an official audit of the books of the Arkansas Council for 1966. As you will recall, one of the conditions of our grant-in-aid to all state councils, is that a copy of such an audit be placed on file with us.

This is a policy of long standing and one that we consider quite a necessary part of our responsibility to the donors of these funds, as well as essential to fulfillment of the conditions of our charter. Therefore we must suspend payment of the 1967 grant-in-aid until we receive your audit.

Please let me know if you think you have sent the audit and we have somehow failed to receive it.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/cl

July 27, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $3,400.00, the quarterly payment of our grant-in-aid for 1967 to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Please sign the enclosed receipt copy of this letter and return it to me for our auditors' records.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/cl

Enc. 2

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

9 August 1967

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Enclosed are three copies of our Welfare Project progress report. The actual writing of a simplified manual is difficult, but I think the outline and proposed style will work out well. We would appreciate any suggestions and criticisms which you and your staff might have.

Did you want us to use the $400 budgeted for printing to be used for a professional job, such as the "Know Your Rights" pamphlet? We thought that a mimeographed booklet would allow us to distribute more copies throughout the state. Let us know how the $400 is to be used.

Look forward to seeing you in September.

Best regards,

Elijah

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:cit

Enclosures

OFFICERS — FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • RICHARD GROEPPER, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOHN SAMUEL, 2ND VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. JOHN GRAY, SECRETARY
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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

LPA
CL-file

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

August 15, 1967

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed,

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations Board of Directors met Saturday, August 12. One of the items on the agenda was the proposal by David Apter and associates.

The ACHR Board decided not to participate in this professional fund raising program. It was felt that we could obtain the advice and consultation of persons in the Little Rock area who have had similar fund raising experience.

We appreciate your informing us of this proposal.

Sincerely,

Elijah Coleman

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:jfn

OFFICERS — FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • RICHARD GROEPPER, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOHN SAMUEL, 2ND VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. JOHN GRAY, SECRETARY
WILLIAM T. KELLY, TREASURER
STAFF — ELIJAH COLEMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • MRS. CAROLE TAYLOR, OFFICE SECRETARY

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

VPA
CL - file (Tenn - M+F)

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Monthly Financial Statement
Month Ending July 31, 1967

Regular Account

INCOME

| | |
|---|---|
| Contributions | $4,114.00 |
| Membership Dues | 256.00 |
| Other | 25.00 |
| TOTAL | $4,395.00 |

EXPENDITURES

| | |
|---|---|
| Salaries | 555.63 |
| Federal Taxes | 140.36 |
| Postage | 55.00 |
| Newspaper & Pamphlet Subscriptions | 27.35 |
| Equipment | 76.59 |
| Insurance Premium | 54.96 |
| Financial Consultant | 900.00 |
| TOTAL | $1,809.89 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance June 30, 1967 | $1,137.25 |
| Less Transfer to Special Account * | 410.00 |
| | $ 727.25 |
| Deposit July 7, 1967 | 206.00 |
| Deposit July 18, 1967 | 238.00 |
| Deposit July 31, 1967 | 3,951.00 |
| Available During July | 5,122.25 |
| Expenditures in July | 1,809.89 |
| Balance July 31, 1967 | $3,312 .36 |

*Transferred to cover checks written on special account that would usually have been written on regular account. This was done because the SRC grant did not arrive until after the checks were written. It ($3,750.00) was subsequently deposited on July 31, 1967.

SRC

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Monthly Financial Report
Month Ending July 31, 1967

Special Account

INCOME

| | |
|---|---|
| Transfer from savings July 18, 1967 | $ 250.00 |
| Transfer from savings July 31, 1967 | 1,610.00 |
| Transfer from Regular Account 7/31/67 | 410.00 |
| TOTAL | $2,270.00 |

EXPENDITURES

| | |
|---|---|
| Salaries | 853.20 |
| Federal Taxes | 229.95 |
| Staff Travel | 95.75 |
| Auditor Services Rendered | 150.00 |
| Telephone | 188.94 |
| Supplies | 68.44 |
| West Tennessee | |
| Salary | 439.80 |
| Federal Taxes | 82.20 |
| Travel | 149.12 |
| TOTAL | $2,257.40 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance carried forward | 6.37 |
| Trans. from Savings 7/18/67 | 250.00 |
| Trans. from Savings 7/31/67 | 1,610.00 |
| Trans. from Regular Acct. 7/31/67 | 410.00 |
| Available in July | $ 2,276.37 |
| Less Expenditures in July | 2,257.40 |
| BALANCE JULY 31, 1967 | $18.97 |

BALANCE FOR ALL ACCOUNTS, July 31, 1967

| | |
|---|---|
| Special Account | 18.97 |
| Regular Account | 3,312.36 |
| Savings Account | 11,954.84 |
| TOTAL | $15,286.17 |

August 16, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

In reply to your letter of August 9, I don't believe we specified or even had in mind any particular kind of printing job for the manual called for in your welfare project. Personally, I feel that a mimeographed manual, if the mimeographing if well done (and I have to emphasize that condition), can be very effective and certainly, as you say, it is cheaper.

I must say that I am a bit disappointed in the direction that the project has taken. I am at home as I am writing this and I donnot have our correspondence or the proposal, as revised,before me but as I recall we finally agreed that the welfare manual in order to be meaningful would have to be written at a fairly sophisticated level and that for this reason it would not be advisable to attempt a manual in extremely simple language designed for massive distribution. This line of thinking was the reason, as I understood it, for including in the proposal provision for workshops and seminars with local councils and similar groups who might be informed about welfare policy and who might in turn be helpful to individuals in their communities having welfare administration difficulties. Frankly, with $400 or $4,000 for printing, you would not be able to print enough of any manual and conduct enough seminars for recepients of welfare aid to be of direct help to them.

Yet nowhere in any of the reports that you have sent so far is any mention made of any seminars or workshops with your local councils or similar groups already in existence to help them to help others. It seems to me that the enlistment of the interest and concern of such middle-class groups is vital for any attempt to do something about the administration of welfare in Arkansas.

Could you tell me what use is being made of the local councils on human relations in connection with this project or have you possibly dropped this feature of the program entirely?

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/cl

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

August 24, 1967

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed,

Thank you for your letter in reference to our Welfare Project. At the time Howard is in the Summer Reserve Camp, and I would like to wait until he returns before giving you an explanation to your letter.

I hope to see you in Gatlinburg on September fifth.

Sincerely,

Elijah

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:jfn

OFFICERS — FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • RICHARD GROEPPER, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOHN SAMUEL, 2ND VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. JOHN GRAY, SECRETARY
WILLIAM T. KELLY, TREASURER
STAFF — ELIJAH COLEMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • MRS. CAROLE TAYLOR, OFFICE SECRETARY

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

file

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

September 12, 1967

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Howard Himmelbaum and I have discussed, at some length, the points you brought out in your letter of August 16 concerning the writing of a Welfare manual.

We do realize the need to stimulate action on the part of local affiliates to take up the area of Welfare and to make this an on-going project. Howard has been invited to attend a meeting of the Fort Smith Council on Human Relations on Thursday, September 14, to discuss programming in Welfare for that group.

We certainly shall share our findings and our concern with other similarly oriented groups such as the Arkansas Council of Churches and the League of Women Voters. However, most of these groups generally have their own priorities, and we feel strongly that our own affiliates must take the major burden of programming and stimulating statewide interest in Welfare. We have tentatively scheduled a workshop for local affiliates on Saturday, October 14 ( I shall write in more detail shortly.) At this time we will devote a session to progmatic ideas, one of which will be Welfare.

About the format of the manual itself, we still feel that a very simplified manual would be helpful even to middle class, literate persons and groups. From our experience we have learned that all too seldom will people take the time to read anything complex.

OFFICERS — FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • RICHARD GROEPPER, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
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Of course, along with a simplified manual we would provide a forum and more specific plans of action for our affiliates and other group.

As we organize local chapters, we try to keep in mind the need to broaden our base of support to include as many people as possible. In some of our rural areas even the economically middle class persons would benefit from a less sophisticated manual. For example, we have found enthusiastic response to the "Know Your Rights" booklet from the educated as well as the less educated citizens.

We feel that we need some kind of tool which would be useful not only to a structured group, but to scattered rural communities. We strongly contend that the rural poor in Arkansas must be encouraged to form community groups preferably as part of the Arkansas Council or the Arkansas Voter Education Project - and to include Welfare as part of their program.

From the inception of this Welfare project we had envisioned using a simplified manual for both educating our local chapters as well as a tool to aid rural persons. We did not want the manual to be merely another survey or research piece, but an effective and useable tool to stimulate action.

If you do feel that our approach and goals are inconsistent with the stipulations of the SRC grant, we would appreciate your setting down how SRC prefers the grant to be used. We really hope that the above statements will make clearer our reasons for proceding as we have done.

Sincerely,

Elijah

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:at

file

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

September 14, 1967

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

It is the thinking of Father Clancy and the ACHR Board that it would be useful and beneficial to call together the Chairman and several representatives from our nine local affiliates for a workshop and conference. The purpose of this meeting would be to discuss the locals' relationship and responsibilities to the State Office, and our in turn to them.

We have enclosed a sketch of the items which need to be discussed. Since ACHR has four recently organized affiliates, this type of meeting would be especially helpful. We plan to meet in Pine Bluff (to break the routine of always meeting in Little Rock) On Saturday, October 14, at A.M. & N. College. The meeting will begin with a luncheon. Through the afternoon the staff, representatives, and Board members who may wish to attend will discuss these items. For specific program ideas we will divide the group so that our staff can present suggestions and information. (Howard Himmelbaum, Welfare: Ben Grinage, Voter Education Project: Carole Taylor, Education.)

We are asking two things from SRC. First, if your schedule permits, we think your presence and ideas would greatly encourage our affiliates, and we would hope that you could join us. Secondly because I, personally, am devoting a large portion of my time to organizing, our travel budget is becoming quite strained. We have outlined below the approximate cost of a roundtrip by car, from the various affiliates to Pine Bluff. We are asking that each community send one car. We have also included the approximate cost of the lunch.

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| Affiliate | Roundtrip mileage | Cost @ 7¢ @ mile |
|---|---|---|
| Conway | 194 | $10.08 |
| Fayetteville | 450 | $31.50 |
| El Dorado | 182 | $12.74 |
| Jonesboro | 350 | $24.50 |
| Fort Smith | 396 | $27.72 |
| Little Rock | 84 | $5.88 |
| North Little Rock | 100 | $7.00 |
| Forrest City | 196 | $13.72 |
| Wynne | 230 | $16.10 |
| Camden | 144 | $10.08 |
| | | $159.32 Total |

Luncheon Cost

27 affiliate representatives
4 staff
10 Board Members
41 ($1.25 @ person

$51.25 Total
$210.00

Total cost of affiliate workshop.

We hope that SRC has funds for this type of meeting. In light of SRC's recent position paper, we feel that our local people should be informed of the shift in emphasis, especially because of their significant role and responsibilities.

Hoping to hear a positive reply to both our requests.

Sincerely,

Elijah

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:at

# ITEMS FOR AFFILIATE WORKSHOP

Items for Affiliate workshop.

Administrative Information

1. Dues structure
2. Local affiliate dues refund
   $1.00 return for $5.00 membership.
   $1.00 return for $2.00 associate membership.
   No return for contributions or pledges.
3. Importance of sending memberships directly to the State Office; especially to facilitate writing of receipt for total amount contributed.

Board of Directors

1. Suggestion to meet quarterly; make use of the executive committee during periods between scheduled meetings.
2. Expand Board to ~~indluce~~ INCLUDE representative from each affiliate or area in which we are attempting to form an affiliate.

Role of the affiliates

Should not be done - not SRC's position.

1. Discussion of SRC's position paper concerning the relationship between SRC and state councils.
   - mail out a copy of the positionpaper prior to October meeting to all affiliates.

2. Emphasize the importance and necessity of affiliates' responsibility to raise funds locally to strengthen financial base for the state organization.

3. Frank discussion on what each affiliate expects from the state office.
   - what type of service can the state office render in return for financial support from locals.
4. Realization that each affiliate must move at its own pace; at the same time we need to talk about the role of the statewide organization, about the goals and place in society of ACHR.

5. Definite need for better communication between affiliates and state office. - suggestion: assign one person in affiliate to keep state office informed of local projects and plans; this is especially important for newsletter.

Programming

1. We suggest that each affiliate make a survey of its county to determine the major problem areas.

- the state office can help by drawing up a format of a survey.
- we would encourage the local to expand its base from the city to the entire county; in this way local people can help each other or check into various situations.
- need for locals to work on programs pertinent to the needs of their communities.
- ACHR state office to provide a list of members in affiliate county.

2. Welfare
- seminars, workshops to learn about welfare problems and ways to remedy them.
- need to acquaint locals with welfare regulations.

3. Education
- continued watch over progress of student and faculty desegregation.
- need to check rural school districts.
- seminars, workshops to learn about 89-10 programs - rules, regulations, complaint procedures, check list.

4. Employment

5. Voter Education Project.

6. Housing.

September 18, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

We think highly of the idea of a workshop for local council representatives, as outlined in your letter of September 14.

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $210.00, as requested, to cover the costs. Please sign the enclosed receipt copy of this letter and return it for our files.

I have the October 14 date on my calendar and will plan to be there, in Pine Bluff, by noon.

Other than the possibility of your trying to cover too many things in a single afternoon, I have only one suggestion about your agenda. I would prefer that you not send out our draft position paper to local council presidents. For one thing it is not "SRC's position paper." It is a suggested draft -- a proposal for discussion; the SRC has taken no action on it at all. I would not mind using it, however, as a basis for discussion; but I think it would be better to send each chairman a copy of the essay which appeared in New South and use that as the starting point.

I'll look forward to seeing you in October.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director, Field Activities

JES:rh
Encls. 2

October 2, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

This is to invite you to the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel on November 1, 2, and 3, 1967.

We anticipate that this meeting will be of unusual importance in the formulation of the future program of the SRC and its relationship to the councils on human relations. We think it will be more than ordinarily helpful to have you, as executive director, of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, on hand as the members of the Southern Regional Council consider these matters. Therefore, we are this year making an exception to our usual policy and are able to pay travel and entertainment expenses for state council chairmen and executive directors, as well as for members of the SRC.

Enclosed is a form on which you may indicate your acceptance of this invitation and the accommodations you need.

As last year, the dinner on November 1 will be in honor of the state councils. We want you to sit at a table on the dais, and the program that evening will be devoted to the councils.

With all good wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:rh

Enclosure

October 9, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

The quarterly program report and financial reports for the Arkansas Council have been received. Our check for this quarter's grant payment is being sent under separate cover.

The program report seems to me a little on the sketchy side, and I wonder if it would be possible to make it fuller without its becoming burdensome. For instance, a run-down on the current status and activities of the several local councils would be interesting and helpful. And the note, "met with group of persons interested in forming a local council in Hot Springs," is intriguing; but what folks? how interested? how many? with what results" and what future plans?

I am looking forward to seeing you in Pine Bluff, and promise not to nag.

Best regards,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:rh

October 9, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $3,400.00, the quarterly payment on our grant-in-aid for 1967 to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Please sign the enclosed receipt copy of this letter and return it to me for our auditors' records.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:rh

Enclosures (2)

file

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

October 16, 1967

Mr. Ed. Stanfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

We were very pleased about the turn-out and response at our affiliate workshop, and we hope that you were too.

Your talk was especially important in setting the tone for the meeting. I feel that we need periodic reminders of the situation throughout the South; it helps to know that problems faced here are not peculiar to Arkansas.

We will send you a report of the meeting, including the names and addresses of those in attendance and an accounting of expenses.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Elijah

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:at

OFFICERS — FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • RICHARD GROEPPER, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOHN SAMUEL, 2ND VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. JOHN GRAY, SECRETARY
WILLIAM T. KELLY, TREASURER
STAFF — ELIJAH COLEMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • MRS. CAROLE TAYLOR, OFFICE SECRETARY

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October 19, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

Yes, I was very pleased with the affiliate workshop in Pine Bluff. To tell you the truth, I was a little surprised at the good turn out of folks and at the number of councils represented. This seems to signify genuine progress and building up organization in addition to all the good program work that you in the Arkansas Council have been doing.

The report on the meeting need not be elaborate. Also, the accounting of the expenses can be quite simple. I would appreciate having the names and addresses of those in attendance just for my own use.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:rh

November 15, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

As you already know, the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council has approved a grant-in-aid of $13,000 to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations for the calendar year 1968.

Please read the enclosed "1968 Grant-in-Aid Conditions." These are essentially the same as those for 1967.

Item b. under requirement 3 -- a list of the names and addresses of officers and policy board members of the state council and the chairmen of local councils -- has been deleted at the request of the SRC Executive Committee. We simply call your attention to this, instead of reproducing the conditions. As explained to the Executive Committee, the sole purposes of this item were (1) to provide us with a current list of human relations council leaders in the state for use by our staff and to answer requests for contacts from public and private agencies and (2) to enable us to send the Field Activities Newsletter to current state and local council leaders. We still would appreciate having such lists for these purposes, but you should feel no compulsion about it.

Best wishes for a fruitful and satisfying year.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:rh

Enclosure

cc: The Reverend Walter B. Clancy

December 6, 1967

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human
Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

Congratulations on the new edition of "A Handbook for Local Councils on Human Relations." It's a good piece of work.

I hope you sent copies to each of the state councils.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:rh

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

9 Janurary 1968

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

I have enclosed our quarterly report and the material for the Ford Foundation review team. Both were typed out in haste; we've been extremely busy preparing for our annual meeting, so I hope you'll understand. (Also, the weather has been incredibly bad for the last few days -- we in Little Rock absolutely fall apart we we get as much as a quarter inch of ice on the streets.)

I did want to explain one item in our quarterly report. Our membership growth reflects only new members added on to our current roster. This is the reason why there is a discrepancy between income shown under membership (taking into account renewal contributions) and the small number shown under growth. Because I enclosed two copies of our 1967 Finance Report, giving final figures in all categories, as well as a 3-months report for the quarter, I did not break down income into quarters. I hope this is sufficient - at least for this quarter; if not, please let me know. Also, we have tried to make the narrative more in line with what I think you want. Let me know if this is o.k., because it's the first time that I've written the narrative part. Again, if you want more please jot down some specific guidelines.

Thank God both these items are out of our hands. Hope they're satisfactory.

Regards,

Carole

Carole I. Taylor
Administrative Assistant

Enclosures

OFFICERS — FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • RICHARD GROEPPER, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
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**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

10 January 1968

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

It gives me no great satisfaction to have to constantly call on you, Paul, and the Southern Regional Council when I find myself with another idea that I think might help us to further the cause of human relations in Arkansas. But here we are again.

As you have probably noticed from our previous reports we are trying to organize several new local councils. We are presently working in Magnolia, Hot Springs, Arkadelphia, Helena, Lafayette County, and Texarkana. It is the opinion of the Director and the Board of Directors that these locations, while they are different in many respects, are of vital pyschological importance to our organizing efforts.

Since some of these communities have not had any kind of meaningful biracial meetings, we thought it would be an excellent idea to invite key persons to our annual meeting on January 27. We are asking that SRC give us a small grant ($188.08) to cover the cost of their travel and meals, as an inducement to attend our meeting. We have enclosed a list of our contacts in these communities. If a grant is possible, we would very much appreciate your calling us so we might write these persons as soon as possible.

Thank you again.

Best regards,

Elijah

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC:cit

Enclosures

P.S. Sorry you won't be able to make our meeting.

OFFICERS — FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • RICHARD GROEPPER, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
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Arkansas Council on Human Relations
10 January 1968

PERSONS TO BE INVITED TO THE ACHR ANNUAL MEETING:

Magnolia (Travel, $18.90)
Rev. Sam Laine, First Presbyterian Church, 1417 N. Jackson
Rev. C. C. Shepherd, 523 S. Clay Street

Hot Springs (Travel, $7.42)
Rev. Harry A. Osborne, First Presbyterian Church, 213 Whittington Ave.
Rev. M. H. Elliott, 332 Garland Avenue

Arkadelphia (Travel, $9.94)
Dr. Bob C. Riley, Ouachita Baptist University
Rev. William Terry, 114 N. 16th Street

Helena (Travel, $16.24)
Mr. and Mrs. Frank Jordan, 413 Elm
Rev. Phillip Leach, St. John's Episcopal Church, Perry and Pecan Streets

Lafayette County (Travel, $16.94)
E. D. Robinson, Foster High School, Lewisville
Alvin Brannon, Southwest Arkansas Development Council, Room 2, Miller County Court House, Texarkana. (Mr. Brannon is a resident of Lewisville)

Texarkana (Travel, $21.14)
Rev. John Rorex, First Presbyterian Church, 6th and Pecan Streets
Rev. E. Oran Coble, 903 Walnut Street

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Travel | (7¢ a mile, one car from each community) | $ 90.58 |
| Meals | ($3.00 lunch + $4.50 dinner x 13 persons) | 97.50 |
| | TOTAL | $ 188.08 |

RHA(v)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

January 12, 1968

AIR MAIL

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

Enclosed find our check for $188.08 to pay expenses for potential local council leaders to attend your annual meeting.

I think this is a good idea and we like all of your recent efforts to develop local organizations.

Please return the enclosed carbon copy of this letter, signed, for our auditors.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:rh

Enclosures (2)

Thanks,

Elijah Coleman

February 13, 1968

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

I know that you will be particularly interested in the Conference on Human Relations and the Law that we are co-sponsoring with the University of Texas. Enclosed are six brochures announcing it, just in case the University failed to send you some directly.

I believe you would enjoy the conference and benefit from it. Some of your members or other associates might be interested, also, as there will be workshops for jurists, labor leaders, business men, churchmen, newsmen, city officials, and others.

Best regards,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/cl

Enclosures

file

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

July 22, 1968

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is the Quarterly Report of the Arkansas Council for April, May and June which ends the second quarter. Also enclosed is our finance reports for the same period.

We are pleased with the progress being made in Arkansas and hope the reports meet with your approval.

Sincerely,

Elijah

Elijah Coleman
Executive Director

EC/ct
Encl.

OFFICERS — RABBI ELIJAH E. PALNICK, CHAIRMAN • MRS. JOE RAMOS, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
JAMES M. COATES, JR., 2ND VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FAYDORE HOWARD, SECRETARY
WILLIAM T. KELLY, TREASURER
STAFF — ELIJAH COLEMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • MRS. CAROLE I. TAYLOR, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
MRS. CAROL TUCKER, OFFICE SECRETARY
REV. BEN GRINAGE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ARKANSAS VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

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July 24, 1968

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

At the suggestion of Paul Matthias, I am sending herewith some information concerning payments made to wealthy farmers by the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture for not planting acreage. Included are an explanatory speech by Senator John J. Williams of Delaware and a list of all payments of $50,000 or more in the state of Arkansas.

Should you have use for such information, we can make available to you a list of all payments in your state in excess of $5,000.

Sincerely,

Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

ES/cl
Enclosure

July 22, 1968

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

I have your letter of the 19th and the proposal for organizing student human relations groups. As always, your proposal is well thought-out and documented.

As you know, Paul Anthony has to decide about all special grants. He is on vacation this week, but will be back next week. I shall call this matter to his attention, and you should have his answer by about the end of next week.

I don't know what the condition of the "till" is at this date, but I hope we can help on this. The opportunity to carry out such an educational program, in cooperation with the Little Rock School Board, seems to me worth following up.

All good wishes,

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

ES/cl
cc: Paul Anthony

July 30, 1968

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

We have sent the quarterly payment on your grant-in-aid, but I want to add a word of appreciation for the good reports.

Besides their being in the usual good form, the news of your new chapters and the meaningful activity of local councils is encouraging. And, although I am sure you would like to see it improve, ACHR's financial condition appears to be better than average. Congratulations on a job well done.

I was especially intrigued by news of the new chapter in Batesville. I remember Fitzhugh Spragins as the bright young son of the president of Arkansas College when I was a student there, 1949-51. Is AC pretty well desegregated?

Keep up the good work.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield

Ark - Elijah Coleman

A PROPOSAL FOR

PILOT PROGRAM FOR STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS GROUPS

by

THE ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1310 Wright Avenue

Little Rock, Arkansas

1968

The purpose of this working paper is to request funds sufficient to develop and implement a program for Student Human Relations Groups in Junior and Senior High Schools for the Little Rock Public School System.

SUGGESTED TITLE OF THE PROPOSAL

Pilot Program for Student Human Relations Groups.

PURPOSE OF PROPOSAL

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sponsorship | - | Arkansas Council on Human Relations |
| Funding | - | Southern Regional Council |
| Target Group | - | Student bodies of junior and senior high schools, City of Little Rock, Arkansas |
| Resources | - | Principals, teachers, parents and student organizations, etc. |
| Problem | - | Misunderstandings due to varying ethnic and economic backgrounds |
| Proposed Solution | - | Discussing problems, understanding problems, seeking understanding of each other, perhaps aiming at community problems. |
| Means | - | Group discussions and guest speakers, workshops |
| Short Term Goal | - | Getting students together to discuss community problems of race and poverty |
| Long Term Goal | - | Getting community to change attitudes, at least when these young people become community leaders. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Other Advantages | - | Release of suppressed and hidden mistrusts. Communication. |
| Why this Group | - | Hope for future lies in getting people to commit themselves to good causes at an age when they are still idealistic before prejudices harden. |

PROCEDURE

A. An agreement has been reached with the superintendent of the Little Rock public schools, Mr. Floyd Parson, and the Little Rock Council on Human Relations that efforts would be made during the 1968-69 school year to organize student human relations groups in all of the junior and senior high schools of the district. These groups would be structured somewhat like the one now in operation at the West Side Junior High School. (See Appendix I.)

B. A special advisory committee composed of members representing the Little Rock School Board (board members, administrators, human relations specialist, and several principals), the Classroom Teachers Association, and the Little Rock Council on Human Relations will be formed. The functions of this advisory committee will be as follows:

1. Consult with principals and teachers of the various schools for the purpose of encouraging student human relations for their school.

2. Identifying problems which have developed attitudes of isolation on the part of some students.
3. Provide for bi-racial activities on and off campus that would involve students, parents and teachers.
4. Planning student workshops for the fall and spring semesters that would bring together representatives from all schools for the purpose of discussing mutual problems.

SUGGESTED BUDGET FOR PILOT GRANT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Travel Expenses for volunteer coordinator 36 weeks | $500.00 |
| 2. | Secretarial help | 300.00 |
| 3. | Student workshop for fall and spring semesters to include conference rooms and food (one meal) | 500.00 |
| 4. | Postage and supplies | 125.00 |
| 5. | Consultant fees and expenses | 400.00 |
| | TOTAL | $1,825.00 |

April 22, 1968

TO: All Teachers (Please read to students in HR)

FROM: Weldon K. Faulk, Principal

SUBJECT: West Side Junior High Bi-racial Committee

Twenty West Side students from each of the three grades have organized the West Side Junior High Bi-racial Committee. The committee has met twice and will meet once each week during the remainder of this school year. One meeting each month will be held in the auditorium and will be open for anyone that would like to attend. All meetings will be held prior to or after school hours. It is likely that the committee will function during the 1968-69 school year and possibly longer.

The purpose of the committee is to foster a better understanding between the two races. Previous, present and future problem areas can be "brought out into the open" and intelligently discussed and a solution found for each.

A box has been placed next to the pay telephone near the office. The committee encourages students and teachers to place any question, comment, or observation dealing with race relations into the box provided. These will provide the committee with topics for discussion at its next meeting. The more significant topics will be used for the "open meetings" that will be held in the auditorium.

Certainly, there are many problems that do not have easy solutions and the committee realizes that it cannot speak for the entire student body. The committee does feel, however, that this is a step in the right direction and with the cooperation, tolerance, and understanding of every person at West Side, we will not only be setting the example for our school system, city, state, and nation, but for generations to come.

NOTE: Our next meeting will be Tuesday, April 23, at 3:30 in the library. Teachers are welcome to attend. We plan eventually to invite parents and involve students, teachers, and parents, in the discussions. This may necessitate having a few night meetings.

APPENDIX I

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## APPENDIX II

### DESEGREGATION REPORT - 1967-68

#### SUMMARY

| SCHOOL | NEGRO | WHITE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| Senior High | 1,382 | 3,821 | 5,203 |
| Junior High | 2,038 | 4,134 | 6,172 |
| Elementary | 5,075 | 8,063 | 13,138 |
| TOTAL | 8,495 | 16,018 | 24,513 |

#### SECONDARY SCHOOLS - PUPIL ENROLLMENT

| SENIOR HIGH | Negro | Percent | White | Percent | Total | 1966-67 Negro % | Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Central | 415 | 19 | 1784 | 81 | 2199 | 15 | +4 |
| Hall | 5 | | 1416 | 99+ | 1428 | | |
| Mann | 820 | 100 | | | 820 | 100 | |
| Metropolitan | 142 | 19 | 614 | 81 | 756 | 17 | +2 |
| TOTAL | 1382 | 27 | 3821 | 73 | 5203 | 26 | |
| **JUNIOR HIGH** | | | | | | | |
| Booker | 750 | 100 | | | 750 | 100 | |
| Dunbar | 707 | 100 | | | 707 | 100 | |
| Forest Heights | 9 | 1 | 978 | 99 | 987 | 1 | |
| Henderson | 20 | 2 | 873 | 98 | 893 | 2 | |
| Pulaski Heights | 31 | 5 | 636 | 95 | 667 | 4 | +1 |
| Southwest | 37 | 3 | 1102 | 97 | 1139 | 1 | +2 |
| West Side | 484 | 47 | 545 | 53 | 1029 | 25 | +22 |
| TOTAL | 2038 | 33 | 4134 | 67 | 6172 | 31 | +2 |

Little Rock Public Schools

WEST MARKHAM AND IZARD • LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

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• DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL AND RESEARCH

June 11, 1968

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Coleman:

I am very much interested in your proposed plan to organize student Human Relations organizations in the secondary schools of the Little Rock Public Schools.

I feel as you do, that this will help foster better understanding among the boys and girls of the Negro and white races.

I will be most happy to work with you in this endeavor.

Sincerely yours,

Jerry D. Perrin
Advisory Specialist in Human Relations
Little Rock Public Schools

JDP:po

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